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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the *WORK*, and render it

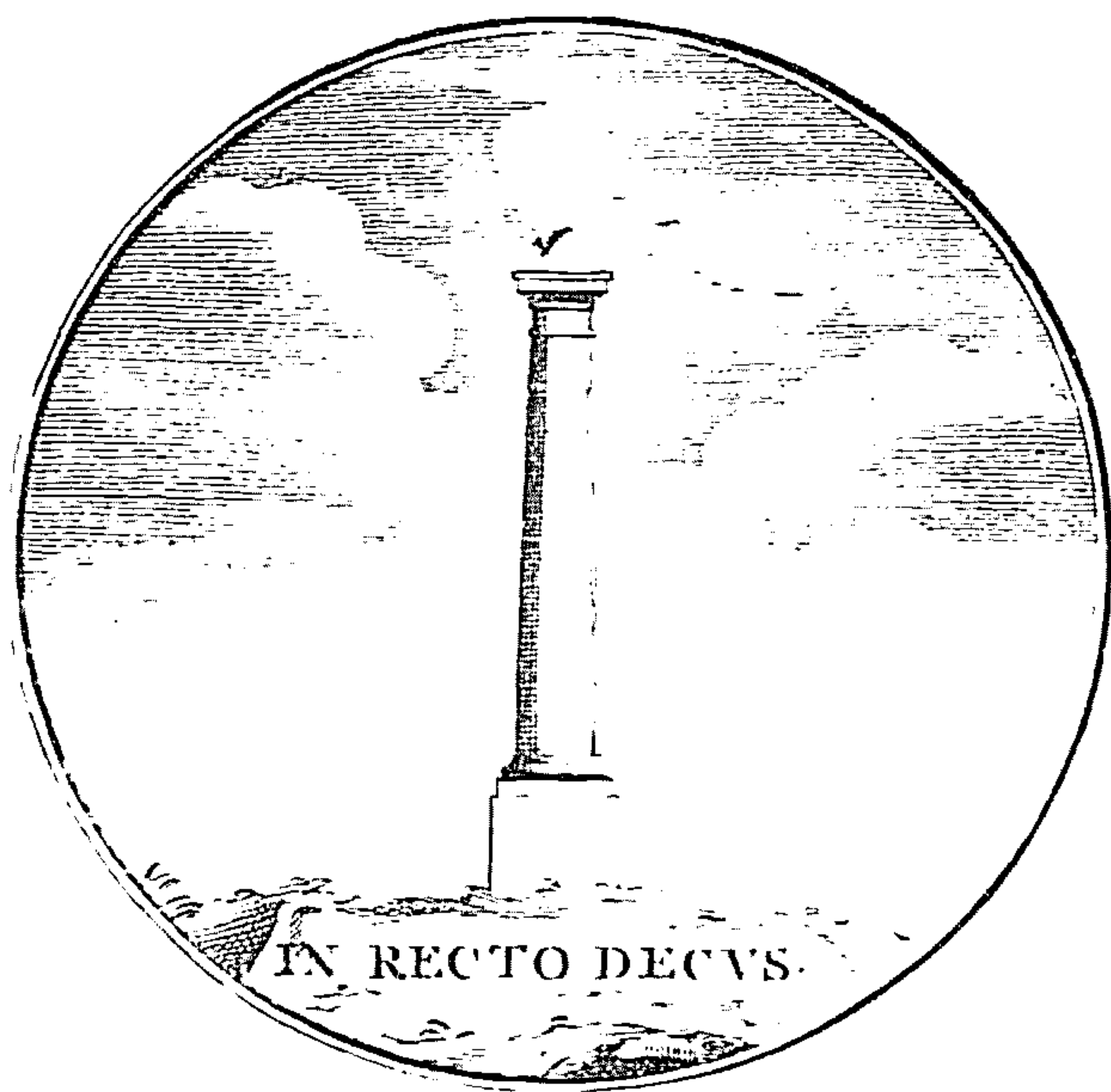
A Complete Body of *HISTORY*.

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the *PRESENT*.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. IV.



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M.DCC.LIX.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XVII.

CHAP. II.

The Empire of Japan.

^a **T**HIS large and potent empire is indifferently called by the *Europeans* *Japan* and *Japan*, its names. *Japon*, but by the natives *Nippon* and *Hippon*, or *Nippon* and *Hippon*, from the largest Island belonging to it. The maritime *Chinese* pronounce it *Zippon* or *Sippon*, but the rest call it *Je-pwen* or *Ge-puen*; all which come to the same signification, and were probably given to it on account of its eastern situation; the word *Ni* or *Hi* signifying *fire*, and, in a more emphatical sense, the *sun*, and *pon* or *phon* a *basis* or *foundation*; conformably to which, *Martini* says, that the words *Je puen*, in the *Chinese*, signify *the place of the sun's rising*^a; but, besides that of *Nippon* or *Hippon*, the natives give it several other pompous ones, such as we have observed the *Chinese* bestow upon their own^b; and which being less known to other nations, and serving only to shew the high value they set upon their own, we shall content ourselves with giving a specimen of them in the margin (A).

^b JAPAN is situate on the most eastern verge of *Asia*, and consists of three large, and a number of smaller islands; and lies about 160 leagues eastward of the coasts of *China* and *Korea*, and about 130 degrees to the eastward of *London*; so that they have their sun-rising, noon, &c. about eight hours before us. Its extent is from 30° to 41° of latitude, and from 130° to 147° east longitude; and the author of the church-history of *Japan*, published in *English*, anno 1700, computes all those islands together to contain about 600 leagues in compass, or 200 leagues in length, and so proportionably in breadth, exclusive of their various windings, and of sundry remote islands which are subject to that empire. Were *South* and *North Britain* divided by an arm of the sea, *Japan* might be most aptly compared to *England*, *Scot-*

^a Atlas in Japon. Vide & KÆMPFER Hist. Japon. c. iv. & al.

^b See before, vol. iii. p. 493.

^a (A) They often give it, especially in their writings, the name of *Ten ka*, or *under heaven*; and the emperor that of *Ten-ka fuma*, or *the monarch under heaven*, as if his country was the only one under it. They have, however, condescended to give that title not only to the *Chinese* empire, which they style *To-sin Ten-ka*, but even

to the *Dutch*, whose country they call *Hollanda Tenka*. They likewise style *Japan* *Sin-kok* and *Camimokuni*, that is, *the abode or country of the gods*, *Sin* and *Kami* being the names of their two chief antient deities; *Tout-sie*, or *the true morning*, or *sun-rising*, and others not worth farther mention (1).

(1) De his, vid. Kæmpfer Hist. Japon. cap. iv.

land, and Ireland, with all its attendants of other smaller islands, peninsula's, bays, chanel's, a &c. and all under the same monarch.

Whether known to the ancients.

When discovered.

How, and by whom.

WHETHER the *Japan* islands were known to the antients, or the same with the *Satyr Ispes* of *Ptolemy*, as Mr. *De Lisle* conjectures, is justly doubted^c; but it is not to be questioned that they are the same which the famed *Venetian* traveller *Marco Paulo* hath described under the name of *Zipangri*, from the account which the *Chinese* gave him of them (B). However, we had but a very imperfect knowlege of them till they were discovered by the *Portuguese*, at what year is not agreed, some placing that epocha as early as *anno* 1535, others *anno* 1542 and *anno* 1548, and others still later. Be that as it will, we are told^d, that, whilst *Alphonso de Sousa* was viceroy of the *East Indies*, three *Portuguese*, viz. *Antonio da Motta*, *Francisco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Peixola*, were, by stress of weather, driven upon some of the *Japanese* coasts, being then in a small vessel loaden with leather, and bound from *Siam* to *China*, and were the first *Europeans* that discovered those islands. Upon the report they gave of it, others of their nation, particularly some of their missionaries were sent thither; and, by their skill in the liberal sciences, so recommended themselves to the *Japanese*, that they easily got not only free admittance into, and commerce with, that empire, but likewise the free exercise of their religion, and, in process of time, the liberty from the emperor of propagating it through his dominions, as will be seen in the sequel.

Rocky coasts, and dangerous seas.

Whirlpools.

ALL the coasts of this empire are surrounded with such craggy, high, and inaccessible mountains, and such shallow and boisterous seas, as make sailing about them, as well as to and from them, extremely hazardous; and their creeks and bays are for the most part choaked up with such rocks, shelves, sands, &c. that it seems as if Providence had designed it to be a little world within itself. Those seas have likewise many dangerous whirlpools, which are very difficult to pass at low water, and will suck in and swallow up the largest vessels, and all that comes within the reach of their vortex, with a most dreadful quickness, and dash them in small pieces against the rocks which lie at the bottom, some of which are never seen again, and others are thrown up on the surface at some miles distance. The noise which some of them make is no less terrible to hear; tho' these are reckoned less dangerous, because they may the more easily be avoided by it^e.

Violent rains and frosts.

THE country is no less pleasant and inviting within, than its avenues are discouraging and frightful. Its situation is such, that it possesses the fifth and sixth climates; and would consequently be by many degrees hotter than *England*, were not those heats refreshed by the winds which continually blow from the sea around it, and to which they are much exposed by the height of their situation. However, it must be owned, that this makes their winters excessive cold, and the snows to fall in greater quantities, which are commonly followed by hard frosts. It renders their seasons likewise more inconstant, and frequently liable to various changes, which are hardly felt in other parts of the *Indies*, especially on the continent, particularly violent and lasting rains, which sometimes hardly cease during the whole year. The months of *June* and *July*, especially, have them still more vehement, and are on that account called *Sat-suki*, or *water-months*; and it is well for them that they are so, else the heat would be hardly tolerable. The country is also much subject to dreadful thunders and lightnings, and to storms and hurricanes, which frequently do a great deal of damage.

Soil and produce.

THE soil is naturally rocky and mountainous, and the antient relations describe it as very barren; nevertheless, the industry of the inhabitants hath made it fertile enough of every necessary of life, so as to be able not only to supply their own wants, but to furnish other countries with them, especially with the finest and whitest of rice, and with bread-corn, of both which vast quantities are exported by the natives and the *Dutch*; and the *Philippine Islands* were known heretofore to be mostly supplied with them from thence.

Various sorts of grain.

THEY have five different grains, which they comprehend under the name of *Gokokf*; viz. the *Komi*, or rice above-mentioned, of which they have several sorts, of the finest of which they make bread, and of the coarser a sort of beer they call *Sacki*; the next is called *Omuggi*, or large grain, which is their barley, of the flour of which they make a sort of cakes; but the greatest use they make of it is, to feed their horses and cattle with it; the third is called *Koomuggi*, or small grain, and is their wheat, of which they chiefly make cakes for their table;

^c See Prelim. Discourse to KÆMPFER. Hist. of Japan. Hist. Japan, lib. i. c. 8.

^d BARROS Decada da Asia, p. 183.

^e KÆMPFER.

(B) That author mentions likewise the expedition which the *Tartarian* prince *Koblay*, who had conquered all *China*, made against the island of *Zipangri*; and the *Chinese* annals tell us, that this was the emperor *Shi-tsu*, founder of the *Yuan* family, or, as the *Tartars* call him, *Hu-pi lay*, the son of the famed *Jenghiz Khan*, at whose court he had resided several years, as we have lately seen in the history of *Korea* (2): for that prince, whom *Complet* calls *Xi-ca* (3), is by him affirmed to have

completed the conquest of *China* A. C. 1281, and to have attempted that also of *Japan*; so that there is not the least room to doubt that *Zipangri* is the same with *Japan*. To which we may add what another author tells us (4), that *Zipangri* is the same as the *Chinese* *Ge-puen-gin*, with the addition of an *i*, after the *Tartarian* manner; *Ge* signifying the *sun*, *Puen* the *origin* or *beginning*, and *Gin* a *man*.

(2) See before, vol. ii. p. 356, & seq. vol. iii. 539, note (D).

(3) *Annal. Sinic. sub. An.*

(4) *Martini Hist. Sinic.*

a fourthly, their *Daid-su*, or *daid* beans, is a smaller sort of bean, of the bigness of our lupines, which they grind into a meal, and boil for eating; the last is their *Adzuki* or *Socsu*, another sort of bean, which they boil in the same manner as the *Daid su*, or make into sweet cakes, by mixing some sugar with them. Besides the five grains above-mentioned, they have the *Indian* wheat, the millet, and several other sorts, in great abundance.

THE very rocks, and most barren places, produce such variety of fruits, plants, and roots, as the indigence of their forefathers obliged them to use for food, and to find ways of dressing them so as to make them palatable and wholesome. Even their large woods and forests, and the vast long ridges of mountains with which the country is intersected, are made to produce good pasturage, and are stocked with vast quantities of deer, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and other useful creatures; and many of their mountains are covered with high grass, bespangled with variety of flowers and sweet herbs, and with plenty of delicious fruit-trees^f. Their seas round about, as well as their lakes and rivers within, likewise furnish them with plenty and variety of fish; to all which if we add, that the *Japanese* are naturally as temperate and frugal as they are laborious and industrious, it will be no wonder that their country should more than furnish them with every necessary for life and delight, without the assistance of any of their neighbours (C). Thus, whilst the laborious males will not disdain to draw the plough over rocky mountains, inaccessible to horses and oxen, in order to make them productive of some wholesome esculent, and their no less industrious females will not scruple to plunge some scores of fathoms into the sea, to fetch from thence plenty and variety of shell-fish, sea-weeds, and other eatables; and have gained the art not only of making them palatable, but even to strip them from any noxious qualities; when they can gather and knead the very moss which grows on shells and barks of trees, into a pleasant kind of cakes, and give an agreeable relish to the most insipid or even distasteful roots, vegetables, &c.; what kind of want will not this industry supply even the most barren parts of that vast empire!

THE country abounds with rivers, lakes, and springs, of various kinds, so that they have plenty of sweet as well as medicinal waters; and some of their rivers flow from the high mountains with such rapidity, increased by the great rains and snows, that they cannot be crossed without danger; and some of them retain such a fierce current, that there is no building of any bridges over them. There are others, that, in their fall from the mountains, make such a prodigious noise against the rocks, as to be heard at four or five leagues distance; some of them form delightful cascades in their fall, and others dreadful and loud cataracts. The three most celebrated rivers of this empire are the *Ujingava*, *Oomi*, and *Askagava*. The first of these is so called from *Ujin*, where it hath its spring; and so rapid in its course, that no bridge can be built over it; and, tho' near a mile in breadth, where it runs lowest, and reaches hardly up to the knee, it requires five lusty men, who are well acquainted with its bed, to make a horse-ford across it; and the laws oblige those guides to be answerable for man or beast that perish under their charge, either over this or any other river of the like dangerous nature, of which there are not a few. The *Oomi*, so called from the province where it has its source, is said to have sprung in one night, some centuries before the Christian æra. The *Askagava* is remarkable for its depth, and the continual change which that is liable to, which makes it both dangerous in crossing, and affords their poets and orators elegant allusions^g.

AMONG other lakes, that called *Oitz*, *Oomi*, or *Omi*, from the province where it lies, is the most remarkable. It extends itself near 100 miles in length, and 20 in breadth, and is formed by the concurrence of a good number of rivers; and hath an outlet on the south-west side into the sea by the river *Oomi* above-mentioned; which, running by the city of *Meaco*, after a winding course of about twenty or thirty miles, falls into the sea, near the town of *Osaca*, where it forms a considerable bay. Some of their lakes, we are told^h, have been caused by earthquakes, to which this country is subject. Such was that in the kingdom of *Mino*, where was a very high mountain, and on that a strong fortress, both which, after having felt a great number of shocks, were swallowed up, and a lake appeared where the mountain stood. The same happened in other provinces, where some of those lakes retained such an intolerable sulphureous stench, that travellers were obliged to go a good way about to avoid it. We shall find a more proper place to speak of those earthquakes, and other natural wonders; and only observe with regard to their rivers and lakes, that they abound with great variety of fish;

^f See CARON Descript. Japan. & HAGENER not. in eundem. VAREN. Descript. Japon. cap. 2. & al. ^g Ibid. ^h Ibid. K. ⁱ Ibid. ubi sup. p. 103. & al. ^j P. PROES Relat. apud P. Hay de reb. Japonic.

(C) This account we not only have from *Kempfer* above quoted, but from two authors who lived a great many years among them, one of them especially, who had as it were been brought up from a boy there (5); the other, who hath wrote notes upon him (6), and sums up this article to this effect. That no country in

all *India* enjoys a more healthy and temperate air, or greater fertility, nor exceeds it in the production of its fine silver; he might have added gold, copper, steel, and other commodities, of which we shall have further occasion to speak.

(5) *Caron Descript. Japon.*

(6) *Hagener not. in eundem.*

water and fructify a vast quantity of low grounds, as their higher springs do their hills and valleys, which are all covered with verdant trees of all sorts, too many to be mentioned, especially as they are the same we have seen in *China*, and for the most part in as great perfection. Only the cedars here exceed all of that kind through *India*, for straightness, height, and beauty, and are in great plenty in most of the islands, especially in the three largest.

Cattle, and
some fleet
horses.

Elephants,
and other
exotic beasts.

Pearls, corals,
and shells.

WE have already hinted something of their great quantities of cattle, and domestic animals, among which we may reckon their horses in the first rank, of which they breed the greatest number; and which, though not near so large as ours, are yet for the most part very beautiful, exceedingly fleet, and highly valued. Their vast forests swarm with all sorts of wild beasts, of the furs of which they make a considerable traffick, as well as of elephants teeth; which noble creature is not only to be found in great plenty in their woods, but is likewise bred up tame in their towns and cities. Their seas, besides fish, furnish them with great quantities of ambergris, which they call whales dung, red and white coral, and some pearls of a beautiful orient and great value, besides great variety of sea-plants and shells, which last are not inferior to those that are brought from *Amboyna*, the *Molucca*, and other eastern islands; but the *Japanese* set so little value upon them, that they hardly think those worth bringing away which they acquire by chance, unless it be to carry them to the next temple of *Iebis*, which is the *Neptune* of the *Japanese*.

Metals and
minerals.

Sulphur.

Mines of gold
claimed by the
emperors.

Great plenty
of gold.

BUT the greatest riches of this empire, and in which it exceeds most others in the east, consist in the great quantity, variety, and fineness, of their metals and minerals. Their many volcanoes, and numberless hot springs, sufficiently shew what prodigious quantities of sulphur lie hidden in the bowels of the earth, which is as it were the parent and nurse of those metals and minerals; to say nothing of the immense loads of it which are almost every-where dug up for use and exportation (D). The mines of gold, as well as golden sand, are to be found in many of their provinces, particularly in the great island of *Nippon*; but the emperor lays an absolute claim on them, and the same he doth indeed on those of other metals, none of which can be opened without his permission. Of those of gold and silver that are opened, he reserves two thirds for himself, and the rest he allows to the lord or prince in whose territory they are; but, as these are commonly upon the spot, they seldom content themselves with so short an allowance, and make the most of them they can with safety. The richest mine of gold heretofore was that of *Sado*, a small island on the northern coast of the great one of *Nippon*, whose ore produced the greatest quantity of the finest gold; but the veins of it have been since much exhausted, and our author was assured, that this, among others, was one of the reasons which caused the emperor to forbid the export of it by the *Dutch* and *Chinese* under such severe penalties¹. This island yielded likewise a good deal of golden sand, which the lord of it concealed from that monarch. The provinces of *Suruga* on the southern coast of *Nippon*, and *Saxuma* on the south coast of the isle of *Ximo*, are the next in rank for the fineness and quantity they yield of that precious metal, but especially the latter, which the emperor hath since forbidden to be wrought, lest so valuable a treasure should be exhausted. We read of several others equally rich, which, lying under water, have been likewise set aside; for it seems they have neither the art nor the courage of draining it, or letting it out by adits, as we do here in our mines (E). However, they have that metal in such plenty, that *M. Paulo* the *Venetian* was told

by

¹ KÆMPFER, ubi sup. cap. viii.

(D) Though most of their mountains abound with that useful commodity, yet the greatest quantity is dug out of a small island on the coasts of the province of *Salzuma*, called from thence *Iavogazima*, or isle of sulphur. This island was, till about a century and half ago, looked upon as inaccessible, on account of the vast quantity of thick smoke that continually issued out of it, in which the superstitious people imagined they saw legions of devils flying to and fro.

At length a man of more sense and courage than the rest ventured to land in it with about forty lusty bold fellows, who, instead of a country inhabited by demons, found a spacious plain, so covered with sulphur, that, where-ever they trod, they saw a sulphureous smoke come out from under their feet. Since that time, such prodigious quantities are brought away from thence, that the prince of *Salzuma* receives a considerable income from it, as well as from the fine trees that grow round the coasts of that island (7).

(E) We are told, that they undertook to pierce an adit at one or two of these, but that there arose such a vio-

lent tempest, attended with thunder and lightning, that the workmen were frighted from pursuing it; which plainly shews they are unacquainted with the right method of doing it; and their native superstition makes them attribute those accidents to the displeasure of the tutelary demon of those mines.

We read likewise of another rich mine, which had lain under a very high rock in the gulph of *Oki*, on the north coast of *Nippon*, which seemed to lean on one side; and, being fallen into the sea, great quantities of that fine metal were gathered by the people, with the assistance of divers, who fetched it up; but, a few years after, a violent storm brought such a high sea upon the place, as covered that spot with dirt and mud some fathoms high; since which the poor people still take the pains of lifting the sand and dirt about the mountain, and just get enough of it to live by it (8). The *Japanese* mention many other such rich mines in other parts of that empire, which would yield great quantities of that metal, if they were permitted to be wrought; as well as of others, the working of which hath been pre-

(7) Kæmpfer, ubi sup. Caron, & al. sup. citat. Vide & Varren. Hist. Japon. c. 2. p. 103, & seq.

(8) Kæmpfer, ubi supra,

- a by the *Chinese*, that the emperor's palaces were covered with it; which is not only confirmed by *Caron* and others, but they add, that some of their temples and noblemens palaces are so too.

SILVER mines are not in such great number; but some of them, especially those of *Katami*, *Silver mines*. in the north part of *Nippon*, are very rich, as well as one in the province of *Bingo*, in the island of *Ximo*. But the most plentiful of all metals is their copper, of which they have *Copper*. great variety, some of it exquisitely fine and malleable, and fit for any sort of work, and other very coarse and cheap. Some sort of it is so rich, that the refiners extract a considerable quantity of gold out of it. All that is designed for exportation is sent to be refined at *Saccai*, *How wrought, and exported*. one of the five imperial cities, where it is cast into small cylinders about eleven or twelve inches

- b long, and one inch thick; and these they put into boxes which hold 125 lb. weight, and are sold to the *Dutch*, who make a considerable traffick of it. Brass is there very scarce in pro- *Brass, why* portion, because they have no calamy but what is brought from *Tong-king* in flat cakes, and *scarce*. sold at a dear rate. Some tin they have, in the isle of *Ximo*, so very fine and white, that it looks almost like silver, and sells very dear, though the *Japanners* seldom make any use of it themselves. Iron mines are hardly to be met with any-where but in the three provinces of *Iron mines*. *Mimasaka*, *Bisfen*, and *Bitfu*, which lie contiguous to one another, and one in that of *Vacusa*, all which yield great quantities of that metal, which is refined, and cast, upon the spot, into round bars about two spans long. These are bought up by the *Chinese* merchants, and at almost *Iron bought up by the Chinese*. as dear a price as copper; and those iron tools or instruments that are fabricated there, even *Iron bought up by the Chinese*. dearer than those of copper (F). But their greatest art in the metallic way is in the tempering *Fine temper'd steel*. of their steel, of which they make the finest and keenest scymetars, cutlasses, and other sharp *scymetars, &c.* tools, which carry an edge beyond those of any other nation in the world; but most of these, especially weapons, are forbidden to be exported, under the severest penalties: yet some of their merchants have ventured to do it; and we are told, that some of their scymetars will cut through an iron bar at one blow, without breaking or blunting^k.

- THERE are several useful minerals which have not yet been discovered to grow in any of their islands, and which they are obliged to have from *China* and other parts; such as anti- *Several minerals wanted*. mony, quicksilver, sal armoniac, borax, calamy, cinnabar, and others. Mercury sublimate they likewise buy from abroad, at an excessive price, which is chiefly used by them as one of the main ingredients of a mercurial liquor, much in vogue for curing ulcers, cankers, and all cuticular diseases. The sea furnishes them with plenty of salt, in the making of which they use no other art than inclosing sundry pieces of ground, which they fill with clean fine sand, on *Salt, how made*. which they throw the sea-water, and let it dry. They repeat the throwing of the water several times, till the sand be well impregnated with it. They then remove it into a large vat with holes at the bottom for the salt water, which filters through the sand, to empty itself; after which they boil it into a consistence, as they do in other countries.

- WE hinted before, that the vast quantity of sulphur, with which most of the *Japan* islands *Japan subject to earthquakes*. abound, makes them subject to frequent and dreadful earthquakes. The inhabitants are so hardened to them, that they are scarcely alarmed at any, unless they chance to be very terrible indeed, and overturn whole towns under their own ruins, which very often proves the case. The reader may judge of them by an instance or two which we shall subjoin in the margin (G),

as

^k Vide VAREN. & auct. ab eo citat. cap. 19.

vented by extraordinary accidents, supposed by them to have happened from demons who are set to guard them.

(F) It is observable, that most of those instruments which are made of iron, either for land or sea, in other countries, are made of copper in *Japan*, excepting those which they use for the dressing of their victuals, which are made of very thin, but durable iron, of a fabrication peculiar to them.

(G) Father *Lewis Froes*, who was in *Japan* Anno 1586, mentions one of those earthquakes, which he says began with terrible shocks, which continued forty days, and spread themselves from the small city of *Saccai*, where it began, and overturned about threescore houses, to the great metropolis of *Meaco*, where it made a much greater havock, and, among other edifices, destroyed one of their famous pagods, or idol temples. The little city of *Naga-suma*, in the province of *Oomi*, which lies between the two cities above-mentioned, and consisted of about 1000 houses, was partly swallowed up, and the rest reduced to ashes by the subterranean fires which came out of the earth. The city of *Naga-suma*,

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a place much frequented by merchants, felt likewise some terrible shocks for several days; after which a vehement storm arose, which swelled the sea to such a height, that the billows of it came pouring upon the city, overthrew all the houses, and washed them away, with all their inhabitants, into the sea; and hardly left any other footsteps of so fair and rich a city having stood there, except the spot on which the cattle stood, and which was laid under water. In many other places it swallowed up mountains and towns, and, in their stead, left some horrid chasms, or pools full of sulphureous matter and stench, and some of them above a gunshot wide; all which dreadful disasters were caused by that one earthquake, according to our author's report, whose letter, dated from *Simenosek*, October 15, 1586, was afterwards published in the collection of *P. Hay, de Rebus Japonicis*.

No less dreadful was that which happened at *Yedo*, the other metropolis of the empire, no longer since than 1703; which was attended with such a vehement conflagration, that it almost consumed that large and noble city, together with the imperial palace, and destroyed

C

above

Storms and
thunders.

Superstitious
notions about
th m.

Places supposed
free from them.

Religion.

Deities.

Various sects.

Deities of the
sun, moon, &c.

as we find them related by witnesses who were then upon the spot. Some of these earthquakes ^a are followed with such violent eruptions of fire, and of combustible materials all in flames, as burn and destroy whole towns, and every thing that comes in their way. Storms of thunder and lightning, and dreadful hurricanes, are also very frequent and destructive, so that not only houses, palaces, temples, and other edifices, but whole towns, have been burnt to ashes by the one, or overturned and ruined by the other. In all such dreadful disasters, as well as in times of pestilence, famine, drought, &c. the superstitious *Japanese* have recourse to their bonzas or priests, who, instead of endeavouring to account for them in a natural way, commonly ascribe them to the displeasure of some of their peculiar deities, or to some malevolent demons sent on purpose to punish them; but the most received opinion is, that the devil, or, as they style him, the evil deity, is the author of those calamities. In either case, recourse must be had to ^b extraordinary sacrifices, and acts of worship, according to the different notions of each sect, until they have either appeased the former, or glutted the jaws of the latter; and, in some of those very dreadful ones we have mentioned above, they even proceed to offer human victims, when the others will not answer the end; but, in this case, they only take some of the vilest and most abandoned fellows they can meet with, because they are only sacrificed to the malevolent deities. Their superstition goes so far, even after those calamities are ceased, as to make those who have suffered by them to discard their tutelary gods, and adopt those of the countries that have escaped them, as being either more powerful or more benevolent than their old ^c ones. They have a notion likewise, that there are sundry happy spots, which, either through some intrinsic sanctity, or other virtue, are free from earthquakes, and other such disasters; such as are, for instance, the little islands of *Gotbo* and *Sicubusima*, the latter of which hath a very magnificent temple, and a large rich monastery of bonzas, and both edifices are looked upon as some of the first that ever were reared in that country. There is also another stately temple and convent on a high hill near the city of *Meaco*; and some others are here and there dispersed, which are supposed to enjoy the same exemption, and are of course well stocked with the monkish tribe, as well as much resorted to by the superstitious laity ^d.

THE religion of the *Japanese* is allowed by all writers to have been downright heathenism and idolatry, from time immemorial. They do not seem to have so much as a tolerable, if any, notion of a Supreme Being; but believe the world to have existed from eternity, and that the gods they worship were men, or beings that lived on earth several thousands of years, ^e and were afterwards, for their piety, mortifications, and even by their voluntary deaths, raised to that height of power and dignity they have ever since enjoyed. It is true, that, if we compare the accounts of their religion given us by the Christian missionaries, with those of the *Dutch* authors, one would be apt to imagine that the former have set it in the most disadvantageous light, and blended it with many horrid superstitions, which the others mention nothing of ^f, merely perhaps to raise the merit of their great conversions. But if we consider, that those fathers chose to make their chief abode in the inland cities, and had free access to the greatest men for learning and wisdom, and conversed mostly with them about religion; whereas the *Dutch* authors chiefly confined themselves to the maritime towns, and minded little else but the promoting of their commerce; it will not be thought a wonder that the former have ^e been able to give us a more exact and full account of the *Japanese* superstitions than the latter. However, to avoid expatiating beyond our limits, we shall confine ourselves to such heads only in which they both agree.

THEY are divided into various sects, probably according to the various nations that first settled in those islands; for we shall give, in a proper place, some pregnant arguments against their having been colonized by the *Chinese* alone. The three principal ones are; that of *Xinto*, or the most ancient of all, and consists in the worship only of their own ancient deities and idols; 2. That of *Siutto*, which is that of their philosophers and moralists, and is rather a kind of deism, or rather atheism, like that of some of the *Chinese* literati [†], whose professors despise in their hearts all notions of public worship, and popular superstition; 3. That called ^f *Budzo*, which hath introduced a number of deities and idols brought thither from *China*, *Siam*, and other parts of *India*, particularly the worship of *Fo*. These are again subdivided into many others, who have their particular deities, among whom they join the sun, moon, pla-

¹ CARON, KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.
VER. Epistol. & al. cum CARON, HAGEN, VAREN. lib. iii. c. i. KÆMPFER. &c.
p. 564. VAREN. ubi sup.

^m Conf. MAPPEI Histor. Indic. epist. selest. XA-
[†] See before, vol. iii.

above two hundred thousand persons, who either perished by the flames, or were buried under the ruins. The relations of that country are full of these kinds of disasters (9); and yet, till they come to such a height

as to overturn and swallow up, the inhabitants hardly shew the least fear or concern; but, in a jocular manner, cry out, that a large whale, which crawls and moves itself under ground, occasions those dreadful shocks.

(9) Caron, Kæmpfer, ubi sup. p. 108. Varen. & al. sup. cit.

a nets or stars, with whom the bonzas pretend to have a familiar converse, and to be instructed by them about every material thing relating to futurity ; for the *Japanese*, knowing little or nothing of astronomy, ascribe most of the things that happen in the world, not so much to their influence, as the *Chinese* do, as to their supernatural power and direction ; and some of them pay likewise a worship to the devil, or evil deity : notwithstanding which variety, every person is free to chuse which pleases him best, no compulsion being used either by the government or by the parents, but often the same family shall have the husband of one sect, the wives of another, and the children of a third or fourth ; which often occasions such disputes and quarrels, as might endanger the œconomy of the family, if the husbands did not exert their despotic power, to preserve peace among them^a.

b THE two chief antient deities belonging to the first, or *Xinto* sect, are called *Amida* and *Xaca*, *Chief deities*. or, as the *Indians* call him, *Shaka* ; and these are held in such high veneration, that most sects pay a veneration to them among their other deities, they looking upon them as the chief dispensers not only of long life, and all other earthly happiness, but likewise of all the rewards and punishments in the next life : for most sects believe a future state of bliss or misery ; and, tho' they are not agreed about the nature and duration of it, yet they believe that both will be exquisite in their kinds, and last a great number of ages ; but the generality of them think that it will consist in a transmigration of the soul from one body to another, more or less excellent and happy, according to their behaviour in their last state, and that this revolution will continue, as well as the world, to eternal ages. Their bonzas, however, represent the punishments of the wicked in the most dreadful colours, both in their sermons, and paintings on the front of their temples, and against the walls on the inside, in order to inspire the people with a dread of them, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

c WHAT fabulous account they give of those two deities, may be seen in the margin (H) ; but there is another no less celebrated one among them, which, if what they relate of him were true, would rather shew him to be such another devil incarnate as the *Indian Fo*, brought into *Cbina* *, if it be not really the same, and only naturalized here under the *Japanese* name of *Cambadoxi* or *Combedaxi* ; for they give him but a modern date, in comparison of the other

^a VAREN. ubi supra, & auct. ab eo citat. vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 561, & seq.

† De hoc, vide supra, vol. iii. p. 496, & seq.

* De hoc,

(H) *Amida* is said by them to have flourished many thousands of years ago, and to have lived one or two thousand years ; and, after a vast variety of mortifications and austerities, which he voluntarily inflicted upon himself, an infinite number of sermons he preached to the people, and miracles which he wrought, being at length tired with this life, he passed by a voluntary death into the next, where he was raised to the dignity of a god ; but by whom, they do not pretend to say. Much the same they relate of *Xaca*, who flourished, according to them, about 8000 years ago, and, after a life of 2 or 3000 years, during which he likewise underwent the severest penances, and wrote a prodigious number of books, which are still preserved in one of his great temples, buried himself in a deep cave, the mouth of which he caused to be shut up.

The miracles which they are affirmed to have wrought, both during their lives and since, are too numerous and extravagant to deserve any farther mention, but, from their example, the *Japanese* have the notion of its being such a very meritorious thing to dispatch themselves out of this world, that great numbers of them, either thro' discontent, ambition, or other motives, embrace, in the most public manner, a voluntary death ; and if they have but made some signal preparative beforehand, by the like severe penances, by preaching to the people, giving of alms, and the like, they are not only supposed to enter into immediate bliss, but are listed in the number of their saints, and are prayed to as such ; and the very instruments of their death are preserved as relics. Those who give the preference to *Xaca*, commonly drown themselves either in the sea, or some river or lake, with great ceremony ; their friends and acquaintance accompanying them to the place, where they take care to tie a large stone about their necks, fill their sleeves and other parts of their cloathing with pebbles, or other heavy luggage ; and, after a solemn and sorrowful farewell, fling them-

selves into the water. Those who are the worshippers of *Amida*, instead of drowning, starve themselves in some close confined place, where they have just room to sit ; and, being immured on every side, have only a little hole left to breathe thro', by means of a small cane, and never cease calling on that deity till they expire (10). But this doth not hinder others from taking different ways of dying, some by hanging, others by flinging themselves down from a precipice, by poison, daggers, or any other quick riddance ; but these are neither looked upon as regular, nor so meritorious, but rather as the effects of despair.

They use the names of *Amida* and *Xaca* by way of asseveration, and in their commerce : the very poor beg for charity for their sakes, and both priests and laity carry about them a sort of beads, like those of a neighbouring church, over which they repeat some short prayer to them, and drop one of the beads every time, till they have gone thro' the whole chaplet. The same thing is done by those of other sects, only exchanging their names for those of their own deities ; but still *Amida* and *Xaca*, especially the former, are looked upon as the most bounteous and liberal to their votaries, not only in this life, but much more in the next, where those who are found most in their favour shall fare more sumptuously and elegantly in that state of bliss (12) : and, for that reason, the bonzaic tribe of preachers, which are very numerous and loud, not only in their temples, but in the streets and places of resort, are ever reminding the people of the extraordinary happiness which their worshippers shall be intitled to both here and hereafter (13).

Cano, the son of *Amida*, is likewise held in great veneration ; and hath a stately temple erected to him near the city of *Meaco*, in which are 1000 images or statues of him regularly disposed, 500 on each side, and beautifully carved (14).

(10) Caron, Kœmpfer, Varen. Xaver. Villula Epist. & Froes, & al. f. 7. Froes, & al.

(13) Id. ibid. vid. & Varen. lib. iii. c. 2.

(12) Vid. Xaver. ubi sup. p. 251, &

(14) Froes, Xaver. & al.

two. They make him to have been a bonza of the city of *Saccai*, and to have flourished ^a above 900 years ago : they relate a great many atrocious crimes to have been committed by him ; tell us, that he had the power of bringing down the stars from heaven, of foretelling future events, and other things of that nature. They attribute to him the invention of the writing or characters now used in *Japan*, and many other extraordinary feats, for which he ^b had a vast number of temples erected to him by his own commands ; but, being grown very old, and weary of life, he caused a tomb to be dug out for him, into which he shut himself up alive, pretending that he designed to continue there several myriads of years, that is, till there arose an extraordinary *Japanese* doctor in that country, at which time he would come out of his cave, and appear again to them. They believe him to be still alive ; and many, especially of the monkish tribe, pretend that he appears to them. They invoke his aid in all emergencies ; and pay him an extraordinary worship, especially on the anniversary day in which he shut himself up ; at which time there is a great concourse of people from other nations, that flock thither to see the solemnity. There is a vast number of monasteries of both sexes dedicated to him every-where ; and the temple which is erected over his vault, or tomb, is illuminated with a prodigious number of lamps, which are continually burning, and were sent thither from various provinces of the empire, it being thought one of the most meritorious things they can do to adorn that place with every thing that is rich and costly *. They have a great many more of such heroes, who have all their temples, monasteries, priests, and priestesses, and votaries, of which it were endless to speak. We shall only add two or three more of still recenter date who were of the monkish order, and, for their great learning and sanctity, have been since held in the same high veneration ; viz. *Icko*, the author of a sect of his name, who seem to place all their confidence, as to present or future bliss, on the sole favour of the god *Amida*, without troubling themselves about any of the rest ; *Nequiron*, another monk of great virtue and sanctity ; and *Daimaog*, who, they say, had been formerly a page to one of the *Japanese* emperors. These have likewise their temples, idols, and votaries. Those who would know more of the *Japanese* superstition, may have recourse to the authors above quoted ; to which we shall only add, that all those sects, though so much divided in other respects, and having each a great number of laws and rules peculiar to each, yet agree in the five following negative ones, as absolutely binding ; viz. 1. Not to kill, and not to eat any thing that is killed (I) ; 2. Not to steal ; 3. Not to defile another man's bed ; 4. Not to lye ; 5. Not to drink wine. To conclude this article of their religion, there seems to run a general notion among them, that there are very dreadful punishments reserved in the next life for the wicked ; and that the great austerities said to have been exercised by *Amida*, and other gods they pray to, were by them undergone, in order to deliver their votaries from them, by virtue of those voluntary sufferings. Hence the whole monkish tribe pretend, by imitating their example, and macerating of their bodies, not only to a much greater share in their favour and intercession, but likewise to some intrinsic merit of their own, by virtue of their supererogatory prayers and mortifications, both which they can retail to the laity, who, placing their chief confidence in them for a deliverance from those future torments, gratify them with their charity, in proportion to their apprehension of them from the dreadful description which they frequently give of them in their sermons, and the frightful representations in which they paint them, both within and without their temples, where they are painted in the most terrible colours and attitudes, and accompanied with multitudes of devils in the most horrid shapes, and all employed in inflicting the most excruciating torments on the unhappy souls that are consigned over to them (K). It is almost incredible what effect these representations make on the

* VAREN. & auct. ab eo citat.

(I) This is to be understood only of the priests and priestesses of those sects, or, to speak more properly, to the monks and nuns of each of those orders, but doth not bind the laity. Caron reckons twelve of these sects or orders, eleven of which abstain not only from killing, or from eating any thing that hath had life, but likewise from all commerce with the other sex ; but the twelfth, which is said to have *Icko* for its founder, and is in great authority there, allows the priests to marry, and to eat of the flesh of all living creatures, whether of land or sea (15).

Upon the whole, these orders of both sexes, like those of the church of *Rome*, are some more strict and austere than others ; and the more so they are, the more they are respected by the laity, who place a great confidence in their prayers and mortifications. We are even

told, that the emperor will rise up to salute them, and suffers them to sit in his presence ; but, if we may believe the character which the missionaries give of them, the most austere, and those who preach and affect the greatest contempt of the world, are but cheats and hypocrites, and live in a manner quite opposite to their specious pretences ; which is far enough from being improbable, and we need not send our readers so far as *Japan* for instances of such a contrariety.

(K) Hence a question hath been started, whether these frightful representations, which were only designed to deter people from vice, and to make them have recourse to the priests for a deliverance from those punishments, have not given rise to the notion of the *Japanese* worshipping of those infernal spirits, not only under those horrid shapes, but under that of several sorts of

a the people of all ranks, how much their morals are secured, and their vices restrained, by them, as we shall have further occasion to shew, when we come to speak of the character of that nation; but more especially how much they contribute to inspire both high and low with generosity, or even profuseness, in building, endowing, and adorning, of temples and monasteries to their several deities, as the most effectual means of securing their favour, and a happy lot in the next life.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, that there is not a country in all the east that abounds more with those stately edifices than this. Not only cities and towns, but plains and mountains, and even deserts, swarm with them; and some of those that are most remote and solitary, are the most splendid, rich, and resorted to by the people, as well as stored with monks of different orders, according to the deities they dedicate themselves to. These, like those of the Roman church, are either regular or secular. The former live in communities under their respective superiors, and lead more or less reclusive and austere lives, according to their sects; and some of those monasteries contain 1000, or even more of them; who, besides a perpetual celibacy, and other mortifications, are all bound to observe the five laws lately mentioned. The secular ones live in private houses of their own, allow themselves one or two wives, and live on the income and offerings made to their respective temples and deities, are at their own liberty as to practice of abstinence, and other severities; and the generality of them, at the best, lead their lives in plenty, or even luxury, as well as idleness; and some of them are even accused of indulging themselves in filthy and unnatural vices; for which reason, the regular sort are most respected by the laity of all ranks. Both secular and regular are under the government of the dairo, or high-priest, who, as we shall shew in its proper place, is the head of all the religions and sects in the empire, though more particularly of those of *Amida* and *Xaca*, these he protects and governs, and appoints heads and superintendants over all the secular priests which attend on the service of those two deities. The regular he suffers to chuse their own governors or superiors; and the rest of the sects he only tolerates, but on condition that they shall speak and behave with due veneration to the two grand deities, and avoid all quarrels and disputes with their votaries, as well as with those of different sects. And hence it is, that, though they all profess the greatest zeal and warmth for their favourite deities and opinions, yet they not only live peaceably, but converse freely and amicably, with each other^p.

d AFTER what we have hinted above of the prodigious multitude and variety of their temples and monasteries, our readers will easily excuse us from entering into a detail or description of them, in a work of this nature, much less have we room to speak of the infinite number of idols that adorn them. The kingdom of *Meaco* is said to have sixty stately ones of the former, and above 4000 of the latter, most of them finely gilt. We lately mentioned that of *Amida*'s son, which had no less than 1000 of them, all representing him in some different way. There is still a much more extraordinary one near the same capital, and which may be looked upon as the *Japanese* Pantheon, it having no fewer than 33,333 of those idols within its walls†. However, it will not be amiss to gratify them with a specimen or two of the most remarkable of each kind; by which they may guess at the surprising munificence of that nation, in this respect.

e THE most stately structure of the first kind we read of, is in the city of *Meaco*, and is affirmed to be as long as the body of *St. Paul*'s before it was burnt, and all built of free-stone. Its roof is arched, and lofty in proportion, and supported by noble pillars, answerable to its length and height. It is situated on a high hill; and on each side of the ascent are fifty pillars of free-stone, at the distance of ten paces from each other, and on each of them a large lantern, which give a noble air to the avenue, especially in the night, when the lamps are lighted.

^p KÆMPFER, CARON, HAGENER, VAREN. & al. ubi supra.

† Ibidem, ubi supra.

animals. Some authors pretend, indeed, that the devil appears to them in those shapes, and forces them, by obessions, and other plagues, to promise him to rear up idols and temples to him, which if omitted, he returns, and plagues them ten times worse, till they do (16). But, had that been the case, *Xacarias*, and others of his fraternity, would not have failed saying something of it, as well as some of our *Dutch* authors. Besides, we do not read that their bonzas enforce any such worship in their sermons, but only to trust to their gods above-mentioned for all sorts of help. However, tho' these may perhaps have no concern in that sort of worship, yet, as we find that several of their sects acknowledge an

evil deity, and all of them look upon those devils to be the instruments of his anger, it is more than probable, that in all public calamities, they, if not all, yet some of them, may try to appease it by such sacrifices as we have elsewhere spoken of, which is no more than is commonly done in most parts of *India*; but that any such regular worship is paid to him out of fear, and under those frightful representations, or even monstrous idols, mentioned by *Froes*, as they do under more benign agreeable ones to their other deities, for their favour and blessing, is what we do not dare to affirm, nor indeed can believe (17).

(16) *De his, see Villula, p. 47. Froes, p. 203.*

(17) See *Varen ubi supra, Kæmpfer's Lett. on Curon*

Of Nara.

THAT of the city of *Nara*, a day's journey from *Meaco*, together with the monastery adjoining to it, is still more magnificent, not only for its largeness, elegance of its structure, and richness of its materials, but also for its noble avenues. We shall content ourselves with giving a sketch of it in the margin (L), for want of room, and, for the same reason, omit several others, equally grand, that we may say something of their extraordinary idols; amongst which, that of the temple of *Meaco*, above-mentioned, is justly reckoned the most considerable and stupendous, it reaching up quite to the roof of the building, and is all of copper gilt; and, according to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the chair on which the god sits is seventy feet high, and eighty in breadth; the head big enough to contain fifteen men, and the thumb forty inches round, and the rest proportionable to it. This colossus may be reckoned the chief deity and idol of that country, to which few others bear any proportion. Besides those which they have in their temples, there are a vast number of others set up in their other public buildings, in their piazzas and markets, streets, and even public roads. There is one in particular on that between *Surungo* and the imperial city of *Jeddo*, of the god *Dabis*, which is likewise of copper, and cast in a sitting posture, with its hands extended, and is twenty-two feet high, besides its basis. Their temples are not only famed for their magnificence, but some likewise for several miraculous powers attributed to their chief idol, or god; of which the bonzas having the sole management, the whole is carried on with so much dexterity, that the cheat is never discovered, but the people are confirmed in their superstition by those jugglers. That in particular of *Tencheda* is celebrated for a miraculous appearance of its deity, in a human shape, to a young virgin, whom they bring into it every new moon, and place before the idol. The place, at such times, is illuminated with golden lamps, burning with the sweetest perfumes; but, all on the sudden, those lamps are miraculously, it is pretended, put out; upon which the virgin finds herself closely embraced by something in human form, which holds her for some time, and commonly leaves her in a kind of extasy. It sometimes happens, that she is impregnated, but whether by the pretended deity, or by some of the priests, we leave our readers to guess. How the miraculous offspring is disposed of in that case, we are not told; but as to the damsel, she is generally accompanied out of the temple with songs and music, and is, from that time, highly honoured, and supposed to be inspired with such a prophetic spirit, as to be able to answer the hardest questions that are proposed to her^a.

Colossian idol described.

Idols set up every-where.

A strange apparition of one of their gods.

Festivals.

THEY have as great a variety of festivals as they have of sects and deities, which it would therefore be endless to describe. They consist, in general, in the anniversary of their gods, and of their dead relations. The latter we shall give an account of, when we come to speak of their funerals. The former is performed with the greatest pomp and grandeur; all that belong to each respective sect, nobles, gentry, tradesmen, with the bonzas at the head of them, appear in the finest and richest dresses, at their places of rendezvous, from which they

^a SARIS, HERBERT, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.

(L) This fabric is called the temple of *Cobucu*, hath three stately courts before it, adorned with cloisters and columnades all around, and rising one above the other by three magnificent flights of steps. At the entrance from the first to the second court, are seen two figures of a gigantic size, curiously wrought, and with clubs in their hands, as if to guard the avenue. Before the last court appears the front of the noble temple; the ascent to which is by another stately flight of steps of stone, neatly wrought, the gates of which are guarded by two lions of a monstrous size, and finely carved. In the centre of the temple are the three idols of *Xaca*, and his three sons, one on each side, and all in a sitting posture, and seven cubits high above the pedestal. The pavement is of fine square stone; and the columns which support the roof, being seventy in number, are of cedar, of a prodigious height and diameter, and affirmed, in the records of the monastery, to have cost about 5000 ducats each. They are beautifully carved, and painted with vermillion, as well as the walls, and all the inside of the structure. The roof is no less bold and lofty, and the painting and workmanship answerable to it; and the covering projects about eight or nine feet beyond the outside wall.

The monastery, which adjoins to it, is no less costly and beautiful. The hall, or refectory, is of a considerable length and breadth, and lofty in proportion. Their cells amount to 780, besides a number of other

lodgings and buildings belonging to the bonzas; amongst which is a noble library, standing at a good distance from the ground, and supported by twenty-four large columns, of about three feet and a half in circumference. The library is so well stored with books, that our author, who took a full view of all the whole fabric, tells us, that they darkened the light that came in at the windows. The baths belonging to the monks, and other offices, were neatly built; and the kitchen belonging to them kept extremely sweet and clean, by means of a river which runs just by it. The caldron in which they heat their water (for they never drink any cold, summer or winter) was of a considerable depth and compass, made of the finest copper, and kept very neat and bright. Every gallery and apartment in the convent had lanthorns commodiously placed, and all other conveniences, in the nicest order. We omit their gardens, walks, and other curiosities, belonging to this delightful place, and shall close the whole with a beautiful square pond standing before it, stored with variety of the best fish, though no one be suffered to meddle with or catch them, under very severe penalties. This noble structure, temple, and all, had stood 600 years, when our author went to view it (18). He hath given an account of many others, which we have not room to mention; but refer our readers to him, and the other authors often quoted, for a fuller account.

(18) *Almeida Epist. Indic.* p. 178. *Varen. ubi supra.*

- a march, or cavalcade it, to the temples, with vocal and instrumental music. The statues and insignia of their gods are carried with great pomp. Some have stately pageants carried upon twenty or thirty stout mens shoulders, on which are exhibited various representations of their gods, and their exploits, either by some machinery, or by actors in suitable dresses. The ceremonies performed in their temples are likewise various, but consist chiefly in songs and music in praise of their deities, in burning odoriferous gums and woods before their idols, and conclude with a panegyric or sermon, preached by some bonza, in honour of them. The rest of the day is spent in feasting, dancing, racing, tournaments, illuminations, and other rejoicings; and, on such days, there is no such thing allowed as buying or selling; but, in cases of necessity, they will freely give the thing wanted, but refuse to take any price for it. The anniversary of *Combadoxi's* burying himself alive in his cave, is kept by the *Icoxian* sect with lugubral pomp; and as soon as the gates of his temple are opened, the procession crowds in with a kind of desperate frenzy, and numbers of men are crowded and trampled to death, and many of them wilfully throw themselves down with that intent, esteeming it a meritorious death. The sermon in his praise, which is preached in the night, is always accompanied with the most doleful outcries; insomuch that one would imagine that all his votaries there were going to be massacred^r. And thus much shall suffice for the *Japanese* feasts and religion.
- b But, before we dismiss this article, it may not be unacceptable to our readers to add a few words more concerning the first introduction, success, and final extirpation, of Christianity among them.
- c It was not long after the first discovery of this country by the *Portuguese*, that is, about the year 1552, that some Jesuits, sent thither from *Ma-kau* by *Francis Xavier*, found means to be introduced into that empire, and to recommend themselves to the quality and learned men of it, by their skill in the mathematics and other sciences, as well as by the many curious instruments of astronomy, navigation, &c. and other *European* rarities, much after the same manner as others did in *China*^s, and other parts of *India*. Their success was such, that, in a little time, not only vast multitudes of the people of all ranks were converted to Christianity, but several of their petty kings not only encouraged the propagation of it, but some of them made open profession of it (M); the emperor himself, if we may believe the accounts of those missionaries, not only permitting it, but being a great patron, if not a secret profelyte, to it; insomuch that the very bonzas, after having used their utmost efforts to suppress the spreading

Ceremonies.

A lugubral one.

Christianity introduced in Japan.

Its vast success.

^r De his, vide *FROES* Epist. p. 245 & 290. *ALMEIDA*. p. 77 & 188. & al. pass. *VILLELA*, p. 93, & seq. *VAREN.* lib. iii. cap. 4.

^s See before, vol. iii. p. 568.

(M) These, we are told by their own epistles, were the maritime princes, who were so taken with the new commerce with the *Portuguese*, that they strove who should oblige them most, in order to draw them to their own sea-ports; so that, with respect to them, there appears to have been more interest than zeal in the encouragement they gave to these missionaries.

With regard to the rest, they likewise own, that multitudes of the poorer sort were allured to Christianity, not so much by their preaching, as by their seasonable charities, and the singular care they took of their sick, lame, and indigent, who used to be despised and neglected by their own countrymen, of all sects, their bonzas representing them not as objects of pity, but as wretches under the displeasure of the gods, who neither deserve compassion in this life, nor could have any prospect of faring better in the next. With such, therefore, the Christian gospel could not chuse but meet with a sincere welcome, which assures us, that poverty and afflictions are surer tokens of God's favour, than grandeur and prosperity; and that the short-lived miseries they patiently endured in this world, would be crowned with such ample rewards in the next. They could not but prefer a religion, which inspires people with such charitable sentiments towards the miserable part of mankind, induced them to build hospitals and almshouses for their relief, and to provide them with food and physic, for their souls and bodies, to those of the bonzaic crew, which inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them, and obliged those poor miserable people to seclude themselves from mankind, and live and die wretched in woods and desarts. This made some of these missionaries complain, in their letters, that few but such became profelytes to Christianity (19).

Not but there were some of the richer sort who embraced it, in order to ingratiate themselves with the *Portuguese*, and other *Europeans*; some with a view of traffic, others with intent to learn some of their arts and sciences, or even some of their mechanical trades.

We may add, from what we have observed of the *Japanese* religion in general, that there was such a conformity between it and that which the Jesuits preached among them, as might easily be improved to advantage by the latter, towards the conversion of the former. The *Japanese* expected all their present and future happiness to come to them through the favour and merits of their *Xaca*, *Amida*, and other of their gods, and by virtue of those long and severe mortifications they had freely undergone, before they put an end to their lives, in order to be deified. The Jesuits preached to them a Divine Person, who came down from heaven, and who willingly submitted himself to an ignominious and painful death, to save those that believed in him. The former sainted those melancholy and discontented people who made away with themselves, celebrated their memories, and desired their suffrages. The latter, with much greater reason, extolled to them the hecatombs of martyrs and primitive Christians, whose heroic constancy and deaths, for the testimony of their Redeemer, intitles them to a much greater degree of honour and devotion, and to the benefiting of their votaries by their intercession. To say nothing of the statues and imagery, candles and perfumes, used in their worship, the variety of their monasteries of friers and nuns, their celibacy and recluse lives, their beads, processions, praying to and for the dead, auricular confession, and many other particulars. Against which, the *Japanese* could have no objection, because they were what they themselves practised in their own.

(19) See *Varen. ubi supra*, c. 6 & 10. & *ant. ab eo citat.*

of this new religion, so contrary to their own, as well as to their interest, were obliged to yield ^a to the current, for want of sufficient support from those in high power to oppose them; and we are even told, that several of them were become zealous professors and preachers of it. They went on with this wonderful success above sixty years, that is, till about the year 1616, during which time, all their letters from thence were still fraught with accounts of the fresh conversions they made, and the great confidence they had of seeing idolatry shortly banished out of the whole empire, their idols all demolished, their temples turned into churches, and the whole realm submitted to the pope's authority; when, on the sudden, all this promising sunshine was turned into a dismal gloom; the missionaries were suspected, and accused of the most treasonable designs, and, under pretence of converting the empire, to be plotting to dethrone the emperor, and bringing his dominions under the government of the *Spanish* monarchs. What ^b grounds there were for such a dreadful charge, do not hitherto clearly appear; neither is this a proper place to inquire into the causes of it, which will be better seen in the history we shall give of the nation in the sequel. It will be sufficient to say here, that the charge was taken for granted by the jealous emperor, and all the grandees of *Japan*, and turned their kindness into such a detestation against those missionaries, and their religion, as produced a most dreadful ^c persecution, not only against them, but against as many of their proselytes as refused to renounce it, who were all put to the most excruciating deaths. This happened in the year 1622, and following; ever since which dire epoch, Christianity hath been intirely extirpated out of the whole empire, and held in greatest abhorrence; nor is any person or people suffered to live there that is suspected to profess it, nor any stranger to come amongst them; that doth not publicly renounce it, under the severest penalties.

persecuted and
eradicated

Government.

Petty kings
subject to the
emperor.

THE government of *Japan* is, and hath been for many centuries, altogether monarchical and despotic. It was antiently divided into a great many small kingdoms, which still retain their antient names, as many of them do in *Spain*, *China*, and other parts, but they were at length swallowed up into one, unto which all the rest are become either subject or tributary; and the number of the former hath still gradually increased above that of the latter. Of these last, they reckon between fifty and sixty, who are vested with the regal title and dignity, and are, in some measure, absolute in their respective territories, but are so intirely subject to the emperor, that he can depose, or even condemn them to death, if he thinks fit. It hath been likewise a constant policy in those monarchs, to split those petty kingdoms into still smaller divisions, and to give those princes leave to war against, and encroach upon, each other's dominions, as the most effectual means to weaken their power, and secure their obedience. They likewise frequently dethrone and imprison them, and give their territories to others, and either curtail or enlarge, according to their interest or pleasure; so that those little states are designedly kept in a constant fluctuation, to prevent their revolting, and making themselves independent. As to the people, they are doubly slaves, first to their own princes, and next to the emperors, who have power of life and death over them all.

Antient dairo's
religion of
a religion;

their grand-
dears;

High titles
and honours;

prime mini-
ster;

stripped of
their civil
powers;

ANTIENTLY the emperors were likewise sovereign pontiffs, under the title of *dairo's*; at which time, their persons and dignity were held so sacred, that not only every rebellion against them, but even every contravention to their decrees, whether in civil or religious matters, were detested as crimes against the Deity itself. They were, in some measure, worshipped by all their subjects, and took upon them such state, as if they had been some kind of deities. They never set their feet upon the ground, nor suffered the sun to shine, nor any wind to blow, upon them. They never wore their cloaths above one day, and never eat twice out of the same dishes. In a word, all the furniture, vessels, &c. of their table, beds, and whatever they used, must be renewed every day. They never cut their hair or beard, nor pared their nails. They kept themselves as much as possible from being publicly seen, and were chiefly waited upon by twelve wives, whom they married with great solemnity. The titles they assumed, and by which they were addressed, came little short of blasphemy, and the manner of approaching them of idolatry; they being all alike obliged to prostrate themselves flat upon the ground, and, in that humble guise, present their petitions, answer his questions, and receive his commands. And as they lived thus in the grandest splendor, luxury, and effeminacy, they committed the chief care of the civil, and all the military, affairs to their prime minister, who was styled *cubo*, because he was always generalissimo of all the forces; which dignity was commonly bestowed on one of his younger sons, for the eldest always inherited his father's throne; and it was by one of these *cubo's* that the *dairo's* were stripped of their whole civil authority, as we shall further shew in their history, and from that time have been only at the head of all religious matters, whilst the *cubo*, or emperor, bears an absolute sway over all civil and mili-

^a XAVER & MATTEI Epist. VAREN. lib. iii. c. 5. & seq. CARON, & al. sup. citat.
CARON, HAGENER, VAREN. & al.
lib. i. c. 4.

^b KEMPFER, ^c Ibid. Vide & Epist. MATTEI, XAVER. & alior. VAREN.

- a tary affairs (N) throughout the empire. The former is still permitted to live in the same state and grandeur as his ancestors did, and the latter is still obliged to pay him a kind of homage, as if he acted only as his deputy, or viceroy : but all that is mere ceremony, and only kept up to prevent the people's rising up in arms in favour of him ; so that, in reality, the cubo is now the real *Cæsar*, or monarch, of *Japan*, and the daïro only the pope, or high-priest, of it. This homage consists in going in great solemnity, once in three, four, or, at most, in five years, to the city of *Meaco*, where the daïro resides, and there waiting on him in person, with suitable presents, and acknowledging, that he holds the imperial crown from his family (O). He is moreover obliged to marry one of his daughters, if he hath any that is marriageable ; and she is first crowned empress, and then given to him as a seal and confirmation of his imperial authority. All that needs be farther added, with respect to those two dignities, is, that the daïro's have still kept to their antient residence, at the old metropolis of *Meaco*, on the south, and the cubo's have settled theirs at the city of *Jeddo*, on the north side of the island of *Hippon*, of both which capitals we shall give a further account in its proper place. As for the name of daïro, or dayro, it is supposed, like that of *Cæsar*, to have been that of the head of the imperial family ; whereas that of *cubo*, or *cuboy*, was originally no more than the title of the prime minister, generalissimo, or grand vizir. This post hath been suppressed ever since, though the title is still retained by those secular monarchs, as we may style them, though, in fact, now it means no less than a despotic prince, or emperor, in the same manner as the title of *imperator*, which, among the *Romans*, originally meant no more than a commander, or general, came, after *Julius Cæsar*'s time, to signify the supreme head of the empire.

- SINCE the suppression of the office of prime minister, the administration of the government hath been committed to four of the principal of the nobility, of the emperor's choosing ; besides which, he hath a council of twenty-eight nobles, four of whom are tributary princes, and assist in a kind of rotation, of which he is the director ; and this is another method by which he keeps them steady in their obedience. But, besides this, the imperial courts observe some other maxims, equally effectual to prevent their raising any revolt, either in favour of the daïro, or of themselves ; the principal ones of which are ; 1. That all those princes, whether tributary or subject, are obliged to attend at the imperial city of *Jeddo* six months in the year ; for which end, they have palaces assigned to them in and near that of the emperor. 2. All the grandees, nobles, governors, &c. are likewise obliged to pay their attendance at the court for a certain space. 3. The eldest sons of every king, prince, and grandee, are brought up there, under the emperor's eye, and must reside there, till he dismisses or raises them to some post. 4. Their wives and children are obliged to live in that metropolis all the year round, to be a kind of hostages, except the emperor gives them leave to go with their husbands into their own dominions, or estates, during the six months in which they are not in waiting. 5. They are obliged to take oaths of fidelity every year. 6. During their recess in their respective countries, there are spies set to watch all their motions, and to transmit an account of them to court. 7. To prevent the common people siding with them, or hatching any rebellion, he employs 100,000 of them at a time, and by turns, in public works, such as building of fortresses, making and mending of public roads, dikes, bridges, &c. 8. He keeps strong garisons in all his military cities, castles, forts, &c. which are very numerous, and often shifts them from one end of the empire to the other. 9. All the cities and walled towns are divided into small wards, which are shut up every night, to prevent all nightly intercourse between the inhabitants ; so that if any riot or tumult should happen in any of them, they are

(N) The *Japanese*, it seems, had such an irradicable veneration for their antient monarchs, that they would never have suffered them to have been thus stripped of the greatest branch of their power, if the cubo had not blinded them with the specious pretence, that it was done with their consent, and out of regard to their dignity, as well as to ease them of the burden of the civil government, the care of which, it was further urged, was not only beneath, and inconsistent with, but even dishonourable, in some measure, to their high dignity, as supreme heads over all religious and ecclesiastical affairs.

On the other hand, the old daïro's indolence and luxurious life having given the cubo a fair opportunity of engaging not only the whole army, but the far greater part of the petty kings and princes in his interest, his son, when he came to the crown, seeing himself in no condition to oppose him, gladly yielded one branch of his authority to save the other, which was, perhaps, the most agreeable to his lupine and effeminate temper ;

whilst the active and martial cubo was easily suffered to enter into a province, for which he was much fitter than he ; especially as the matter was so compromised, that he should still be left to enjoy his antient revenues, titles, state, and grandeur, and be still looked upon as sovereign monarch of the empire (20).

(O) This acknowledgement is performed by his drinking wine in a dish of porcelain, and then letting it fall and break upon the ground. This ceremony was to be performed once in three years ; but the emperor reduced it, on some pretence, to once in four, and afterwards to once in five years. And it is much to be doubted, whether it hath not been quite set aside before now, seeing matters were set on such a foot between them, that the authority of the one must of course dwindle away as fast as the other's increased. The description we shall give of this grand ceremony, at the end of this chapter, will further evince the probability of this our supposition.

(20) *Varia. lib. i. c. 4, & seq. Xaver. Froes. & al. sup. citat.*

easily suppressed by the officers of the guard, which are kept in every one of them. 10. Every a city, town, and ward, have a magistrate, appointed by the emperor, who is answerable for every disorder that happens in his precinct; which makes them keep the people under the greatest strictness, and sometimes punish a whole street, or ward, for the disorder that happens at one house or family *.

Numerous
court.

THE reader may guess, by what we have said above, what a numerous court and retinue these emperors must constantly have in their capital, besides their own guards and officers, which amount to 5 or 6000 more; all of whom are likewise obliged to attend him, wherever he goes.

Standing
forces.

Weapons.

His army is no less numerous, it consisting of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, including his garrisons. They are all well disciplined, and commonly stout soldiers. Their arms are muskets, bows, and arrows, the scymetar, and dagger, and all of the best metal, the Japanese being the most expert artists at making of them in all the east, and in some of them excelling all the Europeans, especially in the keenness of their broad swords, and lightness and neatness of their armour. This last is only used by the cavalry, though they are seldom known to fight on horseback. As for the foot, they wear no other defence than the helmet. These forces are reckoned sufficient in time of peace; but in time of war, every one of the tributary princes is obliged to furnish a certain quota, which increases the former to 368,000, and the latter to 38,000 (P). To maintain such numerous forces, and such a vast number of officers, as well as the grandeur of his court, must needs require an immense revenue; and, if we may rely on the calculations that have been made of it, it will be found really such, and to exceed that of any prince in the world, if there is not some mistake in the figures, or if they have not been magnified by those authors; for it is a common observation, the forces and revenues of distant kingdoms frequently exceed all probability. The reader may see a sketch of one of those calculations in the margin (Q). But there is still another way of making a tolerable estimate of his revenue, from the annual pensions and salaries paid to his governors, and other officers, and his own particular expences; all which the reader may see, calculated and reduced to florins by Caron, according to whom, the whole amounts to 283,000,000, or about 28,000,000 sterling †. These pensions are differently paid, some in gold and silver, some copper, lead, tin, iron, and some in rice, and other produce of each respective province. He is likewise possessed of immense treasures in diamonds, pearls, and other precious jewels; to say nothing of the vast quantities of gold, silver, rich furniture, merchandizes, and other valuable commodities, which are stored up in his treasury and magazines. All which, together with his sumptuous palaces, descend, after his death, with the empire, to his eldest son, except such legacies which he commonly leaves, not only to his other children, but to his favourite vassals and officers. As to his younger sons, he either bestows some kingdoms, or government of provinces, or, if too young for either, leaves them a sufficient income, to be brought up within the second cincture or court of the imperial palace, till they are better provided for.

Vast revenue.

Salaries paid
to his govern-
ors, &c.

Vast riches.

Stately pa-
laces,

He hath a great number of such palaces, besides that of his usual residence at Jeddo, no less spacious and magnificent, than strongly fortified. They reckon no less than twenty be-

* CARON, HAGENER, KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al.
& al.

† Vide VAREN. lib. i. c. ii. CARON, KÆMPFER,
& al.

(P) It is not easy to guess what nations he employs these numerous forces against, or is at war with, our authors not mentioning any they are engaged in. Some few we read of he hath had formerly with China, and one more lately against the Koreans, which we have taken notice of in the last chapter (21). Neither the ancient dairo's nor modern emperors, except this taycho, were ever known to aim at making any conquests abroad; and as to any invasions from thence, nature hath so well fortified them against all attempts of that kind, that no princes need be less apprehensive of them than they, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

But their fears, it seems, are not so much from any of their neighbours, as from the Europeans, and especially from the Spaniards; and we are told, that, since the great umbrage which the missionaries gave to that nation, which occasioned the extirpation of Christianity, the emperors have conceived such jealousy of them, that they dream of nothing but being invaded and conquered by them, and pretend to have some such threatening predictions, which keep them always in fear, and

upon their guard (22). But may not this be a politic pretence, to conceal their apprehensions from a more likely and dangerous quarter, viz. from the Eastern Tartars? So that, upon the whole, it is no wonder if they secure such a vast number of forces to be raised, in a short time, against all adventures, and which may prove as necessary, in case of any revolt or rebellion, as against an invasion.

(Q) They compute it according to the two chief Japanese rice measures, named the *man* and *kof*, the former of which contains 10,000 of the latter, and this contains 3000 sacks or bales, each containing rice enough to suffice 100 men for one day. Our authors differ somewhat, not only as to the stating of the proportions of these measures to each other, as well as in the calling up the whole, Kæmpfer making the amount to be 2338 men, and the Japanese author, from whose memoirs he took his account, only to 2257 *. However, the least of them, when reduced to the number of sacks, amounts to such a prodigious number, as almost exceeds belief.

(21) See before, vol. iii. p. 755, & seq.
sup. citat.

(22) Vid. int. al. Palafox Conq. of China, cap. 24. Caron, & al.
* Hist. Japan, lib. i. cap. 5. ad fin.

a tween that city and *Meaco*, though scarce 250 miles distant from each other; the most celebrated of which are those of *Jeddo* and *Osacka*, and next to them those of *Quana*, *Iwatzuki*, and *Matzjama*. Most of them are rather stately castles or fortresses, especially without, being surrounded with strong walls, wide and deep ditches, and some of them with three circles, one within another, and flanked with strong and lofty towers, and salient angles, like their usual fortifications, and built mostly of square stone. The apartments within are equally magnificent, their halls of audience high and stately, and adorned with costly cedar columns, curiously wrought, painted, and gilt; the ceilings finely carved, and many of them plated with gold, curiously wrought, and embellished with precious stones. The furniture of the lodgings, the gardens, baths, walks, ponds, fountains, summer-houses, terraces, &c. all answerable to the pride and grandeur of those opulent monarchs. We shall give our readers a short specimen of that of *Jeddo*, in the sequel, by which they may guess at the structure and richness of the rest, and only add here, that they are still building some new ones here and there, for hunting and pleasure-houses, or for burying-places; and these last have commonly a stately temple added to their other embellishments: such is that in the province of *Niko*, about four days journey from *Jeddo*, and built in the year 1636, in the dome of which is seen a vast copper crown, to which hang a great number of branches for tapers to burn in, and which was presented to the emperor by the *Dutch* company².

b Most of their palaces and fortified places have batteries of cannon upon their ramparts, though the *Japanese* are nothing so well skilled in the use of them as their neighbours the *Chinese*, who were instructed by some of the best *Portuguese* engineers from *Ma-kau*; and it is but rare for them to have any artillery with them in the field. In other cases, they are very dexterous at all manner of weapons, and are very strict, not only in exercising their soldiery in all martial discipline, but likewise in training up their youth to it, from their tender years, both at home, and in diversions abroad, and, in this last respect, even to a fault (S).

c THEIR laws and punishments are severe, beyond all justice, and may be justly said, like those of the *Spartan Draco*, to be written in blood. They have few, if any, written laws, the emperor's will being the supreme one, and next to it that of the kings and princes in their respective dominions. The very lords of every district, and even the heads of every family, have power of life and death over all that are under them, and try and condemn them according to their own will. There is scarcely any crime so small, that is not punished with death, except the offender be a petty king or prince, and even these are not always exempted; and the only privilege they have, is to dispatch themselves with their own hands, which is commonly done by ripping up their own bellies, instead of being put to death by an executioner. In these cases, there is no other ceremony used, than a letter sent from the emperor, by a proper officer, who, if the offender refuses to comply immediately, hath orders to put him to some more torturing death. As for those whose lives are spared, they are commonly banished into some desert island; the kings and princes into that of *Faytsiensima*, or *Fatissio*, an island on the south of the gulf of *Jeddo*, which is small, rocky, and almost inaccessible, where they are condemned to more or less servile labours, according to the nature of their crime, or the mercy they can obtain from the court; but most commonly they are obliged to drag a life which is much severer than death. As for persons of inferior rank, they are not so much as imprisoned, but, upon full proof made before a magistrate, are immediately hurried to execution.

d CRIMES of a higher nature, such as treason, violating the emperor's edicts, defrauding him of his revenue, counterfeiting his coin, male-administration, or any flagrant injustice committed by any of his officers, magistrates, &c. or any enormous breach of the peace, such as setting houses on fire, murders, burglaries, deflowering of a married woman, or an unmarried one, against her consent, notorious robbery or theft, these, and the like atrocious crimes, are punished with such severity, that not only the criminal, but his parents, brethren, children, and even male relations, are all put to death at one and the same time, let them be at ever so

² Vide VAREN. lib. i. c. 11. CARON, KÆMPFER, & al.

(S) They have a custom once a year, in the month of *March*, to indulge them in some martial sports, or public games. Every youth comes to them armed, with what weapons he pleases, or can get. They commonly begin some time after noontide, and divide themselves into two bodies, or little armies, each with the banners and standards, and the statues or pictures of their gods, carried before, to animate them. Their first onset is by throwing stones at each other at some distance; then they draw nearer, and ply their bows and arrows, and then their short guns; and last of all close in with their

swords. These games, as they are styled, seldom fail of doing mischief, and leaving some dead in the field of battle; and sending away others wounded and maimed; all which goes off unpunished and unreprieved (23).

This plainly demonstrates the nation to be naturally warlike, and to take delight in such feats; or else why should such pains be taken to keep up that martial spirit among them, when they live at peace with all their neighbours? unless we suppose them to live in fear of some invasion, either from *Europe* or *Tartary*.

(23) Vide Varen. ubi supra, cap. 19.

great a distance from each other (T). High treason and revolts extend the punishment still farther, on the whole ward, or neighbourhood, where the criminal lives: for, in all such cases, the law supposes them all guilty for suffering such an enemy to the government to harbour among them; and this is an effectual means not only to prevent a concealment, but to cause an immediate discovery of the crime and criminal, because the informer saves himself and family by it. In all cases, except treason, the female relations are only sold for slaves, for a longer or shorter term of years, according to the nature of the crime, their age, or nearness to the offender; but in that of treason, the wives and daughters are put to death, though not so severe a one as the criminal.

*Sundry kinds
of punishment.
Crucifixion.*

*Burning, and
boiling in oil.*

*Gentlemen and
soldiers dis-
patch them-
selves.*

THEIR punishments are various, and more or less severe. That of crucifixion, which is commonly with the head downwards, is the principal, and executed on traitors, murderers, incendiaries, and other such atrocious crimes; and the criminals are suffered to hang two, three, or more days on the cross, or till they expire, according to the nature of the crime; and, where that admits of mitigation, they are either stabbed with a dagger, or shot with darts, in a shorter time. Burning, and boiling in oil, are inflicted on persons guilty of parricide, incest, rape, adultery, and other such heinous crimes. Where an offender refuses to surrender himself, after public proscription, he is torn in pieces by horses, or cut in pieces by the hangman, where-ever he is found; and, whether found or not, is always executed in effigie, according to the nature of his crime. Every petty larceny, insult, detraction, cheating of any kind, even at play, a lye or prevarication before a magistrate, are all likewise capital, though punished with a milder death, as beheading, hanging, and ripping out their bowels; which last punishment is commonly that inflicted on gentlemen and soldiers so convicted, only with this difference, that they are allowed to dispatch themselves by it; for it is reckoned ignominious if any such let the hangman take the work out of his hands by his cowardice or delay, and they are sometimes put to a severer death for it. There are few crimes so small, or injury so trivial, as to be alleviated by a pecuniary punishment; and as for corporal ones, as the whip, bastinado, &c. they are chiefly inflicted on slaves and inferior servants, and that only by their own lords or masters^a.

S E C T. II.

The genius, arts, sciences, trade, navigation, and manufactures, of the Japanese.

*The genius of
the Japanese.*

Virtues.

Vices.

THE Japanese are generally very acute, and of a quick apprehension, good understanding, modest, patient, and courteous, and excelling all the orientals in docility. They are so just in their dealings, that one may absolutely depend on their word; and, contrary to the Chinese, disdain to take the least advantage of those they deal with. They are all very industrious and laborious, and much given to study and reading. They will indulge themselves at proper times in any innocent pleasures, and necessary recreations; but will readily forego them for the sake of better employment, or even live content without them, when their circumstances cannot admit of them: neither are they greedy after wealth, but are satisfied with a moderate competency, as the most effectual preservative against lying and cheating, against envy and detraction, intemperance and luxury. In conversation they observe a great decorum; but avoid not only all loose, vain, and idle prattle, but all the stiff formalities of the Chinese nation^b. Their style is grave and laconic, yet familiar and obliging. They affect a surprising neatness and decency in their eating, drinking, furniture, dress, and conversation; but have an abhorrence to intemperance, luxury, and defamation. Drunkenness and gluttony are as much detested by the rich and poor as cheating and dishonesty.

THIS is the character which most authors give of their virtues, but we must not from thence suppose them to be free from vices; on the contrary, the very same authors charge them with many heinous ones, some of which seem quite opposite to the other side of their character; and indeed those who are most conversant in books of travels, especially into such a remote

^a CARON, KÆMPFER, VAREN. l. i. c. 18. & al. sup. cit.

^b See before, vol iii p. 631, & seq.

(T) This is done, we are told, by suspending the execution of the chief criminal, and of those that are at hand, till the sentence can be conveyed by a proper messenger to other places, where those relations of his are settled, or perhaps have fled to for concealment, which must be understood of a respiting it, till they are all caught, and every-where apprehended, but only as many of the principal ones as can be found, and then, on a day appointed, they are all brought forth, and executed, in every place where they were seized.

Caron mentions, as an instance of this, in his own time, that a lord was condemned for extorting too great a tribute from his vassals, and suffered death, together with three of his brothers, one of whom was 250 miles off, an uncle, who lived still at a greater distance, and a nephew, who lived in some other part of the empire, all on the same day and hour.

country as this, will least wonder at such contradictions. Accordingly they are represented as proud, ambitious, cruel, and uncharitable; and so insensible of the miseries of their fellow-creatures, that they will suffer them to perish rather than relieve them. But this last, we have lately observed, is rather owing to the disadvantageous and unjust light in which their inhuman bonzas set those unhappy objects, than to any such savage disposition. They are likewise said *Revengeful.* to be so passionate and resenting, that they will make away with themselves, if they cannot find an opportunity of revenging an affront or injury. Their women in this respect will do the *Women's language.* same, especially whenever their chastity, conjugal fidelity, or even their modesty, is concerned; inasmuch that many of them, though conscious of their innocence, will prefer a voluntary death to an unjust suspicion, which it is not in their power to clear themselves from; and we read of some who have taken the same violent method, rather than survive the shame of some involuntary indecency^c. They moreover not only allow of polygamy, but likewise of fornication; and of brothel-houses for their unmarried youth, as well as for the conveniency of strangers; but their married men are forbidden to go into any of them. But there is still a more heinous and unnatural vice laid to their charge, *viz.* that of sodomy, which is not only impudently committed amongst them, both by priests and laity, but without either brand or disgrace. In their wars they are very fierce and cruel, seldom giving or asking for quarter; and, when a town is taken, they commonly destroy it by fire and sword. And thus much may suffice for their vices^d.

They are much extolled by the missionaries, and other writers, for their singular readiness, *Ready apprehension.* above all other eastern nations, in learning the liberal arts and sciences from them; for, before their coming, all their learning consisted in reading, writing, understanding their own history, and various religions, and some few rules of morality. As to their philosophy, mathematics, *Learning.* &c. they were less versed in them than the *Chinese*, till they learned them from the *Europeans*, under whom they made a surprising progress in, and shewed an uncommon fondness for them. Till then they knew rather less of astronomy than the *Chinese*, though they are, like *Bad astronomers and geographers.* them, so given to astrology, that they scarce undertake any thing of moment without consulting some pretender to that art. Of geography they were so ignorant, that they divided the world into three principal parts, *viz.* *Japan*, *China*, and *Siam*, and looked upon the rest as inconsiderable appendages to them; and, as for the other parts of the mathematics, they were still more remote from them, till the *Portuguese* brought them thither. How far they have cultivated them since christianity was banished out of the empire, we cannot say; how- *Great universities.* ever, it is plain that they had several famed universities among them, well stored with doctors and books, and resorted to by vast numbers of students. They are commonly very rich, and well endowed, the bonzas who preside in them being for the most part noblemen's children, who are either naturally inclined to a studious life, or chuse it, as the most creditable way of living upon their small fortunes; increasing the common treasury by their patrimony, which they leave to it after their deaths. We are told wonders by the *Portuguese* authors concerning *Vast number of students.* those universities, the vast number of their doctors and students, their lectures and doctrines, eloquence, and excellent discipline, if those good fathers have not launched out too far in their praise, in acknowledgement of the vast encouragement and success they met with among them. However, we shall, according to our usual way, give the reader a short sketch of one of the most celebrated of those academies in the margin (U), by which he may frame some idea of the rest. As for the doctors or bonzas who preside in those places, the same authors *Bonzas great moralists and orators.* assure us, among other of their excellencies, that they never heard finer discourses on the

^c CARON, VAREN, l. i. c. 14. & al.

^d CARON, VAREN. l. i. c. 14. & al.

(U) This noble edifice, or rather collection of buildings, is called *Fremaxama*, or, according to others, *Fremajama*, from a celebrated mountain within nine or ten miles of *Meaco*. The mountain [which is intersected by thirteen pleasant and fertile vallies, excellently well watered, and adorned with woods, groves, and a fine large lake stored with all manner of fish] was chosen as a fit abode for the bonzas by some of the dairos, and is said to have had no less than 3800 temples, and almost as many monasteries, founded and endowed at different times by those monarchs, when in the height of their power. They had an income of 200,000 crowns *per annum*, besides two large towns, which were then part of the suburbs of *Meaco*, situate at the foot of the mountain, and which were obliged to supply these monks with all sorts of victuals, dressed in the best manner for them, that they might have no avocations from their

studies and religious employments. It became moreover the residence of the *Xacco*, or *Jacko*, or head pontiff of all the bonzas; and on that, and all other accounts, grew into one of the most considerable seminaries in the whole empire; but, since the dairos were stripped of their civil power, as hath been lately hinted, great part of those colleges and temples have gone to decay; so that, upon the missionaries arrival there, they were reduced to little more than 500 (24).

They have about five more stately ones within the neighbourhood of *Meaco*, which have between 3 and 4000 students each, besides a vast number of others dispersed in other parts of the empire, all richly endowed, finely situated, and accommodated with all the conveniences of life, as well as with large libraries stored with plenty and variety of books (25).

(24) *Hist. Eccles. Japon. tom. i. p. 44. & seq. Vid. & Vit. & Epist. Xavier. Varen. lib. i. c. 25.*

(25) *Ibid. ibid. Vid. &*

subject of morality than they did from their professors, who did so value themselves on it; and that they were such masters of oratory, that they seldom failed of drawing tears from their audience, whenever they employed their skill in that way.

*Learned
Physic.*

THEY have neither a body of law, nor system of physic; but guide themselves in the former by reason, and in the latter by experience; and though their skill in the latter is but scanty, yet are the professors of it in high esteem, and gain great fortunes by it. They depend much upon their medicinal wares, of which they have great plenty and variety both of hot and cold. The roots of *Yagy* and *Cama*, brought thither by the *Chinese*, are in great vogue, together with other medicinal roots and plants. They pretend to a great skill in discovering the nature, cause, and degrees, of disorders, by the pulse, and by astrology; and some of them make use of charms, and other such superstitious trash. They suffer their patients to drink as much cold water as they will, though they never drink it so when in health: their medicines are commonly blended with something of saltness or sourness. They are still more unskilled in surgery; never let blood, except in a kind of endemic cholicky disorder frequent among them; and then the operation is performed by pricking the belly artfully with a fine needle made either of gold or silver, and letting out what they think the morbid matter at a certain number of holes.

*A strange sort
of cholick,
called *Sekk*,
frequent.*

THIS strange disease, which so cruelly attacks as well strangers as natives of all ages, sexes, and complexions, is by them called *Sekk*, a name not indiscriminately given to all cholicks and belly-achs, but only to that particular sort, which, besides the violent pains it causes in the bowels, extends itself to the whole abdomen and reins, where it causes a general convulsion of the muscles, even when the bowels are free from the effects of the morbid humor in the peritonæum, or some other part of the abdomen; but at some periodical times, or from some other cause, excites grievous swellings, spasms, and acute pains.

*Practised by
other parts of
India;*

THESE dreadful symptoms and affections, stubborn and unmoveable as they are by any other means, are nevertheless not only assuaged, but effectually cured, by this easy and curious operation of acupuncture, performed by a judicious hand; inasmuch that, if we may rely upon the learned Doctor *Kempfer*, who had often been an eye-witness of it, the *Sekk* pains have ceased almost in an instant, and as if they had been charmed away, as soon as the needle had performed its office on the part of the belly made choice of, after due examination by the skillful artist. We have had occasion to mention its being much esteemed among the polite *Chinese*, as well as by the *Tonquinese*, *Koreans*, and other eastern nations; the latter of whom make no scruple to affirm, that it was known and practised from the earliest ages, and even before the invention of physic; whilst the former, according to custom, ascribe the discovery of it to some of their antient monarchs soon after the flood. However, as the *Japanese* are allowed to be by far the most expert and cautious, as well as successful, in the performing of that operation, whether, as they pretend, they were the first inventors of it, or no, it was on that account that we judged this the properest place for giving our readers an account of their method of proceeding in it, as being allowed on all hands as far preferable to that of any other *Indian* nation, as their instruments, which are fabricated by them for that purpose, excel those which are made any-where out of it.

*Practised by
Japan.*

*Causes of the
disease, and
manner of
performing
the operation,
wherein the
skill of it
consists.*

WE cannot indeed say so much in praise of their theory; for which reason we shall not trouble our readers with a display of it, but refer them to the above-quoted Doctor *Kempfer* for a fuller account of it; and only observe in general, that the *Japanese* physicians ascribe the riseness of the disease chiefly to the immoderate use of the *Sak-ki*, a strong wine made of rice, which gradually fills those lower parts with humours of a sour corroding nature; and, when grown to a height, occasions those swellings, convulsions, and exquisite pains, which will hardly be alleviated till let out at those holes which the needle makes for that purpose, and are commonly divided into three rows, three punctures in each row, and the whole disposed in the form of an oblong square.

THE place made choice of for the puncture is commonly at a middle distance between the navel and the pit of the stomach; but often as much nearer to or farther from either, as the operator, after a due scrutiny, thinks most proper; and in this, and the judging rightly how deep the needle must be thrust below the skin, so as to reach the seat of the morbid matter, and giving it a proper vent, consists the main skill of the artist, and the success of the operation is said to depend. Each row hath its particular name, which carries with it a kind of direction with regard to the depth of each puncture, and the distance of the holes from each other; which last seldom exceeds half an inch in grown persons in the perpendicular rows; though something more in those which are made across the body; thus, ::::

* Vid. Hist. Eccles. Japon. vol. i. Epist. Japonic. XAVER, MAFF, VALLADA, ALMEID. & al. VAREN. lib. i. c. 25.

a THE needles which perform the operation are made, as was hinted at first, either of the finest gold or silver, and without the least dross or alloy. They must be exquisitely slender, finely polished, and carry a curious point, and with some degree of hardness, which is given to them by the maker, by tempering, and not by any mixture, in order to facilitate their entrance, and penetrating the skin. But, though the country abounds with expert artists, able to make them in the highest perfection, yet none are allowed to vend them, but such as are licensed by the emperor.

THESE needles are of two sorts with respect to their structure, as well as materials; the one, either of gold or silver indifferently, and about four inches long, very slender, and ending in a sharp point, and have at the other end a small twisted handle, which serves to turn them
b round with the extremity of the middle finger and thumb, in order to sink them into the flesh with greater ease and safety; the other sort is chiefly of silver, and much like the first in length and shape, but exceeding small towards the point, with a short thick handle, channelled for the same end of turning them about, and to prevent their going in too deep; and, for the same reason, some of them are cased in a kind of copper tube, of the bigness of a goose-quill, which serves as a sort of gauge, and lets the point in just so far as the operator hath determined it. The best sort of needles are carefully kept in a case made of bull's horn, lined with some soft
c downy stuff. This case is shaped somewhat like a hammer, having on the striking side a piece of lead, to give it a sufficient weight, and on the outside a compressed round piece of leather, to prevent a recoil, and with this they strike the needle through the thickness of the skin; after which, they keep turning the handle about with the hand till it is sunk to the depth they
d design it, that is, till it is thought to have reached the seat of the morbid virus, which, in grown persons, is seldom less than half, or more than a whole, inch. This done, he draws it out, and compresses the part, in order to force the morbid vapour or spirit out. The directions and nice rules for the performing of this curious operation are many, and require great skill and attention in the operator; and, when duly performed, may be of excellent use, not only
e against the excruciating distemper above-mentioned, but against many other topical ones, which are more commonly cured by the *Indian Moxa*, and other caustics. On the other hand, these last are often tried against the distemper above-mentioned, by applying the caustic to the belly, on each side of the navel, and about the distance of two inches from it, but mostly without any
f success, it being very unlikely that such an application should reach the seat of the distemper; whereas the benefit which hath accrued from the acupuncture, in that one disease, hath encouraged others to apply it indifferently to other parts of the body, where the *Moxa* is used; and, by a due care and precaution not to prick any nerves, tendons, or other considerable blood-vessels, have cured their patients by it, without putting them to the excruciating torture which attends that of the *Moxa*, or other caustics.

THERE is still another method of curing that and other violent disorders in the abdomen and lower belly, which is still in vogue among the *Japanese*, though nothing so effectual as the acupuncture. It is a powder taken inwardly, which is only sold in the village of *Menoki*, in the province of *Oumi*, sealed up with the arms of the inventor, who, by a pious fraud, obtained the
e sole privilege of making and vending it. This person, at first very poor, gave out, that the god *Jakusi* had revealed it to him in a dream, and shewed him the plant growing in a neighbouring mountain, famous among them for many other fabulous stories said to have happened upon or in the neighbourhood of it. The good effects which this remedy produced soon brought it into repute; and the great consumption of it enriched him to such a degree, as to enable him to build a temple to the god above-mentioned; since which, his family increasing
f still in wealth, have added two more, as so many monuments of their gratitude to him. Over-against each of these three grand structures stands a shop, in which the said powder is made and sold. Our author bought a quantity of them; but, upon trial of them, did not find them at all agreeable to his constitution, and of a most distasteful bitter, which he supposes, from some
g which he saw in the shop, to be the *Costus*, which is brought thither by the *Dutch*, in greater quantities than any other exotic, from *Surat*. However, the powder is chiefly in vogue among the common people in the cholicky distempers above-mentioned; whilst the better sort have recourse to the outward operation of acupuncture, which we have been describing †. This, however, doth not hinder the surgeons from using likewise the other method of canterising; and in some cases, as rheumatism or gout, raise a blister on some nerve with a little powder of mugwort, *Moxa*, or other herb, and some cotton set on fire ‡.

THE *Japanese* are much addicted to poetry, music, and painting; the former is said to be very grand as to the style and imagery, loftiness and cadence, but, like that of the *Chinese* formerly described §, is not easily understood or relished by the *Europeans*. The same may
g be said of their music both vocal and instrumental, the best of which of either kind would

† Vid. Kämpfer's Append. to Hist. of Japan, p. 29, & seq. before, vol. iii. p. 600, & seq.

‡ Id. ibid. CARON, VAREN, &c.

§ See

- hardly be tolerable to a nice *European* ear. They are better painters than the *Chinese*, but yet much inferior to the *Europeans*; most of their performances in that kind are either in water-colours on paper, fine leather, &c.; or in their jappanning, and fine porcelain-ware, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel. However, though they do not come up to our perfection, yet they are very great admirers of good paintings of all sorts; and the rich will give immense sums for a good piece, and place it among their richest rarities. As for their own paintings, what is most to be admired in them, is the singular beauty of their colours; in many of which they greatly exceed us. They have likewise a much finer way of faceting their lights and shades, and observe a much greater symmetry in the drawing than the *Chinese*, who affect to be quite careless about it.
- Fondness for fine paintings.* *Beautiful colours.* *Arithmetic.* *Printing.* *Gunpowder.* *Writing.* *Excellent method of education.* *Language.*
- THEY are generally very good and quick accountants, and make use either of the same method as the *Chinese*, described in the last chapter, or of some others equivalent, by round pieces of wood or ivory, and a chequer board not unlike our game of draughts, both the pieces and chequers of different colours, answering to our units 10, 100, &c.; but, as to any other arithmetic, we do not find any footsteps of any they have.
- THEY pretend, like the *Chinese*, to have been the inventors of printing from time immemorial; and their method is the same with theirs, upon wooden blocks^b; but they exceed them in the neatness of cutting of them, as well as the goodness of their ink and paper, and the elegance of composition. They likewise lay claim to the invention of gunpowder, tho' they are vastly inferior to them in the use of all sorts of fire-arms, especially of artillery, as well as in the curiousness of their fire-works^c.
- THEIR manner of writing is also much the same as that of the *Chinese*, viz. in columns from top to bottom, and the columns begin at the right, and end at the left hand. Their characters were originally the same; but, since then, the *Japanese* have made some alterations in theirs, but whether by way of improvement, or alteration with their neighbours, we dare not say; though the latter seems most probable, because they affect in almost every thing to be opposite to the *Chinese*, for which we shall assign a substantial reason in the sequel; so that there is now such a difference between their way of writing, that, though the learned among the *Japanese* can still read the *Chinese* characters, yet these cannot theirs (W). They use the same pencils, or small brushes, ink, and paper, with them, and train their youth from their tender years to write and read by an easy and expeditious method (X); inasmuch that most of them are masters of both before they are six or seven years old, and some of them even earlier. They have likewise an excellent way of educating their children at home: the boys and girls under their mother; and the latter, when fit to go to school, by their schoolmasters. They never inflict any corporal punishments on them, nor make use of any severe methods, or even threatenings; but strive to allure them to their learning by praises, little rewards, and other such mild incentives; and, where these fail, which seldom happens, they, especially the mothers, will add tears, and, in the most pathetic terms, complain of their ill fate, in being the parents of such heedless, stupid, or undutiful children, and what a discredit they are to their reputation, as well as to themselves; and, by such motives, seldom fail to work them into a sense of pity or shame. They take no less pains both at home and in their schools, as well as in their universities, to inspire them with the love of glory, contempt of dangers and death, to enure them to hunger, cold, pains, labours, inclemency of the weather, and to bear with patience all the miseries and inconveniencies of life; contrary to the *Chinese*, and most other oriental nations, who are justly branded for breeding up their own in luxury and effeminacy. They are no less careful to excite them to a laudable abhorrence against lying and liars, and all kinds of fraud, and to inspire them with a love of modesty, sincerity, and fidelity^k.
- THEIR language hath some affinity with the *Chinese*; though it appears, from its various dialects, to have been a kind of compound of that and other languages, according to the various nations that first peopled those islands, of which we shall find a more proper place to speak in the sequel: on that account it falls vastly short of that beautiful and peculiar simpli-

^b See before, vol. iii. p. 606, & seq. c. 25. & al. sup. laudat.

^c Ibid. p. 581, & seq. 646, & seq.

^k Vid. VAREN. lib. i.

(W) We are told farther, that though this is the common character, in which most of their learned books are written and printed, yet their doctors, merchants, tradesmen, &c. have some others much more convenient and expeditious in use among them, particularly one which consists of alphabetical characters, though more numerous and variegated than ours; which hath this farther conveniency, that, being written from the right to the left, and then again from the left to the right (like what the old *Greeks* call *Bouirophain*, or plowing with oxen), in writings of any

any breadth, one can neither skip a line, nor fall upon the same again, as is often the case with ours.

(X) This is done by writing something like what we call a copy in a fair hand, and setting a blank sheet of paper over it, which, by its fineness and transparency, discovers all the lines and strokes of the writing under it; so that a child, having been once taught how to handle the pencil, is made by these exercises to understand the power and meaning of each character or letter, at the same time that his hand is guided to form them exactly according to his copy.

a city, and other marks of antiquity, for which the *Chinese* is so justly admired. We may add, that their affectation of differing as much as possible from that haughty and rival nation hath produced still greater alterations in their language; so that, as the former affect to deal mostly in monosyllables, and these in as small a number as possible, the latter have not only enriched theirs with a greater variety of words, but have studied to lengthen them in such manner as should give them a much more agreeable harmony. However, upon the whole, the *Japanese* is not only very regular, polite, elegant, and copious, but abounds with a great variety of synonyma, adapted to the nature of the subject they are upon, whether sublime, familiar, or low; and to the quality, age, and sex, both of the speaker and persons spoken to¹.

THEY are commonly very ingenious at most handicraft trades; and excel even the *Chinese* Trades and manufactures. Silk and other manufactures. in several of their manufactures, particularly in the beauty, goodness, and variety, of silks, cottons, and other stuffs, and in their japan and porcelane works; on which account they are much more esteemed all over the east, as well as in *Europe*. But these are so well known, that we shall need say the less of them here; only, this is remarkable with respect to their japan and porcelane, that the former bears a much finer black and gloss, is harder and more lasting, and the drawing and colours more exact and beautiful; the latter is better burned, and more finely wrought and painted, than those of *China*; so that, *cæteris paribus*, they commonly bear a much higher proportion in price, which is usually about ten to one; and a much greater vent they would have for all their merchandizes, notwithstanding their high price, if the emperors did not restrain their subjects so much from trading into foreign countries, or would give greater encouragement to strangers to trade amongst them; but their natural jealousy of all foreigners, and especially of the *Europeans*, since the sad catastrophe of the Christians there, Trade restrained by the emperor's edicts. hath occasioned such severe laws and penalties to be enacted against many branches of the antient commerce, and such strict search is made, by the officers, after every commodity exported and imported, as hath greatly impaired it. What occasioned those strict prohibitions, was, their venturing to export sundry forbidden commodities, such as scymetars, swords, muskets, and other such weapons, in the tempering and fabricature whereof they are expert beyond all other eastern nations; to say nothing of the great quantities of gold and silver which were likewise clandestinely conveyed away both by the natives and foreigners, in spite of all the edicts to the contrary. But there is another motive which induces those monarchs to prevent, as much as possible, their subjects from going abroad; viz. the vast number of Christians, or, as they style them, Crossmen, that are dispersed in *China*, *Siam*, and other parts of *India*; to say nothing of those that are under the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* government, where they are still more numerous and dangerous, and the fear they are in, lest those subjects, by conversing with them, should bring home a more favourable opinion of them than they had, and inspire their countrymen with it (Y).

FOR

¹ VAREN. lib. i. c. 25. & al. sup. laudat.

(Y) To this we may add another, and perhaps not less inducing motive, viz. their pride, which is not a little raised at the sight of so many foreign nations servilely employed in fetching away all their most valuable commodities, and furnishing them with such a variety of others from all parts of the world, without being at the trouble of stirring from home. Add to this, that their own country affords them such plenty of all necessities and conveniencies of life, that scarce any other under the sun can more easily live without foreign commerce. But it is far otherwise with the *Europeans*, who, knowing the vast gain which this trade would bring to them, have all strove at different times to get it, or at least some part of it, into their hands, tho' the *Dutch* have hitherto been artful enough to prevent it. By what means these last have engrossed the trade to themselves, and on what foot they carry it on, will be seen in part in a following note, and the rest in the close of the *Japan* history: at present, we shall only give an instance or two of the extreme jealousy of the *Japan* monarchs with respect to all the *Europeans* who profess Christianity, and the advantage which the *Dutch*, who deny themselves to be of that number, take from it to disappoint all their efforts to obtain a free trade there.

Some of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* authors indeed ascribe those ill grounded fears to an artifice of the devil, to prevent the Christian religion ever taking foot again amongst them, should ever such a trade be opened to either of those nations. As for the *Dutch*, they think he is in no fear about them, and therefore inspires those monarchs with a greater confidence in them, being well assured, that they will rather defeat than promote any attempts against his own kingdom. But, without diving too far into those pious reserves, it is but too plain, that

interest alone may be looked upon as a sufficient motive to make them strive to cherish and promote all those needless fears and jealousies in the *Japanese* emperors; if they were not indeed the very first that inspired them with them, in order to engross their sole favour and confidence, and prevent all future reconciliation between them and any other *Europeans*.

However that be, the *Portuguese* of *Ma-kau*, who had for so long time tasted the sweets of the *Japan* trade, that it was said they could pave their city with silver, but were to the last degree impoverished since the prohibition of it, would not be wanting in their endeavours to recover it; and, to that end, sent a grand embassy to *Japan*, Anno 1647, with rich presents, in two galleons; though their first, seven years before, had proved so fatal to them, for want of due caution and proper leave, that they were all put to death, through the suggestions, as they pretend, of the *Dutch* merchants, then upon the spot. This second embassy proved not more successful than the former, with respect to the end for which it was sent; and the only thing they could obtain from that monarch, was, to let them go back with their lives and vessels; and this was granted to them as a singular favour. However, as their vessels were obliged to wait before the port of *Nanguazak* from the 25th of *July* to the 6th of *September*, for an answer from the court, during which, they refused to let their masts, sails, rigging, guns, &c. be carried into the emperor's warehouse, till the answer came, or they were ready to sail away, as is commonly practised with respect to the *Dutch*, it is scarcely to be imagined what precautions the governor of the place took to prevent their landing, or sailing higher up, or lower down, that river; inasmuch that if he had expected all the *European* ships then in *Tsushima* to have

With China
often sus-
pended;

but now open-
ed by the
Tartars.

For these reasons, the *Japanese* are allowed to trade with none but the *Chinese*, *Koreans*, and the country of *Jeddo*, and with the *Dutch*; neither are they allowed to sail into any of the three former, nor to the latter, then settled at *Tay-wan*, the now common emporium of those parts, without the emperor's special licence. In former days indeed, the *Chinese* and *Japanese* monarchs lived in such perfect amity, that they sent frequent embassies to each other, and permitted their subjects not only to trade with, but to settle in each other's country: but that good understanding was frequently interrupted, and their commerce suspended for a time, and sometimes forbidden by both sides under the severest penalties. But, since the *Tartars* have become masters of *China*, those feuds, the occasion of which is variously related by both sides (Z), have so far ceased, that the *Chinese* have now free liberty to trade into *Japan*; and the *Japa-*

rendezvoused there, he could hardly have done more. He ordered a stout stately bridge, flanked with four strong towers, or forts, at equal distances, to be built just above them, over that river, which is near a mile wide there, and batteries of cannon to be placed all along the bridge; all which was done within the space of five or six days: below them he took care to have two squadrons of *Japanese* ships, amounting to near a thousand large and small, and all crowded with sailors, marines, and militia †. His pretence for it was, that he had reason to suspect, from their refusal of giving up all the tackle of their ships, that they had a design of sailing away before the orders of the court arrived, which would have disoblged the emperor in the highest manner; but the real cause of all these great preparations seems rather, that he had been prepossessed with a notion by his *Dutch* friends, that this pretended embassy was to be followed by a number of other ships of more strength and bulk, in order to execute some grand design in favour of Christianity. However, this may serve to shew what an invincible jealousy they have conceived against the professors of it.

Not many years after, the *English East India* company, being then in high favour with the king of *Siam*, who had lately married the emperor of *Japan*'s sister, having obtained a singular recommendation from the former to the latter, were in great hopes, by so powerful an interest, to have come in with the *Dutch* for a share of the *Japan* trade; to which end they likewise sent an embassy, with very considerable presents of the richest and most valuable curiosities, from *Europe*. The only obstacle to their success was, their professing Christianity; but this was easily removed, by assuring the *Japanese* court, that their Christianity was quite opposite to that of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, and was in a great measure the same which was professed by the *Dutch* in their own country; for the truth of which they appealed to them, who had nothing to say against it. Matters were in this hopeful way, when some private intelligence was given to the emperor, that the king of *England* was at that time married to the king of *Portugal*'s sister; which the *English*, upon inquiry, could not deny; upon which an order came immediately from court for their sailing away with the first fair wind; and at the same time they were given to understand, that they must thank the king of *Siam*, who had so kindly recommended them to the *Japanese* monarch, for their being so favoured as to go off with their lives and vessels; but that they must not expect to be treated with the same mildness, if they should ever offer to come a second time on the same errand, let them bring what recommendations they would from that or any other prince. We need not be at a loss to guess who gave that fatal intelligence to the *Japanese*, seeing there were no other *Europeans* there but the *Dutch*: neither ought we to omit taking notice here, that the *English* company had some time before obtained a considerable part of the *Japanese* trade, and had set up a factory at the small island of *Firando*, Anno 1613, under captain *Saris*, who, in an audience he then had of the emperor *Ongoschiosamma*, at that time at *Surunga*, obtained very singular privileges for it; and for himself particularly that of sailing to, and making discoveries in, the land of *Jesso*, or

any other part of his dominions; a favour which the *Portuguese*, when in the highest credit in *Japan*, could never obtain. This trade was, however, lost again in a few years, and the factory ruined; by what means, or for what reasons, is not known. However, these few instances may suffice to shew the height, as well as the true spring, of the *Japanese* jealousy against all the professors of Christianity. We might add, that the *Dutch* themselves, notwithstanding their disclaiming it, are not exempt from their suspicion, which is the reason of that wonderful caution and strictness with which they are suffered to trade and live among them; about which see the next note but one.

(Z) We read of one of these prohibitions made by the *Chinese* emperor, not only published in the most solemn manner throughout the empire, but the memory of which was preserved by erecting a stately stone pillar, on which both that, and the occasion of it, were engraved in golden characters, and ran to this effect: That a great number of *Japanese*, settled in *China*, having joined themselves in one body, and seized upon, and settled themselves in, some territory there, after having committed the most horrid outrages, such as plundering, burning, murders, rapes, &c.; for these reasons, their whole nation was not only judged unworthy of ever settling, or even trading, in the *Chinese* empire; but the subjects of this last were forbidden, under pain of the severest deaths, to sail to *Japan*, or to trade in any-wise with that nation.

On the other hand, upon the conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, at which time there were vast numbers of *Chinese* settled all over *Japan*, the emperor conceived such an invincible prejudice against that conquered nation, for basely abandoning the interest of their antient monarchs, suffering the invading *Tartars* to overrun the whole country with so much ease, and in so short a time, and at length so tamely submitting themselves to the yoke of those usurpers, that he caused them all to be banished out of his dominions, without permitting them to carry off any of their effects, or even their families with them, if they chanced to have married *Japan* wives; and at the same time forbade all future commerce between his subjects and the *Chinese* nation, under the severest penalties.

Neither was this their only misfortune, to be forced to abandon their habitations, families, and fortunes, and to go seek their bread in other countries; but they were made to undergo numberless affronts, insults, and injuries, from the *Japanese*, who treated them as perfidious rebels against, and betrayers of, their prince and country, and as monsters not fit to live, or deserving either mercy or pity; so that thousands of them perished in their march out of the country, through want, and other miseries, and a much greater number at sea.

Those who had the good fortune to get into new settlements (for into *China* they dared not return, the *Tartars* making every-where the greatest havock there), after having in vain tried the interest of their *Japanese* friends for a mitigation of the edict, the most that could be obtained for them from the court, was, that such as had left wives and families behind might be permitted to come and see them once a year, but never to settle there any more (26). These things the *Tartars*,

† Vid. *Palafox Conq. of China*, cap. xxiv. *Dutch Ambass. & al. sup. citat.*
Palafox Conq. of China, ch. 24.

(26) *Taren. lib. i. c. 25. Vid. &*

a *Japanese*, tho' fewer in proportion, to trade into *China*; the *Japan* emperor chusing rather to have the commerce carried on by the *Chinese*, than to suffer many of his subjects to stir out of his dominions, for the sake of the small advantage that might accrue to them by it. But it was not without great difficulty that that haughty monarch would suffer them to land in his dominions in the new *Tartarian* dress, which their conquerors had obliged them to wear in token of subjection; and it is a question whether he would ever have done it, if the *Tartar* emperor had not threatened him with a powerful invasion ^m.

There is still another considerable obstruction to their commerce, occasioned by the multitudes of pirates and corsairs, which swarm on those seas; and not only carry on a contraband trade between *Japan* and other parts, but seize on all the ships of the fair traders, where-
b ever they can catch them; and are such desperate fellows, that, if they find themselves overpowered at any time, they will blow up or sink their own ships, rather than be taken ⁿ.

The commodities exported thence are rice, silk, cotton, &c. wrought. The fine porce-
lane and japan-work lately mentioned, gold and silver, though not in such large quantities as
formerly, copper wrought and in bars, iron, steel, and other base and some artificial metals; variety of rich furs, mostly brought from the land of *Jetzo*; tea of all sorts, and much finer, and better cured, than that of *China*; some sorts of which have such an excellent flavour and taste, that they sell even above the price of gold, weight for weight. A great variety likewise of medicinal herbs, roots, woods, gums, &c. which, as well as their tea, are sold genuine, and well dried and preserved, and without the least mixture or adulteration, such as are commonly
c practised by the *Chinese* in theirs. To these we may add diamonds, and other precious stones, pearls of exquisite beauty, coral, great quantities and variety of fine sea-shells, on which the *Japanese* used to set no price, till the *Chinese* and *Europeans* taught them how to value them, by the excessive fondness they shewed for them. And, lastly, ambergrise, which they had so little esteem for, that they called it by no better name than *cusurano fu*, or excrements of the whale, as being found in the bowels of that fish, which licks it up along the coasts, where the sea throws it in great quantities.

In exchange for those commodities, the *Hollanders* bring them glasses of all sorts, which
are in great request there, especially looking-glasses; raw and wrought silks, raw hides, hem-
pen and woollen cloths, quicksilver, borax, antimony, spices of all kinds, of which they
d make an immense gain not only in *Japan*, but in all other parts of *India*, where they sell per-
haps as great quantities as they import into *Europe*, and, by them, purchase the merchandizes of one country to sell them in another (A). They likewise import thither some sorts of sugar, musk, camphire, siampan, brasil, and other woods, calembac, elephants teeth, and a great number of small wares, which come from *China*, *Tibet*, *Siam*, &c. china, jin-seng, and other medicinal roots, from *Tartary*. All these commodities are imported or exported custom-free, which is the chief encouragement given to the *Japan* commerce; and with this dreadful clause, that if any contraband goods are found upon those vessels, or the commodities be either adul-
terated or damaged, or any fraud or cheat be discovered in their invoices, &c. they are sure to be punished with the utmost severity, no nation having such severe laws against all such abuses in
e trade, as this of *Japan* ^o. As for the *Dutch*, they are still more strictly watched, and kept
under severer restraint, from the time of their arrival to that of their sailing away. At the
season in which their fleet is expected, the governor of *Nanguazak* sets centinels on the emi-
nences along the coasts, to give notice of every ship that appears; and, upon their approach-
ing, a boat is dispatched with proper officers, and men under them, to each ship, who, com-
ing on board them, take an account of their number, men, cargo, &c. as soon as they come to anchor, and dispatch it immediately to court by an express; so that they are not permitted to stir, or dispose of any thing, till an answer comes from thence; and then are all confined to their factory, or ships, till the time of their sailing away again, except those only who go to pay the usual homage and presents to the emperor at *Jeddo*.

^m Vid. PALAFOX Conquest of China, c. 34.
VAREN. lib. i. c. 26. Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

ⁿ VAREN. lib. i. c. 26. KÆMPF. & al.

^o Vid.

then masters of all *China*, could not but highly resent; and as their edict, and the erecting of the pillar, followed pretty near the time of the *Chinese* being banished out of *Japan*, it is not unlikely that the former was only done in mere revenge and retaliation for the affront offered to them by the latter.

(A) This is not a proper place to inquire how they came to make themselves masters of those islands, and to monopolize all that trade, to which that of bullion is hardly to be compared. We shall have occasion to

speak more fully on that head, when we come to describe those islands: what comes nearest to our present notice is, the prodigious advantage which that single branch brings to them, by which alone they purchase almost every thing they carry into *Japan*; whereas other nations are obliged to purchase them with their goods and treasure; besides the vast exchange which the *Japanese* allow them of gold, and other merchandizes, for that one valuable commodity.

Factory at
Disnia.

Their embassy
to the Japa-
nese emperor.

THEIR factory, confinement there, together with the formalities, and occasion of it, the reader will find described in the margin (B). As to the embassy, it is generally performed with great pomp and ceremony. The first visit, accompanied with some considerable present, is paid to the governor of *Nanguazak*, by whom they are sent with a very numerous escort to the emperor. There they are introduced into the presence-hall upon their knees; and, with their hands joined together after the *Japanese* manner; and upon notice given that he is coming to his throne, which is usually surrounded with a kind of thin gauze curtain, they are obliged to prostrate themselves on their faces; and then one of the lords cries aloud, *The ambassador from Holland*, three times; which done, they retire in the same manner they came in; and, having received some presents from the emperor, are conducted back, under the same escort, to *Nanguazak*. This journey takes them up near, if not quite, three months

(B) The method they took to engross to themselves the whole traffick of this country, after the dreadful persecution of the Christians there, and the severe laws made against their ever setting foot in that empire, was, first, by pretending that they were the only people of *Europe* that were not Christians, for which they were hated by, and often at war with, all the rest; next, by informing the court of the various cabals and efforts of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* to regain some footing among them, in order to make themselves masters of so rich a country; and, thirdly, by directing them how to discover any of them that should come thither in disguise, viz. by obliging them to trample upon a cross or crucifix. By these means they so far ingratiated themselves with the *Japanese*, that they were admitted to trade with them upon such advantageous terms, that that sole branch was worth to them an immense sum yearly. It was not long, however, before they abused the confidence which the *Japanese* placed in them, by building a strong fort, instead of a storehouse, for their merchandizes, and bringing into it a considerable quantity of artillery, and warlike ammunition; in doing of which they were detected by the breaking of one of the carriages; upon which all these stores were seized for the emperor's use.

They found means, however, if not to clear themselves from their foul design, at least to palliate it so far, by pretending to mean no more by these preparations than to secure themselves from any insults or injuries that might be offered to them, but more especially from the numerous pirates that infest these seas, and frequently commit horrid depredations on the maritime parts, that they were again permitted to trade with them, but under such severe restrictions, and disadvantageous terms, to what they enjoyed before, as have considerably lessened their gain. They are now obliged to send and give notice of their arrival to the governor of *Nanguazak*, and, with it, an invoice of their men, their names, age, stature, &c. and of all the merchandizes they import; upon which a proper magistrate is dispatched on shipboard, to examine all their men and merchandizes, and see that they agree exactly with the invoice, and then both are suffered to land. They are again mustered up by proper officers; their names called one by one, to which they must answer, and give themselves an account of their age, quality and office. Their stature and complexion are carefully examined, to see that all agree with the first invoice in every respect; and then the invoice being translated into the *Japanese* language, and ratified by the commissary, is ordered to be dispatched immediately to court by a particular express. The next thing he is to do, is to take an exact inventory of, and to cause all the sails, masts, ropes, rudders, guns, arms, ammunition, &c. and all the tackle of the ships, to be conveyed into the emperor's warehouse, there to be kept under lock and seal till the time comes for their departure; at which time they are restored to them, according to the inventory taken of them, of which both parties have an exact duplicate. As soon as the ship's tackle is sent on shore, all the hatches are shut up and sealed by the same officer; nor can they be opened, whatever the crew that are left on board may want, without express leave from the governor, who always sends

a man to take notice of whatever is brought into, or taken out of, each ship, and to seal them down again. The crew of one ship are not permitted to converse with that of the other, neither are they allowed so much as to light a candle; and, if any noise or quarrel happens among them, they are liable to be severely punished. All the time that they ride in the harbour, no *Japanese* is permitted, under the severest penalties, to go on board them, or to trade with the sailors. Those that are allowed to carry them provisions, are forbidden to take any money, or other barter for them, till the permission for trading is arrived from court, and then they deliver up their accounts to the factors, and are paid by them. Every ship then is permitted to send six men on shore, to buy and sell for themselves; and to stay four days either in the island where their factory stands, or in the city, as they think fit; and, when they are returned to their respective ships, six others are allowed to come on shore to trade, for the like space of time; and so on.

As to their factory, it is situated on the point of a rock in a small island, or, as *Thevenot* calls it, a peninsula, named *Disnia*, or *Disima*, which is parted from the city of *Nanguazak* only by a river and a wall, which excludes them from all communication with the town. The island, according to *Thevenot*, is about two miles in compass; and no *Dutchman* dares stir out of it, during the whole time of their stay, which is about nine months in the year, without danger of being cut to pieces by the guards, which are set over them, and to guard the bridge over the river that parts them from the city. They are neither permitted to converse with those guards, nor with any natives, except such as are appointed by the governor as factors, brokers, or in some other such office. They are not so much as suffered to have a lighted candle in their houses, any more than on ship-board; and if the centinels hear any uncommon noise, or perceive any disturbance, among them, they give immediate notice of it by blowing a horn; upon which a party is dispatched by the governor, with an officer at their head, to inquire into the occasion of it, and doth not return till he hath discovered, and either punished, or at least severely threatened, the offenders. To this slavish condition, and to these severe restraints, they are forced to submit, the sailors and merchants near eight months, and the people of the factory the whole year (except the six weeks of open trade, during which great numbers of *Japanese* come into the island, and set up their rich booths, furnished with all manner of merchandizes), without any other diversion but gaming, drinking, and hiring a parcel of handsome wenches for their pleasure; for these are easily procured from the *B. yes*, or *Japanese* lords, who think it no disgrace to their dignity to trade with strangers in that sort of commodity.

Mr. *Daniel James*, accountant-general of *Batavia*, in his report made to the states general, adds to this account of their factory there, that they are obliged to make use of brokers who transact all the business between them and the *Japanese* merchants; and that the governor of *Nanguazak*, who, he believes, engrosses the greatest part of the trade to himself, compels them to deal with him upon what terms he pleases.

a and an half; during which they are not allowed to converse with any of the natives, except to answer such questions as the emperor's officers ask of them, much less to make any inquiry into the state of the empire, whether at war or in peace, whether under the former or a new emperor, &c.

As for the merchandizes brought by the company, the price of them, as well as the quantity and quality of the goods, are specified in the invoice; which, being translated into *Japanese*, is affixed on the gate that leads from the sea-port to their factory. To this last the *Japanese* resort for six weeks, to buy, sell, and barter with them, either for tea, porcelane, *Traffick with Japan, how carried on.* *Exchange of goods.* japan-work, and other commodities we have already mentioned, or for gold, silver, or copper bullion (C); but, the former of these being forbidden, the traffick of it is carried on by b stealth, and with no small risque. As soon as the six weeks are ended, the commerce is shut up for that year; and the *Japanese* are no longer permitted to go into the factory, nor the *Dutch* to go out of their ships, but sail away with the next fair wind, whilst those that belong to the factory remain alone in the island till the monsoon of the next year^p.

SHIPS of any considerable bulk or strength the *Japanese* have not had since the secular monarchs have thought fit to shut up their commerce with foreign nations. Heretofore, indeed, whilst the *Dayros* entertained large fleets, their men of war were mostly large and stout, built chiefly of cedar-wood, and fit for those tempestuous seas, and much after the *Chinese* manner; so were also then their merchant-men, with which they were wont to sail along those coasts, as far as *Tong-king*, *Siam*, *Bengal*, and other parts of *India*; but, since that time, the former *Shipping.* c have been, by order of those monarchs, either laid up or destroyed; and the latter reduced to a lesser number and standard, and built after such a manner as to render them quite unfit to venture far on those seas, or upon any long voyages; so that, excepting those which are used to carry on a contraband trade, and are still very numerous, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions against them, all the rest are only fit to cross over to *China*, *Korea*, or *Jetzo*, or to transport men and goods from one island or province to another of the empire. *Merchant-men, how built.*

THOSE which are the largest now in use are commonly between 80 and 90 feet in length, and between 22 and 25 in breadth, and built as well for rowing as for sailing. They all run tapering from the middle to the stem, and both ends of the keel stand a good way above the water. The body is not built roundish, as our *European* ships are; but that part which is below d the water runs almost in a strait line towards the keel. The stern is broad and flat, with a wide opening in the middle, reaching a good way downwards, and designed to prevent the subjects attempting to sail beyond their boundaries. The deck, which is somewhat raised towards the stern, consists only of deal boards laid loose together, without any fastening, and rises but a little above water when the ship hath its full lading. It is covered with a long cabin about six feet high, and running the length of the vessel, excepting only a small part towards the stern, where the anchors, tackle, &c. are deposited. This cabin juts out about two feet on each side of the ship, with folding windows all round, which may be either opened or shut at pleasure; and is divided into a number of partitions by folding screens, which may be taken off, or put on, in order to make them wider or lesser, for the convenience of the passengers. The far-thermost of them is always reckoned the best, and is appropriated to the noblest guest. The roof of the upper deck is almost flat, and of neat boards, curiously joined, and covered with mats, especially in wet weather. *Their length, &c.* *Decks, cabins, &c.*

THE vessel hath but one mast, and one large sail, both which are taken down when it rains; and the latter, which is large, and made of hemp, is spread out, for the sailors to shelter and lie under it. The anchors are of tough iron, and the ropes of twisted rice-straw, but very strong. Ships of bulk have commonly 30 or 40 hands to row when the wind fails; their benches are towards the stern, and their oars made bending, with a moveable joint in the middle. With these they row much after the manner of the *Chinese*, and other *Indians*, that is, by sinking them perpendicularly into the water, and raising them up again; which is done f with greater ease and advantage than ours, which only skim the surface of the water. The ship's timber and boards are fastened at each end, and in their joints, with hooks and bands of copper, and the stem is adorned with a knot of fringes made of thin, long, and black strings. Whenever any men of quality take their passage in these merchant-vessels, not only *But one mast, and one sail.* *Manner of rowing.*

^p THEVENOT, part iii. cap. 11. KEMPFER, & al.

(C) Both the silver and the copper are first weighed in scales made on purpose, and then put into boxes sealed with the emperor's seal; and the chief magistrate of the city of *Nanguesak* is security for the true weight and value of the metal in every box so sealed. Each box of the former is said to amount to 1000 crowns of *Dutch* money; and those of the latter to 130 pounds weight, and valued at twelve crowns each (27); and the *Dutch* company there make about 600 boxes of silver, and 2000 of copper, of the merchandizes they sell there, one year with another.

(27) *Conf. Dutch Embassy & Thevenot, lib. iii. cap. 11. Kemper, & al.*

Men of quality their cabins are lined and adorned with their coats of arms, and other insignia; but their pike ^a
often passen- of state, or badge of their authority, is planted upon the stern, on one side of the rudder,
gers in them. whilst the other hath a weather-flag waving for the use of the pilot. In smaller ships, as soon
 as one comes to an anchor, the rudder is wound up, and put on shore; so that one may pass
 through the opening of the stern as through a back-door, and walk over the rudder as over a
The materials. bridge to the land. Most of their vessels, both large and small, are built of fir or cedar-wood,
 both which are there in great plenty, and only differ in their make according to the purposes,
 or the chanel or seas, they are designed for.

Boats of plea- THE most beautiful of all are the pleasure-boats of the nobility, which are either made for
ture. rowing, or sailing on rivers, canals, lakes, &c. or to cross some narrow chanel from one island
 to another. These are not only very curiously wrought, carved, and gilt, but adorned with ^b
 several decks and stories, and other embellishments, according to the dignity or fancy of the
 owners. The first or lower deck is flat and low; upon which stands a second, more high and
 lofty, with open windows, and may be divided into more or fewer apartments, at pleasure,
 by means of folding-screens. Over this are built a low kind of turrets, with galleries and or-
 naments more or less lofty, according to the season, and in order to have the fuller prospect,
 when that will permit it. These are commonly adorned with the flags, and other insignia, of
 the possessor; the head and stern are raised likewise a great height above the water, and ad-
 orned with variety of carving, painting, gilding, &c. and the cabins, or apartments within,
 furnished and embellished with every thing that is curious and costly †.

A Mon. THE coin of *Japan* is either of gold, silver, or copper. The most valuable of the three is ^c
Obans, Co- well known to all the curious for its largeness and beauty, and the fineness of the metal, under
pans, their the name of *Obans*, and *Cobans* or *Copans*, the former of which goes for 10, though *Kämpfer*
marks. says it weighs but $9\frac{3}{4}$ of the latter; and this he reckons to be equivalent to $23\frac{1}{2}$ *Dutch* guilders,
 or between 42 and 43 shillings sterling. Others reckon the former to be worth 48 *Taillos*,
 each *Taillo* nearly equivalent to our crown, and the *Cobans* in proportion. Besides these, they
 have half and quarter *Cobans*, and others still smaller, down to the value of a *Taillo*; these,
 as well as some of the largest in silver, are of a beautiful oblong oval, stamped with *Japanese*
 characters expressing the *Dayro's* or emperor's name, that of the mint they were coined at, with
 that of head master of the mint, &c. to which private persons, especially merchants, add
 their own, or their mark, to know such as have passed through their hands. All these are too ^d
Silver coin. well known to the curious to need a farther description. Their silver money is rather a va-
 riety of flatted pieces of silver of different shapes, weight, and figure, than a coin; and, tho'
 some be cast more irregularly, some oblong, others round, &c. yet there was no certain rule
 either for that, or their thickness or weight. These they commonly make up in bundles, or
 rolls, each weighing exactly fifty *Taillos*, for large payments; but they had others of a less
 size and weight for smaller payments, some of them not unlike those little ones current thro'
 most parts of *India*, and the islands adjacent, 1000 of which were equivalent to 26, and others
 only to eight, of our pence; but these were all called in by the emperor *Cubosamma*, on ac-
 count of the various cheats that were committed by those that dealt in them; who, in their
 stead, ordered a copper coin to be stamped, or rather cast, of nearly an equivalent value, which, ^e
Copper. being less liable to fraud, hath been since current through the whole empire.

Architecture. THE *Japanese* architecture is much in the same taste and style as that of the *Chinese* else-
 where described, especially as to their temples, palaces, and other rich buildings; but, in
 private ones, they affect more plainness and neatness than shew. Their temples and monaste-
 ries are very numerous, and magnificent even to profusion; and both poor and rich gladly
 contribute towards the adorning the former with every thing that is grand and sumptuous, and
 the latter with all the delightful conveniencies suitable to a solitary life. But the private houses ^f
Private build- are plain, low, and mostly built of wood, and what they want in height they make up in
ings, and length and depth; the frequent hurricanes and earthquakes, to which they are subject, not
rest. permitting them to have stories one over another; nor to use stone in the building of them,
 except perhaps a platform about a foot above the ground, on which the wooden fabric stands.
Cities subject This makes their cities exceedingly liable to dreadful conflagrations, which reduce the greatest
to fires. part of them to ashes; they having neither engines, nor any method of abating the fury with
 which those dry materials usually burn. Whenever, therefore, such disasters happen, they
 only seek to save themselves, and their most valuable effects, by retiring into some low apart-
 ment built all of stone, and separate from the rest of the building; there being scarcely any
 tradesman or artificer that hath not some such place to flee to at such times, whilst the timber
 fabric serves them for dining-rooms, bed-chambers, work-shops, &c.

† De his, vid. CARON, KÄMPFER, VAREN & al. sup. citat.

TAYLOR, parv. book i. p. 9.

▲ 101.

§ De his, vid. VAREN. lib. i. c. 27.

|| Id. ibid. CARON & al. supra citat.

* See vol. iii. p. 500.

- a THEIR furniture is commonly plain, but neat. The floor of the house is a pavement covered with mats, and always kept very clean; on these they sit with their legs across under them, like other eastern nations; and, with some small improvement, the common people make them serve for beds to lie upon. The houses of the noblemen are large, and handsomely furnished, yet without any affectation of grandeur or gaudiness. They are commonly divided into two, some into more courts or apartments, in the most remote and retired of which their females live recluse; whilst the others are occupied by the men, and never looked into by the women. Their houses have usually a spacious court, with an ascent before, and a descent behind of three or four steps; and this last leads into the gardens, which are always adorned with variety of flowers, trees, verdure, baths, terraces, and other embellishments, all which yield a delightful view from the very entrance, from which the prospect lies open through all the courts of the edifice. Their apartments are neatly wainscoted with japan-work of various colours, or are hung with curious paintings on paper neatly put together; and disposed some in the manner of landscapes, others of pannels. Both the apartments of the men and of the women are divided into a great variety of rooms; and the partitions between them so contrived, as to be taken down on any public occasion, so that five, six, or more of them, may be easily thrown into one. This is commonly done in their festivals and grand entertainments, in the grandeur and magnificence of which they are affirmed to exceed all other nations, and to which they invite not only their living, but dead relations and friends; the latter of which is done by going in troops to their graves with burning lamps in their hands, calling each of them by their names, and entreating them to favour them with their presence.
- In the furniture of those apartments the grandees rather study neatness than costliness. Their beds, couches, screens, cabinets, tables, &c. are all made of the best materials in their kinds, and with proper embellishments, but without gaudiness or profusion. The chief ornaments of their rooms, next to them, consist in a great variety of porcelane jars, vases, tea equipage, and other vessels, figures, &c. in which they vastly excel the *Chinese*; but what they take the greatest pride in, is, the fine disposition and symmetry of a great number of swords, guns, scymetars, and other armory, with which they embellish the sides of their rooms, from about six or seven feet, quite up to the ceiling. If they appear extravagant in any thing, it is in the richness and beauty of those ceilings, which are commonly of the best cedar finely carved and gilt; and sometimes plated with gold and silver curiously wrought, and intermixed with variety of ornaments. In their retinue they are no less profuse; their being obliged to wait at court six months in the year engages them to make the best and grandest figure they can, if it were only in honour to the emperor, on whom they are bound to wait at all proper occasions: and this it is which makes them vie with one another in the splendour of their dress, coaches, and equipage. Their coaches and litters are exquisitely rich and grand within and without; though they are most of them close, especially those which are for the use of the women. Their retinue is more or less numerous and splendid according to their rank; but there are few of the lords that have less than 50 or 60 men richly clad and armed, some on foot, but most on horseback. As for the petty kings and princes, they are seldom seen without 200 or 300 at least, when they either wait on the emperor, or attend him abroad.
- THE *Japanese* dress is much like that of the *Chinese*, only somewhat more elegant and neat, and most commonly of silk or cotton. It consists of one or more short vests underneath, according to the season; and a long gown over it, which reaches down below the ankles. These are tied in such a manner about them with a silken girdle, that, if they have ever so many one under another, as in extreme cold weather, they are all to be seen from the pit of the stomach upwards. To this upper gown they add a large and loose one over all the rest, when they come into their houses, but put it off when they go abroad. They wear wide breeches like the *Chinese*, which come down below the calf; and their stockings underneath are made in the shape of a short boot, commonly either of silk or cotton, and generally quilted in winter. Their slippers or sandals are much after the *Chinese* manner, and without heels. They wear nothing on their heads either in winter or summer, though they shave themselves close all over, except one lock, which is left hanging on the top by way of ornament; but, to guard themselves from sun or rain, they always carry an umbrella in one hand; and, if rich enough, have them held over their heads by a servant. The poorest have, instead of that, either a fan, or short screen. All the men, down to the lowest rank, wear a dagger hanging on their girdle; and the better sort a large scymetar, or broad sword, hanging on their right side by a silk belt. As for the fashion of their clothes, it is much the same among people of all ranks, the difference consisting only in the richness of the stuffs, and the fineness of the colours. The children only are clothed in all the gaudiness of colours; and the youth, of their flowered silks. The dress of the women is not unlike that of the men, except in its being closer to

* See CARON, KÆMPFER, HAGEN, &c.

their bodies, and that they wear close drawers instead of wide trowsers. They commonly have a black covering over their heads, under which are seen their tresses hanging down in buckles: these, as well as their head-dresses, the women of fashion, the young ones especially, usually adorn either with flowers, feathers, pearls, &c. according to their rank; but are seldom seen abroad, or even at home, by any but those of the family, without a veil. They differ, however, in several of their customs, not only from the *Chinese*, but from most other nations, in making black the proper colour for their festivals, and white for their mourning. In the like manner, instead of rising at the approach of a superior, they set themselves down (D); and, instead of bowing or prostrating when they salute, they stand upright. They chuse to have their teeth and nails of a shining black, and to let the latter grow to an excessive length.

Mourning.

Diet.

Chief food.

THEY are very moderate in their diet, eating but little, if any, flesh, and that only of such beasts as they take in hunting. They are no less sparing of their fish and fowl; and scarcely take any of the latter, except of the wild kind. Several of their sects look upon it as inhuman to kill or eat any thing that hath life; all which flows from their belief of the transmigration of the soul, mentioned in a former article; and some of them carry their scruple to such a height, that they will neither eat milk, butter, cheese, nor eggs, of any kind, nor even wear any sort of clothing that hath belonged to any animal; but these are chiefly to be found among the monkish tribes of both sexes, the laity being less scrupulous about such niceties. However, the chief food of the *Japanese* is rice, pulse, fruits, roots, and herbs; but mostly rice, which they have in great plenty and perfection, and dress in so many different ways, and give to it such variety of tastes, flavour, and colour, that a stranger would hardly know what he eats. In their kitchens, and at their tables, they are surprisngly neat. They sit at the latter cross-legged; and, instead of knives, forks, or spoons, make use of the same sort of small sticks as the *Chinese*; and with such dexterity, that they will take up the smallest grain of rice or millet with them; and, as they never touch their meat with their hands, they have no occasion for napkins or table-cloths. They use variety of dishes among the great, which are commonly served in fine earthen bowls or plates.

Drink.

Strong liquors.

THEY affect the same niceness in drinking, never touching the cup with their lips, but holding it at some small distance, and letting it run down into their mouths without spilling a drop. Their chief liquor at their meals is water made a little warm: but, as soon as they have dined or supped, they drink a pretty large quantity of tea, which they use as their common drink or refreshment whenever they are thirsty, weary, or faint. But they have variety of exhilarating liquors, like the *Chinese*, and other orientals, some made of wheat, others of rice decocted with sugar or honey, and both made more or less strong, as they like best: some spirituous ones they likewise distil from those two grains, especially from the latter. Other liquors they make of fruits, like our cyder and made wines; others they tap from the palm, birch, and other trees, at a proper season, which are rather used as cordials, they being too intoxicating when drank in a larger quantity. We must however observe, that none of those strong liquors are ever tasted by the women, except in some extraordinary cases; nor even by the men, except on public festivals, and grand entertainments.

Festivals.

Plays, &c.

ON these occasions they indulge themselves in great variety of diversions, as music, dancing, masquerading, and plays. These last are most encouraged at court, where the emperors seldom fail to be present at them, and the chief actors are some of his principal ministers and nobility. These plays are neither so elegant nor so regular as ours, either with respect to the diction, plot, scenes, or imagery. They are commonly accompanied with some musical interludes; but neither the composition nor instruments can please an *European* ear; though some of their voices might, if the music were better. These kinds of entertainments are not only usual at court, but in a lower degree, more or less, among most ranks of people, either on public or private solemnities. We have already spoken of the former in another place; and, by the latter, is chiefly meant either their marriages or funerals.

Marriages.

THEIR marriages are commonly celebrated before some of the bonzas, at the foot of some idol. The common people go thither on foot, the bride and women attending being veiled,

^a See before, vol. iii. p. 632, & seq. ^w Vide sup. p. 500. CARON, KÆMPFER, HAGEN, & al. Vide XAVIER. Epist. FROES, & al. VAREN. & al.

(D) This opposition, which some authors have exaggerated to a monstrous degree without any foundation, is so far from proceeding from a contempt of the rest of the world, as they are falsely charged, that they can readily comply with the customs of other nations whenever a fair occasion offers itself; and it is no less plain, that they approach their emperor with bended knees, and prostrate themselves before him, or even be-

fore their own petty kings and lords. But it is their singular contempt of the *Chinese* stiffness, and affected formality, which we have elsewhere described (28), as rather deserving to be laughed at than followed, that hath driven them so near the opposite extreme of ceremonial, that, in revenge, they have represented them as downright antipodes to the rest of mankind in this and most other respects.

(28) See before, vol. iii. p. 635, & seq. Vide & CARON, VAREN. & al.

- a and preceded by some kind of music ; and the richer sort are conveyed thither in close coaches, and a more splendid retinue. The bride and bridegroom have each a lighted flambeau or lamp put into their hands, whilst the bonza performs the ceremony ; after which, the company congratulate them ; and the bride throws all her childish trinkets into the fire, in lieu of which she receives suitable presents from them. The ceremony over, they return with the same solemnity to the bridegroom's house, which is fitted in the best manner, according to his rank ; and the rejoicings usually last seven or eight days, accompanied with sumptuous banquets, music, dancing, plays, and other diversions, suitable to their circumstances ; and, among other promoters of mirth, the strong liquors lately mentioned are seldom forgotten or spared. The feast once concluded, the new wife is consigned to her own apartment, whence she hardly ever *Married woman's recluse life.*
- b stirs, except once a year to the funeral rites of her family, of which we shall speak by-and-by ; nor is she permitted to see any men, except perhaps some very near relation, and that as seldom as can be. From that time all the comfort of her life must result from the good œconomy she can establish in her family, and among those servants she hath under her ; and the preserving of her husband's favour by all endearing methods, till her pregnancy and fertility intitles her to new delights and employments (E).

THE wives here, as well as in *China* and other parts of the east, bring no portion with them, but are rather bought by the husband of her parents or relations ; only with this difference, that, during the marriage solemnity, these send him some considerable presents, which he as generously returns back, with some addition and compliments. The courtship, marriage-
c contract, and other previous ceremonies, are carried on by third hands, mostly by some relations of both sides ; so that the bridegroom most commonly sees his bride for the first time upon her being brought to his house from the place of the nuptial ceremony ; for, in the temple where it is performed, she is covered with a veil which reaches from the head to the feet.

THE men allow themselves a plurality of wives, of which the first is reckoned the principal, and the rest, who are subordinate to her, are only wives of the second rank. Besides these, the richer sort commonly keep a number of concubines ; and the man hath this advantage over them all, that, if they do not please him, he can divorce any of the former, and turn away the latter, without being obliged to give any reason for either. He can even put them to a
d more or less severe death, if they give him any cause of jealousy by being seen barely to converse with another man, or suffering any of them to come into her apartment ; but, if caught in the act of infidelity, the husband never fails of revenging it in the most severe manner* : and, though these examples can rarely happen where the women are so strictly confined, and narrowly watched, yet that guilty passion hath often found means to break through all those restraints, and to leap over or break through the strongest fences, to bring the lover to the object beloved ; the reader may see two dreadful instances of this in the margin (F).

To

* XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. Vid. & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

(E) The *Japanese* have a common proverb, that a woman hath no habitation of her own from her cradle to her coffin ; whilst a daughter, she is with her parents ; when a wife, with her husband ; and, when a widow, with her children. However, if she hath not the misfortune to be married to a brutish husband, she stands a good chance for a pretty comfortable life, especially if above the lower rank ; for not only the grandees and princes, but the rich merchants and tradesmen, take care to make her apartments as agreeable to her as they can, not only in the furniture and conveniencies, but likewise in the quality and number of servants under her, and in the fine gardens, walks, groves, baths, canals, fishponds, and other delightful scenes, because they seldom visit those apartments but with a view of unbending their minds, and indulging themselves in all the pleasures that the place can yield to them ; so that she hath no other care but to receive him with a modest and dutiful cheerfulness, and to see that servants, and children if she have any, and every thing about her, behave and appear before him in such a manner as to give him delight ; that the discourse, pleasures, and diversions, she proposes, be suitable to his temper ; and by all means to avoid talking or hinting a word about his own affairs, for that would be esteemed an unpardonable infringement on his prerogative, and send him away in a passion, if not perhaps give him such a disgust as to forsake her apartment, and go and solace him-

self in that of his concubines ; for they are never allowed to inquire into any thing without the limits of their own apartment, or to know more of his affairs, or of what passes in the world, than he is pleased to communicate to them.

When the *Japanese* are asked the reason for their thus immuring their women, and keeping them up with such strictness, they gravely answer, that necessity compelled them to it ; for that, in former times, they used to allow them greater liberty ; but that it was attended with such dreadful and tragical consequences, of which they say their history is full, that they were forced to restrain it, and confine them, in the manner they do, to more suitable and useful employments (29) : for, besides the care of their children and family, they commonly spend part of their time in some profitable work with their women, such as painting, flourishing, japanning, breeding of silkworms, making of clothes, and other pretty ornaments, for their children, and adding some new thing to the furniture of their apartment, or making such alteration in their house and gardens as they best know will be most agreeable to their husbands ; so that, considering they are brought up with no other notion of happiness than this, their lives are nothing so uncomfortable as we are apt to suppose them, provided their husbands be but commonly humane, and they can behave so as not to give them any cause of jealousy.

(F) The first is of a prince or lord of the small island

Nobles marry
within their
rank.

Female reti-
me, how dis-
posed of.

Festivals in
honour of the
dead,

performed at
the sepul-
chres.

To conclude this article, the *Japanese* generally marry within their own rank, the princes^a with princeesses, nobles with noble women, and so downwards, but with respect only to the wives of the first class; the others they may take out of any inferior rank, yet not without the emperor's leave. They commonly get a number of young virgins of birth and education, and above the age of fourteen, to attend their wives, and be a kind of companions to them. These go usually dressed with the utmost gaiety and splendor; and, when they have continued some years with them, are given in marriage to some of their lord's favourites, with the addition of a certain sum of money, and other presents, according as they have behaved. Others perhaps chuse to continue in their place whilst they live; and it would be accounted the greatest disgrace either to the grandee, or to the ladies themselves, to be taken from that rank, to become his concubines. The wives of the mercantile and handicraft rank^b are not without such companions, their husbands hiring or buying them from their parents for that purpose, to what number they can best afford. Their maintenance in clothes, &c. is made the more easy to him, as they are generally employed in some profitable work; but the chief design of having them, is, rather to prevent, as much as possible, all intrigues with the wife; for it would end as fearfully with the maids as with the mistress, if any such discovery were made against her, of which they had not apprised the husband, as may be seen by the first instance we have given in the last note^c.

THE other private festival of the *Japanese* is that which they celebrate in honour of their dead relations, and is performed with at least as much ceremony and grandeur as their weddings; only in these, feasting and carousing become much more necessary ingredients, if it were but to dispel the gloominess which naturally attends those funerals and annual obsequies; which is not a little heightened by the mournful songs, verses, speeches, and gestures, of the bonzas who attend at them: for these jugglers have an excellent way of chousing the people out of their money, by describing the state of the deceased in the most moving colours, in order to procure them all sorts of assistance from the living, such as money, victuals, cloathing, &c. which they make themselves the conveyers of to them, according to their several wants, even to bills of exchange, to procure them their freedom from some dreadful servitude to an ill-natured demon, or to procure them better habitations, or to dispel those evil spirits which obstruct their passage thither; all which the credulous laity take for granted, and contribute all in their power, or even beyond it, to their supposed relief. On these anniversary occasions all the kindred of^d the deceased, rich and poor, without distinction, assemble at the house of the head of the family, whence, after an entertainment accompanied with songs and music, they proceed with great ceremony to the sepulchres of their dead, which are commonly a good way out of their cities or towns, some carrying the streamers and insignia of their ancestors, and the rest torches in their hands. There they find another banquet prepared for them, to which they invite all the deceased by name: funeral orations in prose and verse are made in praise of them; songs and music conclude the ceremony; and the remains of the banquet, as well as the presents which are brought thither for the dead, are left behind for the bonzas to dispose of to them, as they see fit. The feast lasts usually several days and nights; during which, the richer part of the kindred take care to supply it with fresh provisions, and strong liquors; and, at the end of it, they all return, in the same order, to the town, beating upon their^e

^y XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. vid. & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

of *Evardo*, who having discovered that one of his wives had admitted a young nobleman to some private conference, from which he concluded she had or intended to permit him greater favours, condemned her, and two young ladies her confidants, to be shut up in a large vessel full of sharp spikes with the points inward, and to be rolled up and down in it till they were dead; and ordered her young paramour to rip up his own bowels.

The next is still more dreadful, and the only one of that kind which happened within the time of *Caron's* being in that country. A person of middle rank, suspecting his wife of carrying on an intrigue of the same kind, pretended to his family, that he was going upon some long journey; but returned so suddenly and unexpected, that he caught the man with her in her apartment, and immediately killed him. The wife he tied to a ladder by the head and feet, and left her in that condition all that night. On the morrow he invited all her friends to a splendid entertainment; and, upon their asking why she did not make her appearance

among the rest of his family? he told them, that she was taken up with preparing the remainder of the banquet; and, when it was almost over, went to the dead body of the paramour, cut off his genitals, and, having stuck them all over with flowers, clapped them in a covered vessel; then, untying his wife, bade her dress herself in her best apparel, and sent her with it to the guests, with these words, *Go, and try whether they will plead for thee, and prevail upon me to forgive thy fault, for the sake of what is here inclosed.* The wife, half-dead with fear and shame, did as he bade her; and, with wild haggard looks, entered the room, and laid the covered vessel on the table, not knowing what was in it, and fell on her knees trembling before them; but, upon uncovering it, and finding what it contained, she swooned away; and the husband, drawing out his scymetar, cut off her head; which soon put an end to the entertainment, and sent every guest home in the utmost surprise at what they had seen (30).

(30) *Caron, ubi sup. Varen, lib. i. cap. 12 & 13.*

a drums, brass pans, and other instruments, before every temple and nobleman's house they pass by ^z.

THEIR funerals are performed with much the same pomp, but with this addition, that when a prince or great man dies, there are commonly about ten, twenty, or more youths of his household, and such as were his greatest favourites, who put themselves to a voluntary death, at the place where the body is buried or burned (G). It is the common opinion of the *Japanese*, that the more pomp and grandeur is observed at their funerals, of which those voluntary victims are reckoned a considerable part, the better they shall fare in the next life. On which account, the survivors spare no cost to have them performed in the grandest manner. Among the rich, the corpse, splendidly dressed, is carried in a sumptuous litter, made of cedar, and exquisitely wrought; the women that accompany it are also carried in litters, coaches, or sedans, but closely covered, and the men relations walk on foot, not in that ragged and dirty guise which the *Chinese* do [†], but dressed in the richest manner, in white cotton stuffs, preceded and followed by multitudes of bonzas, some carrying the streamers and banners of the deceased, others singing or playing on instruments, and by all the domestics and acquaintance of the family, all likewise clad in white.

WHEN they are come to the place where the funeral pile is erected, which is generally very magnificent, and composed of the most odoriferous woods, gums, spices, oils, and other aromatic ingredients, the litter on which the corpse is laid is conveyed, by twenty or thirty bonzas, to the top of the pile. Then follow the funeral oration, songs, and other ceremonies. After which, the fire is set to several parts of the pile at once; and, whilst that burns, the relations and friends throw their presents into it, such as cloaths, arms, victuals, money, sweet herbs, flowers, and other things, which, they suppose, will be of use to him in the other world. The young men above-mentioned, after a solemn, yet seemingly joyful, farewell to all their acquaintance there present, rip up their own bowels, with their own hands, and then are flung into the pile, in order to follow their lord into the other world. We omit a great many other superstitious ceremonies performed by the bonzas, to drive away the evil spirits, and invite good ones to conduct the deceased into his new abode, and others by the rest of the company, to wish him a happy one; of the sons, daughters, wives, and concubines, to express their sorrow, as having nothing worth notice, but their odd singularity and excess. The ceremony concludes with a sumptuous banquet, of all sorts of dainties (flesh, fish, and fowl, excepted), and variety of liquors, music, &c.; and whilst the company are enjoying themselves at it, the sons, or nearest relations, who never taste of it, are employed in casting up and paying the expences of the funeral, of the sacrifices, pile, gums, lamps, music, &c. to the bonzas, who are the general undertakers there, and commonly add some further sums for the use of the deceased. The feast being ended, the same bonzas carry off the remainder, together with what other things they find unconsumed in the pile, that had been flung into it by the relations. On the next day, the sons come and gather up the bones and ashes of the deceased, and put them in some rich urn, and deposit them among those of their ancestors, either in the same place, or in some new-built one; and these are commonly sumptuous edifices, adorned with niches and altars, on which these urns are set up, together with the insignia and pedigree of each person, their characters, actions, &c. written or engraven on large tables, with all proper ornaments ^e.

THOSE of the middle or lower rank commonly bury their dead without any other burning than that of some odoriferous woods, gums, &c. and rear some kind of mound, with trees or sweet plants, over their graves, or perhaps some sort of altar tomb. They are obliged to invite the bonzas and relations, and to pay the former, and feast the latter, in the best manner their circumstances will allow, and commonly bury some valuable things with the corpse, for the use of the deceased. These sepulchres are also to be at some distance from the town; and those who can afford it usually surround them with some inclosure, planted with variety of trees, which make a handsome shew ^f.

THE *Japanese* are commonly healthy, strong, and long-lived, their moderate living and industry keep them from a great variety of distempers common in other parts of *India*. They have one, however, which is of a dreadful and nauseous nature, and against which they have

^z XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. vide & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.
VER. Epist. FROES, & al. vid. & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

[†] See before, vol. iii. p. 629.

^e XA

^f Ibid. ibid.

(G) It is, it seems, a common thing with these young gentlemen to engage themselves, by an oath, long before, that, upon their lord's death, they will attend him into the other world. This is done with a design to ingratiate themselves to them, and with a kind of solemnity, in which they own their great and undeserved

favours, for which they cannot make them any better returns, than by sacrificing thus their lives to their manes. The speech ended, is confirmed by drinking a cup of wine; which last ceremony is esteemed so binding, that no *Japanese* dares break an oath that is ratified by it (31).

as yet found no remedy, viz. the leprosy, which, in some parts especially, is so rife, that it gradually corrodes and rots their flesh and limbs. Those unhappy persons who are infected with it, are immediately secluded from the rest, and obliged to live at a great distance from towns and inhabited places, and, if of the poorer rank, are confined to little low huts, without either assistance or even pity, till death gives them a happy release out of their extreme misery^c. Next to that we may reckon the small pox, diarrhæa, and bloody-flux, which are frequent and rife, though not of a dangerous nature; and yet the two latter prove sometimes so excruciating, that some of the *Japanese* will chuse to put an end to them, by some speedy death, rather than endure the exquisite pain they give them. They are likewise afflicted with a variety of other cholicky distempers, one of which, called by them spasms, or convulsions of the bowels, and is, in some measure, endemial to that country, is attended with strange symptoms, not unlike those of the hysteric affection, and often puts the patient in fear of being suffocated; the whole region, from the groin up to the false ribs, and higher, being strongly convulsed; and, after it hath tormented the patient for a long time, will end in tumors and swellings in several parts of the body, particularly in the testicles of the men, and the pudenda in the women, and turn to abscesses and pustules, attended with the falling of the hair^d. These, and several other kinds of cholicks, particularly that which they cure by pricking with needles^e, are so rife among them, that scarcely one in ten grown persons is wholly free from them. As for gout, stone, or gravel, they are hardly known among them^f.

WE have, by this time, gone through the most remarkable particulars relating to the *Japanese* empire in general. But, before we come to speak of the origin, antiquity, and history, of that nation, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the division and topography of it, which, for clearness and method's sake, we have reserved for this place, on account of the connection they have with some material changes that have happened in the government, and of which we have been obliged to speak in a former section^g, for the better understanding of what we have to say on that subject we are now going upon.

SECTION III.

Of the Division and Topography of Japan.

Japan, *how divided.*

THIS large empire consists of three principal islands; viz. 1. *Nippon*, or *Hippon*, by far the largest of all, from which the whole hath its name; 2. *Ximo*, the next in bigness; and, 3. *Xicoco*, the smallest of the three, and situate between the two former. Around these lie a great number of others, of different sizes; the most considerable of which shall be taken notice of in their order; and as for the rest, concerning which we know little, except their names and situation, we shall refer our readers to the map adjoining. To these we may add the large continent of *Jedzo*, on the north side of the great island of *Nippon*, the southern parts of which, at least, are subject to the emperor of *Japan*, as well as all the islands above-mentioned. To these we might add a vast number of other small ones, called by the *Japanese* the *Liquejo*, or *Rinku* isles, extending themselves southward, in a kind of string, from that of *Ximo* almost to that of *Formosa*, the greatest part of which are inhabited, and under the *Japanese* government, if not originally peopled by them^a.

The Liquejo, and other islands.

THE whole empire was antiently divided into seven principal regions or territories, and these into sixty-two provinces, which were again subdivided into 604 districts (A); for a farther account of which, we must refer our readers to the relation which Mr. *Kæmpfer* hath given of them^b.

The island of Nippon described.

THE island of *Nippon* lies about 30 leagues east of *Korea*, last described*, and extends itself from 33° 10' to 41° of north latitude, and from 132½° to 147½° east longitude; and is di-

^c VAREN. lib. i. c. ult. KÆMPF. FROES, & al. before, p. 18, & seq.

^d KÆMPF. Append. ad Hist. Japan.

^e See

^f KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.

^g See before, p. 11, & seq.

^a KÆMPF. Hist. Japan, lib. i. c. 1. & seq. VAREN. lib. i. c. 1. & seq. iii. p. 748.

^b KÆMPFER, ubi supra.

* Vol.

(A) The names of those chief regions, and the provinces belonging to each, are as follow; 1. *Tokaido*, which contains fifteen provinces; 2. *Toussando*, or mountainous eastern region, eight; 3. *Koku-rokudo*, or northern region, seven; 4. *Saniado*, or cold mountainous region, eight; 5. *Sanjado*, or warm southern mountainous region, eight; 6. *Saikaido*, or western coast, nine; 7. *Nankaido*, or southern coast, six.

The five first are situate in the great island of *Nippon*,

the other two are in those of *Ximo* and *Xicoco*, and some others adjacent, and of a smaller size. To these we may add those of *Tsuzima* and *Iki*, with a group of little ones about them, which the *Japanese* took from the *Koreans*, in their war with them. These are under a tributary prince, and are neither large nor fertile, and are only famed for a vast multitude of temples and idols, and the vast concourse of people to them, from all the adjacent countries (1).

(1) *Kæmpfer, Caron, Varen. & al.*

- a divided on the north side from the land of *Jedzo*, above-mentioned, by the double freights of *Sangaar* and *Jedzo*, erroneously called, in some of our maps, the freights of *Kamtschatta*, between which lies the island of *Matsuma* (B), and a number of smaller ones on each side, all of them belonging to the north-eastern province of *Oxu*. Its form is very irregular, and not unlike that of a jaw-bone, and with such a vast number of windings, as makes it impossible to ascertain its true circumference; only it is computed to be about 1500 miles at least. Its length from east to west, is about 660 miles; and breadth, from north to south, where broadest, about 400, but, in other parts, only between 150 and 200 miles. It was divided, in the times of the *dairo*'s, into fifty-three or fifty-five kingdoms, all tributary to them; but, since the *cubo*'s deprived these monarchs of their secular power, those divisions have not only undergone very great alterations, but have been since in a state of constant fluctuation; it being a constant policy of these last-named monarchs to suffer their tributary kings to war against, and encroach upon, each other, to depose some, if grown too powerful and obnoxious, and divide their territories between two or three of their favourites, and erect each into kingdoms or principalities; at other times, to join two or more into one, as suits best their interest or humour, but always with a view of preventing their growing too strong, and shaking off their allegiance; which hath been often the case heretofore under the *dairo*'s, and is sometimes still under the *cubo*'s, as will be seen in the sequel.

*How divided
antiently.*

*Kingdoms in a
constant fluctuation.*

THESE kingdoms are again divided into provinces, and the provinces into so many districts; both which are likewise in a constant fluctuation, and at one time belonging to one prince, by-and-by to another, and still from the same cause, and with the same views: for which reason, we shall not say more of them here, but confine ourselves to one remarkable one, which takes in almost the whole island, and is styled by the *Japanese* books, the *Gokinai*, or *Goka-kokf*, or five provinces of the imperial revenue: because the whole revenue of them is appropriated to the maintenance of the emperor and his court.

1. THE first is called *Jamasia jro*, extends about 100 *Japanese* miles, from north to south; hath a fertile soil, several considerable cities and towns, and is divided into eight districts.
 2. *Jamatto*, alias *Vos-tu*, of about the same extent and fertility, and divided into fifteen districts; it had formerly many considerable cities; great part of which are gone since into decay.
 3. *Kafsu*, or *Kavatsfu*, of about two days journey extent; tolerable good soil, and fifteen districts.
 4. *Idsumo*, alias *Sensju*, a large, though not very fertile, tract, extending 100 *Japanese*, or 250 of our miles, from south to west; it is bounded by the sea on one side, and a ridge of mountains on the other; it hath plenty of fish, corn, and pulse, and is divided into three districts.
 5. *Sit-zu*, *Siz-ju*, alias *Yfino-kuni*, extending itself about two days and a half journey in length, from south to north, the former situate on a considerable bay, and in a warm climate, abounding with variety of pulse, fish, and salt, and reckoned a plentiful country; it is divided into thirteen districts.
- Which, with those of the other four provinces, amount, in all, to fifty-four, each of which hath its capital, besides a number of other considerable towns, which we have no room to mention. The four principal cities in this island are, *Meaco*, *Jeddo*, *Osacca*, *Gurunga*, and *Saccai*.
- MEACO, or rather *Miaco*, so styled on account of its being the antient metropolis of the whole empire, and the residence of the antient and present *dairo*'s (C), is situate near the middle of the southern coast, in a fertile and spacious plain, surrounded, at some distance, by delightful high mountains, which yield a most noble prospect to the town, and country about

*The five pro-
vinces appro-
priated to the
imperial re-
venue.*

*Principal ci-
ties.*

*Meaco de-
scribed.*

* KÆMPFER, ubi supra, c. 5.

(B) This last particular is not yet fully agreed on, there being still some authors who think that the north part of it joint to the land of *Jedzo*, and therefore chuse to call it a peninsula, concerning which the reader may consult M. *De Lisle*'s elaborate letter on that subject. But if we may rely on the late discoveries of the *Dutch*, *Russian*, and the maps they, as well as the *Japanese*, have given us of it, but especially the latter, who carry on so considerable a trade with that country, there is no room to doubt but they are really divided from each other, by the large freights above-mentioned. The *Japanese* maps above-mentioned were in the hands of the late Sir *Hans Sloane*; and a copy of it may be seen in the *English* version which Mr. *Scheuchzer* hath given us of *Kæmpfer*'s history of *Japan* (2).

(C) The word *Miaco* signifies a city, and is here emphatically used, to express its metropolitan dignity, as the *Romans* styled their capital *urbs* (3). But though it

hath still continued to be the residence of the *dairo*'s, who keep a magnificent court in it, yet it is considerably decayed from its pristine grandeur and largeness, not only by the removal of so great a part of its glory, viz. all the tributary kings, princes, nobles, and grandees, to the other capital of *Jeddo*, where the emperor resides, but much more so by the devastations it suffered during the civil wars, when the greatest part was reduced to ashes by the *cubo*'s troops (4). It was indeed rebuilt not long after, but in nothing so grand and splendid a manner. The greatest part of its palaces were left to go to decay, and others, which had been destroyed by the wars, were never rebuilt; because the owners of them were obliged to reside at the court of *Jeddo*. We are likewise told, that some parts of the city were never rebuilt. So that from 180,000 houses, which it contained, when in its full splendor, it had, in the time of the missionaries being there, not above 100,000 (5).

(2) See Introduction to that version, and plate 8. at the end of tome i.

(3) *Kæmpfer*, ubi supra, lib. v.

(4) See before, p. 5. (G). & alibi pass.

(5) Vide *Epist. Xaver. Mission. Fœder. Varan. & al.*

A noble
bridge.

Castle.

Circuit,
walls, &c.Number of
inhabitants.Public build-
ings.Private
houses.

Fast trade.

it, they being, for the most part, covered with stately temples, monasteries, burying places, and pleasure-houses, all of them surrounded and adorned with gardens, orchards, and the greatest variety of verdure, watered by a vast number of rivulets, which come down from those mountains. Three rivers, the largest and deepest of which springs from the great lake *Omi*, or *Oitz*, and the other two from the adjacent hills above-mentioned, after having crossed over some part, unite their waves in the centre of the city, where a noble bridge, about 200 paces long, is built over them. Thence bending their stream towards the south-west, after a course of about twenty or thirty miles, fall into the large bay of *Osacca*. Hence the city is divided into upper and lower, the former of which was by far the noblest, on account of the vast concourse of the quality, who then resided in it, as well as of the daïro's palace and court, which is situate on the north side of it, and divided from it by a high wall and broad ditch, and of which we shall give a sketch by-and-by. On the western side of the city stands a noble stout castle, all of square stones, and formerly built for the security of the daïro's, during the civil wars. It still serves as a palace for the cubo's, or emperors, when they pay their visits of homage to the daïro, and all the rest of the time is kept by a small garrison, with a commander at their head. It is about 600 yards in length, and surrounded with two ditches, the one dry, the other full, and abounding with fish, particularly carp of a delicious kind. In the center of the castle stands a tower, of a considerable height, which commands the whole city, and parts adjacent.

This twofold city appears, by the stately high walls of it, to have been about twenty miles in length, and nine or ten in breadth, when in its full splendor; besides its large suburbs, and the imperial palace, which is a city by itself, and divided from the rest. The streets are generally narrow, but long and strait, and so full of inhabitants, that, upon a public account being taken of them, according to their several sects, the whole amount was found to be near 500,000, exclusive of the several thousands that compose the daïro's court, and a much greater number of bonzas, nuns, and other recluses, who, on another list taken of the city, were found to amount to above 52,000, and the rest of the inhabitants to 477,557, in all 529,726, exclusive still of the daïro's court, and of an infinite multitude of strangers, who flock to it from all parts of the empire ^d.

We have already mentioned its university, and stately colleges, both within and without the walls, and at small distances from it ^e. The number of its temples is much greater, and some of them even magnificent beyond conception ^f. The number of those that belong to the *Budso* sect or religion, which is that which was introduced hither from *China*, and other parts, amounts to no less than 3893, small and great ones included, and those belonging to the *Sintos*, or antient religion, to 2127; princely palaces are reckoned 157; streets 18,8; bridges 87; and houses 138,979 ^g. This, as well as the estimate of the men, women, children, ecclesiastics, &c. is taken once a year, and the sects each belong to, with great exactness; a sample of one of which may be seen in the margin (D). As to the private houses, they are but low, not above two stories high, mostly built of wood covered over with clay and lime, and but slightly thatched. Most of them have either a reservoir, or some troughs full of water, with proper vessels and conveyances for extinguishing fire, to which they are very liable. In other respects, they commonly are neat, plain, and convenient, and scarcely one of them, either in the city or suburbs, that doth not deal in some commodity or other. So that, notwithstanding its great decay, on the accounts above-mentioned, it is still the grand storehouse of all the manufactures

^d KÆMPFER. lib. ii. cap. 5. Vide & VAREN. lib. i. cap. 22. CARON, FROES, & al. Vide & EPIST. XAVER. &c.
^e See before, p. 8. & seq. ^f Ibid. p. 9. & seq. ^g Vide KÆMPFER. lib. v. cap. 9.

(D) *Kæmpfer* hath given us one or two of those *Ara-*
tames numberings, which were taken during his abode
among them. That which follows was in the twelfth
year of the reign of the emperor *Kinsén*, anno 1675;
and is as follows:

A List of all the Religions and Sects professed at Miaco;
together with the number of Persons belonging to each.

	Persons.
1. Of the su or sect of <i>Ten-dai</i> — —	1,009
2. ————— of <i>Singon</i> — —	18,095
3. ————— of <i>Sen</i> — —	16,058
4. ————— of <i>Riffin</i> — —	9,998
5. ————— of <i>Fosso</i> — —	5,513
6. ————— of <i>Fokke</i> — —	97,728
7. ————— of <i>Siwo-dofui</i> — —	159,113
8. ————— of <i>Dai-nembudsu</i> — —	289
9. ————— of <i>Nis-fonguan</i> — —	54,586
10. ————— of <i>Fogas-fonguan</i> — —	99,016

	Persons.
11. Of the su or sect of <i>Bukkoo</i> — —	8,576
12. ————— of <i>Takkada</i> — —	7,576
13. ————— of the <i>Jammabos</i> , or mountain priests — —	6,073
14. ————— of the <i>Siukke</i> , or priests of the <i>Budso</i> religion — —	37,093

So that the whole amount of the sectaries came to 477,557 persons, and the priests, or ecclesiastics, to 52,169 (6), besides above 9000 *Argi*, or secular persons attending the temples. All that needs be added, to explain what is said above, is, that the twelve first are sects which take their names from some of their gods, or principal temples; and the *Jammabos* and *Siukke* are regular monks, living recluse from the world, the former in monasteries built on mountains and retired places, the latter in plains, cities, towns, &c. So that the two latter orders are different from the bonzas, or priests belonging to the twelve first sects.

(6) *Kæmpfer*. lib. v. cap. 9.

a of *Japan*, and of all foreign and home merchandizes, and the principal seat of their commerce. Here they refine their metals, and coin their money, print books, and carry on all sorts of manu-^{Variety of}factures; here they weave and dye the finest and richest silks and stuffs, make and sell the most ^{wares.} beautiful japan-work, porcelane, musical instruments, paintings, carvings, all sorts of gold, silver, and copper work, in the greatest perfection, but more particularly steel of the finest temper, and curious workmanship; all sorts of gowns, and other dresses, ready-made for both sexes, and an infinite variety of toys and trinkets; in a word, there is hardly any kind of commodity but is to be sold there, nor any sort of ingenious workmanship which they will not imitate. In this, as in most other trading cities of the east, every trade hath its own particular street, ward, or quarter; if they be too numerous, every one under their proper officers and ^{Government.} inspectors, who are all accountable to the grand minister or president of justice, as he is there styled, and is a person of the greatest authority in the whole empire, next to that of the emperor. He always resides in the city, where he has a magnificent palace in one of the finest parts of it; all the grandees, governors, and other officers, who have posts in any of the imperial cities, revenue, &c. are under his inspection and authority; and he alone is the judge and moderator of all the differences that happen between them.

c Of all the sumptuous edifices of this metropolis, the daïro's palace is by far the largest and ^{Dairo's palace.} most magnificent, and is a kind of city by itself, being situated on an eminence on the north side of the town, and surrounded with stately walls flanked with high towers, and with a double, some say a treble, ditch, of a considerable breadth and depth. The inside consists of twelve or thirteen streets, or double rows of buildings, in which his court reside. In the center are his own, and his wives and childrens apartments, all built and furnished in the grandest manner, and embellished with gardens, orchards, summer-houses, terraces, and every thing that is curious and rich in art and nature, exclusive of what travellers are apt to add of their own^a. In the center of the whole, as well as in that of the castle, is a stately tower, with seven or eight stories, much like those of the *Chinese*, formerly described¹, except that they do not decline so gradually in their thickness, but are broader, and more squat, in proportion to their height.

MEACO is situate in the province of *Jamatto*, in latitude $45^{\circ} 38'$, or, according to others, 46° ; east longitude, $138^{\circ} 15'$, and about 276 miles west from *Jeddo*^k.

d JEDDO, *Jedo*, or *Yeddo*, the other metropolis of *Japan*, since the cubo's, or crown gene-^{Jeddo de-}erals, gained the supreme civil power, is situate in a fine spacious plain in the province of *Mu-*^{scribed.} *sasi*, and at the end of a large bay of its own name, famed for its vast plenty of fish, particularly its excellent lobsters, crabs, and other shell fish; but so shallow, as to admit of no ship of any bulk to come up to the city, they being forced to unlade about a league or two below it. It is, in all other respects, the most considerable city in all *Japan*, not only for its ^{Vast commerce.} richness and vast commerce, but for its largeness and populousness, on account of the many princes, lords, and grandees, who, with their numerous trains and families, swell up the court, city, and suburbs, to an incredible number. The city, towards the bay, forms the figure of a crescent; and is affirmed by the *Japanese* to be seven of their miles long, five broad, and ^{Compass.} twenty in circumference (E). It is not inclosed with any walls; but, instead of them, is, like most other cities in *Japan*, intersected with many large canals and broad ditches, with high ^{Canals and} ramparts on both sides, and planted with rows of trees, not so much for defence or ornament, as to prevent the spreading of those dreadful conflagrations to which it is frequently subjected; only, towards the castle, those ramparts are observed to be shut up by strong gates, where they probably serve likewise for a defence against any assault from the city.

f JEDDO stands on the large river *Tonkag*, which runs from the west, through it, into the ^{River.} haven, and there discharges itself by five different streams, each of which hath a bridge over it; whilst a considerable branch of it surrounds the castle, and fills its ditches with water. The ^{Principal} most considerable of the bridges above-mentioned is called *Nipponbas*, or the bridge of *Ja-*^{bridge.} *pan*; and from it all the roads, and distances of places, in the empire, are taken. It is about 250 yards long, and is laid over that branch of the river which surrounds the castle, and thence opens on both sides into a fine long street fifty paces broad, which crosses the whole city, and is always thronged with people of all sorts, and with some of the highest quality of both sexes, richly dressed, and carried through it in their chairs and palankins.

^a See it described in our English Atlases, Dutch Ambassy, VARENIUS, and others.
vol. iii. p. 641.

^k KÆMPF. VAREN. RICCI, & al.

¹ See before,

(E) The *Japan* miles are above double the length of our common ones, four of theirs making about ten of ours; so that *Jeddo* must be about 17 of these in length, and 12 in breadth; but, if our author meant *Dutch* leagues by them (7), it will be still much larger, viz.

above 20 of our miles in length, 15 in breadth, and almost 60 in compass. Most authors, who have copied after him, do indeed take him in this latter sense; but we rather think that he speaks of those of *Japan*.

(7) Conf. Kæmpf. Caron, Varen. Ricci, & al. sup. citat.

- Populousness.* The city is populous, and the number of the natives, foreigners, and ecclesiastics, is almost a
Court. incredible; neither can it be well otherwise, considering the multitudes of nobles and officers of all ranks and posts that compose the imperial court, but more especially the families of all the princes of the empire, who reside there almost all the year round, with numerous retinues suitable to their quality; whilst those princes themselves are permitted to absent themselves from court only six months in the year, to go and take care of their hereditary dominions; after which they are obliged to return, and spend the remainder of the year in that capital. *Jeddo* is not near so regularly built as *Meaco*, and other cities of *Japan*, because it swelled up by degrees to its present bulk since the cubo's began to make it their chief residence. However, as
Newly built. great part of it hath been rebuilt since the various conflagrations it hath undergone, and the other devastations made in it by earthquakes, mentioned in a former section, the streets are become more regular, wide, and handsome; the far greater part of them cutting each other at right angles, and the palaces, temples, monasteries, and other public buildings, being since built more answerably to them, as well as in a more beautiful style. We shall say the less here of the latter edifices, which, though they are very numerous, are built so like those of *Meaco*,
Palace. and others elsewhere described¹, that it were needless to enlarge upon them. As to the palaces, which must be supposed to be here in great number, they are separated from other houses by large court-yards and stately gates, a flight of steps elegantly wrought and varnished leading to the porch. The building is divided into a great variety of apartments all on a floor, and not above one story high, and some of them very magnificent, but without any of those high and stately towers which adorn their castles and palaces in their own hereditary dominions. One singularity they all have, that the principal gate is always kept shut, and is styled the emperor's gate; the reason of which is, that, as soon as a new palace is built, that monarch is invited thither to a grand entertainment; and, upon his going away, that gate is, out of respect to him, kept shut for ever after.
Private houses. As to the private houses, they are chiefly low and mean without, though neat and convenient within: they are mostly built of fir-wood, covered over with thin clay, adorned and divided in the inside with paper screens and lattice windows; the floors covered with clean mats, and the roofs with wood shavings; so that the whole fabric is hardly any thing but a composition of combustibles, which makes them liable to be set on fire, and obliges the people to keep vessels always full of water on the top of their roofs, and a good number of firemen, d
Imperial palace. with their prongs, hooks, &c. to patrolle all the night. THE most stately edifice of all, not only in this city, but in the whole empire, is the imperial palace, especially as it hath been rebuilt since that terrible fire mentioned elsewhere, which had reduced it to ashes. It stands pretty near the center of the town; and is of an irregular figure, rather round than square or oblong, and computed about five *Japan* miles, or between
Threefold inclosure. eleven and twelve of ours. It consists of three inclosures, or, as our author chuses to call them, forecastles; the third and innermost of which is that where the emperor resides, and hath some large and noble gardens behind, embellished with every thing that is beautiful, and suitable to such a place; the other two, which are strong, and well fortified, but smaller on the sides, and have likewise their gardens and other ornaments, are occupied by the rest of
First inclosure. his court, and the princes and lords that compose it; and these may be properly enough styled three castles, as they are divided from each other, and surrounded each by their particular inclosure of walls and ditches. THE first or outward inclosure, which takes in such a large piece of ground as to inclose the second, and part of the third, or imperial palace, consists of a great number of streets, in which stand the palaces of the princes of the empire, large and finely built, with spacious courts shut up by stout and heavy gates, within which they live with their families and retinues; and the whole group of streets or fabrics is inclosed within its own walls, ditches, drawbridges, &c.
Second inclosure. the gates of which are kept by a constant guard. The second takes up a much smaller spot of ground than the first, and fronts the third, in which the emperor resides, and is likewise
Third, or imperial residence. separate from the other two by walls, ditches, &c. The guard of this second is much stronger, f
Ramparts. and more numerous than that of the first, and in it reside the greatest princes, ministers, and other officers, of the empire, who are all obliged to pay a more immediate attendance on the emperor. THE third inclosure, or imperial palace, properly so called, stands higher than the other two, and on the top of an eminence made flat on purpose for this large fabric to be built on it. It is inclosed with a thick and strong wall of free-stone, flanked with salient angles, not unlike our
Ramparts. *European* bastions. The wall is supported on the inside by a rampart of earth against it; and the top of it is adorned with several long buildings, high square towers, and other guard rooms. The structures, on that side where the emperor resides, are of uncommon strength, being all g
built of free-stone of extraordinary size, barely laid on one another without mortar or cement,

¹ See before, p. 9. & seq.

- a or braces of iron, to join them together (F). Within the center of this inclosure a square white tower rises aloft above all the other edifices, which is many stories high, adorned with roofs, doors, windows, galleries, and other embellishments, particularly bended roofs projecting out from the building, with dragons, dolphins, and other creatures, at the angles and top, which make the whole fabric at a distance look altogether magnificent, and amazing to the beholder; especially as every palace within the whole imperial cincture is covered with gold, or perhaps rather with tiles finely gilt, which makes the vast fabric look like a mountain of that bright metal. On the side of this stupendous building is a second castle, but vastly smaller, and built more like a citadel, and without any ornaments on the outside. It hath but one gate, and one passage, and that is from the emperor's palace over a high and long bridge. A third castle stands by the side of this second, and much of the same structure with it, and both are strongly inclosed with lofty walls surrounded with deep ditches, filled by the great river. In these two last castles are kept the princes and princesses of the imperial family, the emperor's queens, or wives of the second rank, and all his concubines, all in their separate rich apartments; the empress, and wives of the first rank, being the only ones who are admitted to have apartments within the grand or imperial inclosure. Behind this imperial cincture rises still a delightful gradual eminence, adorned with magnificent gardens, orchards, terraces, and other embellishments, according to the country fashion, the top of which is terminated by a pleasant wood, planted with plane-trees of two different but curious kinds, whose starry leaves, variegated with yellow, red, and green, yield a most delightful prospect, especially as they are said to be in their full beauty, the one in the spring, and the other in autumn.
- b The palace itself hath but one story, but exceeding lofty. It takes in a large space of ground, and hath several long galleries, and stately rooms, which, upon putting on or taking off the screens which make the partitions between them, may be enlarged, or brought into a smaller compass, at pleasure; and are so contrived, as to receive at all times a sufficient quantity of light. The principal apartments are distinguished by their proper names, such as *the hall of attendance*, where all are to be admitted to audience either of the emperor, or his prime minister, and are to wait till they be introduced; *the council-chamber*, where his chief counsellors meet; *the hall of 1000 mats*, where the emperor receives the homage of all his tributary and vassal princes, and the ambassadors of foreign ones; the several *balls of audience*, the apartments for the emperor, his family, household, &c. Thus much may suffice for a taste of the outside of this magnificent structure, on which we may the more safely depend, as each part above described lies open to every eye, and may be easily viewed from the adjacent hills and towers. But with relation to the inside of it, the structure, symmetry, ornaments, furniture, &c. of those numerous and sumptuous apartments, we cannot have the same reliance on the descriptions which we meet with in most authors, because the entrance into them is forbidden not only to all strangers, except to ambassadors and persons in public character, but likewise to the natives, unless they be the emperor's ministers, and those who belong to his court, and both of them admitted only to such apartments as are appropriated to their character or office, as the former to the great hall of audience, and the latter to the council-chamber, and other offices belonging to their respective posts. For that reason, we shall only venture to give our readers a short sketch in the margin (G), of what those writers have said of it, that carries the face of probability; for though we need not doubt but the inside of that immense and sumptuous fa-

Second and

third castle

for the wives, &c.

Noble gardens, and wood behind.

Stately apartments.

Rich furniture, &c. within.

(F) This is done to prevent those strong walls from receiving any considerable damage from the frequent shocks and earthquakes to which this island, and especially that part of it, is subject (8).

(G) The hall of audience, where ambassadors are admitted to the emperor's presence, is a most lofty and sumptuous edifice, the roof of which is either plated or covered with gold and silver of exquisite workmanship. It is supported by stately pillars of a considerable height, beautifully carved and painted. The throne is one of the most magnificent that can be imagined, being all of massy gold, according to some, or plated over with it in the most elegant manner, and enriched with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, of surprising bigness, and inestimable value. The tapestry is of the finest silk, wrought by the most curious hands, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver, and other costly embellishments.

The areas between each court, some of which are large enough to marshal a small army, are adorned with

statues, high towers, galleries, fountains, water-works, and other decorations; and that which is before the third, or innermost court, hath a noble spacious theatre, on which plays are frequently acted for the diversion of the court. Two strong rooms are said to be within that cincture, in which the immense treasures of those monarchs are kept; and these are secured from fire and thieves by stout iron bars and gates, and roofs of solid copper.

The apartments belonging to the princes of the blood, to the tributary princes, nobles, &c. are no less magnificent in their furniture and ornaments, as well as structure, each striving to outdo the rest in the richness and grandeur of them, as well as in the splendour of their retinue; it being looked upon as a mark of high respect to their monarch, to make the noblest appearance they can, according to their rank; so that, to conclude this description, the whole imperial inclosure, with all its various courts, palaces, and apartments, looks like a city within itself, inhabited only by kings, princes, and persons of the highest rank (9).

(8) Confer Kämpfer, Caron, Varen. Ricci, & al. sup. citat.

(9) *Iidem.*

Rich materials
and fine sym-
metry.

By whom
built.

Government of
the city.

Osacca de-
scribed.

Vast com-
merce.

Port.
Castle.

Great plenty.

bric is in every degree answerable to the outside, and to the pomp and grandeur of those mon-
archs; yet, as to the particulars of it, we cannot but think that they have given us a great part
of them upon very slender authority; however, we may conclude, that they are in general
very grand, and of exquisite materials and workmanship, according to the architecture of the
country. The cielings, pillars, stairs, galleries, &c. are of cedar, camphire, or of jeferi-
wood, the grain whereof naturally forms itself into flowers, birds, landſchapes, and other
curious figures, which are therefore covered with a thin transparent varnish; whilst others are
finely carved, painted, and gilt, or overlaid with some of their finest japan. This palace was
not built till the reign of *Tayko*, who took upon him the supreme civil authority about the
year 1600. It hath since then been the residence of his successors, the fifth of whom from the
emperor *Jejas*, head of the then reigning family, was on the throne when our author was there,
who reckons them in the following order: 1. *Jejas*, who, after his death, was called *Gonjin*;
2. *Teytokwin*, the son of *Jejas*; 3. *Daijojin*, the son of *Teytokwin*; 4. *Genojin*, the son of
Daijojin; and, 5. *Tsinajos*, the brother's son of *Genojin*, who was then reigning. And thus
much may serve to give an idea of the imperial palace^m.

JEDDO hath two chief governors, who take the command of the town by turns, each for
the space of one year; next to them are the burgomasters, as our author styles them, who
have the government of some particular quarters of the city; and under these are the *Otto-
nas*, who preside over every street, or over a certain number of tradesmen, handicraftsmen, &c.
In other respects their government is much the same with that of most other large cities in the
empire, already describedⁿ. This city and suburbs are a nursery of artists and handicrafts-
men, of tradesmen and merchants, of all sorts. It hath a variety of noble markets; and the
streets abound with open shops, richly furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, and other
wares; but these, as well as most kinds of provisions, are sold much dearer than in any other
city in the empire, partly on account of the prodigious concourse of people that flock thither
from all parts, and the vast number of idle monks and courtiers with which it swarms; and
partly also from the difficulty of importing most commodities and necessities thither. It
stands in 35° 48' of north latitude, and 144° 10' of east longitude.

OSACCA is the most considerable city, next to the two capitals above described, for riches,
grandeur, and populousness, being most conveniently situated near the mouth of the river *Je-
dogawa*, about fifteen leagues below *Meaco*, in the province of *Setzu*, and is esteemed one of
the most considerable sea-ports in the whole empire. It is between four and five miles in
length, and three in breadth; and so populous, that it is able to raise an army of 80,000
men barely from among its inhabitants. It swarms with tradesmen and artificers of all kinds;
hath a vast number of rich merchants settled in it, besides a great many nobility and gentry,
who live in one of the most pleasant parts of it on the other side of the river above-men-
tioned, and is consequently filled with the finest houses and small palaces. The *Jedogawa*,
which is here about as broad as our *Thames* at *London* bridge, hath its spring from the lake
Oomi, or *Oits*, lately described; and, running through the towns of *Utsi* and *Jeddo*, takes its
name from the latter; and, whilst one of its branches parts itself from it, and runs directly
into the sea, the other continues its course towards *Osacca*, where it receives two other rivers,
viz. the *Firano* and *Jamata*; and, continuing its course through that city, falls into the bay of
its name, which is capacious and deep enough to receive the largest vessels.

THE port is defended by a stout square castle on the north-east end, which was built by the
emperor *Taycho*, so as to command both the city and river. The walls are strong and lofty,
flanked with bastions and towers, supported by spurs of a considerable thickness, and are about
an hour's walk in compass. It hath always a numerous garrison, and is commanded by two
officers in greatest favour with the court, one of whom hath the care of the castle, in which
are kept part of the emperor's treasure and stores, and the other presides over the garrison;
but neither of them hath any thing to do with the government of the city, which hath its own
governors and officers in the same form as at *Jeddo*, and is kept under the same strict regula-
tions as the other chief cities of the empire (11). *Osacca* abounds with all sorts of provisions,

^m See before, p. 12.

ⁿ See before, p. 35.

(H) We cannot omit one singularity observed in this city, which is, that the watchmen, instead of telling the hours of the night, by striking the number of them with two wooden cylinders one against the other, as they do in other places, they make use here of a different instrument for every third individual hour. Thus the first hour after sun-set is signified by the beating of a drum: the second, by striking of a *gungum*, or loud brass instrument like a basson; the third, by striking on a bell

with a wooden stick. At the first hour after midnight they again beat the drum; on the second, the *gungum*; and, on the third, the bell. This third hour after midnight, or sixth hour of the night, always ends with the rising, as the first of all began with the setting [of the sun, which is in this respect the same all over the empire; so that the hours of the night are either longer or shorter, according to the season of the year (10).

(10) *Kämpfer, ubi supra. lib. v. c. 9.*

merchan-

a merchandizes and diversions. The neighbouring country affords a sort of earth of a beautiful orange colour, with which they cover their houses, and great quantities of it are conveyed into other parts of the empire for the same purpose. *Osacca* is situate in north latitude $35^{\circ} 50'$, according to *Kämpfer*, but, according to others, in $35^{\circ} 15'$, and east longitude $137^{\circ} 20'$.

b SURUNGA, *Suruga*, *Syruga*, capital of the province of its name, is another maritime town with the imperial title, though it hath neither walls nor gates. What it is chiefly famed for, is, its having been once the residence of some of the cubos, or emperors, as it was when captain *Saris* was there, who says it was then as large as *London* and *Southwark*, and that the *English* were allowed to trade there; the suburbs being chiefly then inhabited by merchants and tradelmen, whilst the quality and gentry resided for the most part in the city; and, though it hath been since left to go to decay, yet it still preserves some of its antient privileges, particularly that of coining gold and silver money, especially *Cobans* and *Itzebos*, the former worth about five, and the latter two, ducats. It hath a stout castle on the north-east side, of a square form, and well fenced with walls of free stone, and ditches; and had a high stately tower, which, we are told, was since consumed by fire down to the ground (1). In this castle usually resided the emperor's eldest son, or, according to others, his eldest brother, who were governors of that and of the city; on which account the latter is by some authors styled *Sumpu*, and by others *Futzju*, both which are the names of the former. The last prince that seems to have lived in it was called *Tejitonani*, a natural son of the emperor *Gonju*, who resided here, and had made him lord of it, and of the province; but as he rebelled afterwards against his brother then on the throne, *Anno* 1620, the castle was turned into his prison, where he put an end to a long confinement by ripping up his own bowels. From that time we are told the best of the inhabitants abandoned the place, which hath gone ever since into decay.²

Surunga.

Its mint.

Castle, the residence of princes of the blood.

Turned into a prison.

City gone to decay.

SURUGA stands in latitude $35^{\circ} 22'$, and east longitude $142^{\circ} 30'$.

d THE last city we shall take notice of in this island is *Saccai*, which some have taken to be the part of *Osacca* over the river we have lately mentioned, though it stands about four or five leagues distant from it. It is not only famed on account of its inhabitants, who boast themselves to be sprung from antient kings and princes of *Japan*; but also of its advantageous situation, having the sea on the west side, and the other three being surrounded with a wide deep ditch, except only that part which lies near the foot of the mountain, and which is defended by a high and stout stone wall. It hath moreover a very strong castle on the top of the mountain, which hath no less than fifteen bastions, and is accessible only by a steep and narrow way, and commands both the city and parts adjacent. On the declivity of the mountain, on one side of the castle, is a second fortress, whose walls are fifty feet high, and of hard stone; and on the other side of it stands a magnificent palace flanked with two lofty towers, the highest of which is nine stories high, and both ending in a point; this is the usual residence of the tributary princes of that territory.

Stone castles.

Towers.

e OVER-AGAINST the harbour is the island called *Pie-nes*, famed not only for the beauty of its walks, to which crowds of people resort from the city, but for a deity worshipped there, to which vast numbers of persons devote themselves; and, in the greatest formality, go from his temple to the sea-side, where they enter into a boat fitted for the purpose; and then, launching into the deep, throw themselves overboard, and sink to the bottom through the weight of stones that are tied about them. The temple of that deity, which is called *Canon*, is very large and lofty, and so are many others in the city itself; one in particular, which is dedicated to the gods of other countries, and is thought one of the finest in the whole empire. Both the city and parts adjacent are full of such, and other fine edifices, mostly built with stone, which the neighbouring mountains afford in great plenty; and adorned with lofty towers, which yield a noble prospect from the sea and land¹. And thus much may suffice for the great island of *Nippon*.

Small island of Pie-nes.

A piece of horrid superstition.

f II. THE next in bigness and dignity is that of *Ximo* (K), lying on the west end of that of *Nippon*, and divided from it only by a narrow chanel or streight, especially on the north-west

Island of Ximo described.

¹ KÄMPFER, ubi supra.² Dutch Ambass. CORNEL. Diët. sub voc.

(1) This accident is said to have been caused by a quantity of pigeons dung being set on fire on the upper story of the tower, by the heat of the great number of those birds that were hatching their young there. This, it seems, was so common among them, and so many fires occasioned by it, that they have since taken all proper precautions to prevent their coming into their garrets, and upper parts of their towers, to lay their eggs (11).

(K) This island is also called *Bungo* from its capital; *Saykoku*, or western country, from its situation; and *Kiu-*

su, or the land of nine, because it is divided into so many provinces; viz. 1. *Bungo*; 2. *Fiungo*; 3. *Vosuma*; 4. *Saxuma*; 5. *Fingo*; 6. *Tsi-cungo*; 7. *Figen*; 8. *Chicugen*; and, 9. *Buigen*; every one of which take their names from their capitals, and were formerly so many petty kingdoms; but are now under a certain number of tributary princes, whose territories have been in a constant fluctuation, and circumscribed within no certain limits but the will of the emperors, as hath been formerly observed (12).

(11) Dutch Ambassy, *Kämpfer*, lib. v. c. 11.

(12) See before, p. 12.

side. It reaches from $31^{\circ} 45'$ to almost 35° of north latitude, and from 131° to $135^{\circ} 20'$ of east longitude, and is computed at about 290 miles in circuit, exclusive of its creeks and bays. Its soil, air, climate, product, &c. are pretty much the same with what we have said of *Nippon*; and it hath a considerable number of cities, besides the nine capitals mentioned in the last note, of which we know little else but their names and situation; the most considerable of which are *Bungo*, *Cangoxima*, and *Nangbazak*.

Chief cities.

Bungo.

BUNGO, or, as some write it, *Boengo* or *Boungo*, though said to be the capital of the whole island, is scarcely mentioned in the church history of *Japan*, notwithstanding the surprising progress which Christianity is affirmed to have made in it; which it could hardly have omitted, had any king, or tributary prince, then resided in it; whilst it mentions others of less note: it is therefore most likely, that the royal residence was then removed on some account to the city of *Funiu*, of which it takes notice; and which *Caron*, and other *Dutch* writers, tell us was a city and castle, and the seat of a prince of this island.

Cangoxima.

CANGOXIMA, *Cangoxuma*, alias *Cogoxima*, situate on the most southern verge of the isle, is the very first sea-port the *Portuguese* landed at; and which they chose since to make the center of their commerce, on account of its advantageous situation, and commodious harbour. There are indeed a great number of rocks at some distance from it, which render the

Castle.

entrance into it very dangerous; and upon one of them stands a noble stout castle built by *Ongoschio*, the grandfather of the emperor *Gongon*, or *Gongin*, with a view of securing the city, which is the key of the kingdom of *Saxuma*, and of the whole island, and to defend the road thither.

Light-house.

It is built in the sea, and of large square stones, and is of a quadrangular form, with bastions not unlike our tetragons. At the entrance of the haven stands a square light-house, built on a very high rock, which is seen at above 20 miles distance off, at sea; and hath four or five balls on the top, one less than the other; and at the foot of the rock is a convenient road for ships to ride in.

Quay.

Guard.

THE quay is guarded by a stout stone dyke, which runs quite into the sea, and hath a stone rampart, breast-high, covered with copper. At one end of it are built two large wings, in each of which 500 men keep constant watch night and day, not only to guard the port, but to be a kind of check on the kings of *Saxuma*, who had often revolted, to avoid paying tribute to the emperor.

River.

The town is watered by a river which descends from the adjacent mountains into a canal made on purpose, in the heart of it, from which it falls with great rapidity into the sea.

Public buildings.

On the south side of the river is a stately building, or custom-house, where passengers pay a second custom, besides that which is paid at the first castle. Here are other large and sumptuous magazines belonging to the emperor, some of which are proof against fire. As for temples, they are as numerous and stately as in other great cities, one of which is in the center of it, and is said to be full of riches, carried thither by one of the kings of *Saxuma*, who was forced to retire thither, and to turn monk, to save his life, for having refused to pay the usual tribute.

CANGOXIMA stands in north latitude $31^{\circ} 42'$, and east longitude $133^{\circ} 16'$.

Nangbazak.

THE last place of note in this island is *Nangbazak*, alias *Nangazaki*, situate on the western coast of it, in the province of *Figen*, or *Fisen*, and famed for being the only place in the whole *Japanese* empire where the *Dutch* are permitted to come and traffick. We have on another occasion given a sufficient account of their factory there, and the hard conditions on which they are allowed that liberty; but reserved the further description of the town and harbour to this place.

Bay and harbour described.

It stands at the farther end of a deep commodious bay of its name, and extends itself in the form of a crescent, which, together with the mountains which surround it on the land side, and which, tho' not considerably high and steep, are always verdant, and yield a most delightful prospect as you approach it; especially as it is heightened by the many stately temples, and other sumptuous buildings, which are built on the top of those hills, and terminate the view in a most surprising manner. The mouth of the harbour, which lies north of the town, is narrow, and but few fathom deep, but grows wider and deeper as you sail farther in, till you come to a rocky island (L), which hath a good riding about it, and at which all the ships bound from this port to *Batavia* come to anchor, to watch a proper time to sail out of the harbour; which might be done, with a good wind, in less than two hours, were it not for the many shoals, banks, rocks, &c. which make it both difficult and dangerous; and to avoid

^a Dutch Ambass. CORNEL. Dist. sub voc. Ambass. & al.

^b See before, p. 24, & (B).

^c KÄMPFER, Dutch

(L) To this island, or rock, which the *Japanese* call *Takajuma*, and *Taka boko*, or *bamboe mountain*, the *Dutch* have given the name of *Papenberg*, on account of the many popish priests that are said to have been thrown from the top of it into the sea in the time of the persecution. And near this island, where the harbour pro-

perly begins, is another small one, called by the *Japanese* *The burning of the hostile ships*, because it was there that the ship sent by the *Portuguese* from *Meaco* was ordered to be burnt, with all its goods on board, Anno 1642 (3); ever since that time this island hath been made use of for executions of criminals, &c.

a which, the ships must steer westward, leaving the continent to the right, and so, sailing between some small islands, get out to the main. About half a mile from the town are two imperial guards opposite to each other, and inclosed with palisades, and consisting each of 700 ^{men} ^{strong} ^{guards}, including those that are upon duty. There are also several forts, built like bastions along the harbour, but have no cannon. The haven is long and deep, and seldom without 50 or 60 merchant-men. The sea rises from four and a half to six or seven fathoms; and the bottom is a stiff clay, which affords a firm anchorage.

b THE city lies at the farther end of the harbour, where it spreads itself widest; but hath neither walls, castles, nor any other defence. The streets are neither strait nor wide, but commonly run up, and end in some temple. Three rivers run through the town, which descend from the neighbouring hills, the middlemost of which is the largest, and crosses it from east to west; the misfortune is, that they have scarcely water enough during a great part of the year to water their rice fields and gardens; though they swell to such a degree, after some long rains, as to sweep away whole houses with their fierce current. The town is divided into inner and outward, the former of which contains twenty-six, and the latter sixty-one, streets; in none of which strangers are suffered to dwell, but have particular suburbs allotted to them, where they are narrowly watched by the emperor's officers.

c THE chief public buildings in and about it are, 1. Five *Janagura's*, or large houses built of timber, not far from the shore, where are kept three imperial *Jonks*, or men of war, with all their tackle, ready to be launched at command. 2. The powder magazine, built on the shore, over-against the town; but, to prevent all accidents, a large vault hath been dug in the neighbouring hill, where the gunpowder is kept. 3. The palaces of the two residing governors, which take up a large spot of ground, and stand somewhat higher than the streets; they are strong, regular, and well guarded. 4. The palaces of about twenty other princes and grandees of the first and second rank, some of whom constantly reside there, and others only on particular occasions. 5. About sixty-two temples within and without the city, most of them stately, built on eminences, and serve not only to devotion, but also for recreation; they being surrounded with fine shady walks, and fragrant verdure, to which the people resort for the sake of the fresh air, and fine vistas they afford. 6. Their bridges, in number thirty-five, twenty of them of stone, and the rest of timber, all plain and strong. 7. The *Gakni*, or hell, called also *Roja*, or the cage or common prison, standing near the middle of the town, and consisting of about 100 small and large huts or cages, separate from each other, wherein prisoners are kept, and accommodated according to their rank, or the nature of their crimes; other apartments, where they are either put to the torture, or privately executed; places for them to wash themselves in, and such-like (M). 8. The brothel, which consists of two handsome streets, shut up at each end by strong gates, where women are kept to be hired either by natives or foreigners; and, being bought young, and brought up under the old ones who are past service, are taught to dance, sing, play on instruments, write, work, &c.

d THE houses are low and mean, though well filled with inhabitants, who are mostly merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, brewers, &c. The manufactures of the town are not near so good here as they are in other parts of the empire, except what is wrought in gold and silver, and designed for exportation, which, we are told, is made with a much better taste, and more curious workmanship. Most merchandizes here sell dearer than in other parts, and so do their victuals, tho' they are plentifully supplied with all kinds; the country about furnishing them with fruits, pulse, and herbage; the sea with fish; and the neighbouring countries with cattle, grain, and other provisions; but their water, though clear and well-tasted, is apt here, as well as in most other parts of the empire, to cause very violent and painful colics, such as we have elsewhere described.

(M) These prisons, in most maritime towns, besides criminals of state, have commonly between 60 and 100 prisoners, mostly either smugglers or Christians. The former of these two they execute as soon as convicted; and so they do the latter, if strangers; but, if natives, they only confine them in those huts above-mentioned, where they are kept at hard labour and short commons, and where they prefer a miserable life, rather than renounce that little Christianity they have been taught, for the greatest part of them know little more than the bare names of our Redeemer and his mother, and of a few saints, to whom they present such prayers as they have been taught; and it is, it seems, in mere pity to their ignorance that the government hath abated so much of the severity of the laws against them.

They are permitted, or rather obliged, however, to come out of their huts at least six times in a year, to wash and air themselves in apartments built for that purpose, to prevent sickness and infection; and may be released whenever they abjure their religion, but there are few such examples to be heard of. These prisons are kept very strictly, and as neat and healthy as possible; most of the prisoners, except great criminals, are allowed to air themselves for some time every day, and the rest of the time are confined to their separate cells or apartments. The women have one square court of the same nature built for them, with which no men have any communication, except through a grate, and with permission first obtained from the governor (14).

(14) *Kaiffo*, lib. iv. c. 1. *vid.* *See* *Caron, Haron, &c.*

NANGHAZAKI stands in latitude $32^{\circ} 36'$, and east longitude $131^{\circ} 22'$. And thus much a shall suffice for the island of *Ximo* ^w.

West of Xi-
coko.

III. THE last considerable island, though much less than that of *Ximo* last described, is called *Xicoko* (N), and lies between that on the west, and the great one of *Nippon* on the east. It is almost of a square figure, and extends itself from $33^{\circ} 20'$ to $33^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude, and from $134^{\circ} 24'$ to $136^{\circ} 40'$. Its circumference, exclusive of its bays and creeks, is computed to be about 190 miles, and its climate, product, &c. much the same with the great one at *Nippon*. It hath several commodious ports round it, and many towns in the island, besides the capitals of the four provinces mentioned in the last note, but of which we know little except their situation and names, and so need not dwell longer upon them ^x.

Other small
islands.

NEXT to the three large ones above-mentioned, there is a prodigious number and variety ^b of smaller ones, some inhabited, and others desert, all around the coasts of *Japan*; but very few of which are described, or indeed more than barely mentioned, by travellers, and the maps of that country; whilst others, we are told in general, are large enough to maintain a governor, and to yield not only corn, fruits, cattle, rice, sugar, and other provisions, but likewise to produce variety of metals, minerals, precious stones, quarries of marble, and other such valuable commodities.

Firando.
Dutch fac-
tory.

THE only one worth our notice is that of *Firando*, which the *Dutch* at first pitched upon to be their principal settlement. It is situate near the western coasts of the island of *Ximo*, extending itself from about $33^{\circ} 20'$ to almost 34 degrees of north latitude, and lying between the 131° and 132° of east longitude; and, though much smaller than many others around ^c these coasts, is honoured with the title of kingdom. It hath a port of its name, which, though narrow, and somewhat dangerous at its first entrance, is yet large, and commodious enough within to contain a great number of vessels, and to shelter them from all winds. It owes indeed its first rise to the *Dutch* fixing their grand staple in it, and building their magazines, fine houses, and some fortresses, upon it; by which, and other improvements, it became so considerable for its commerce, and great resort, that from one street, which it had at first, it had got above forty, most of them large and well built. Not content with this, they began to pull down some of their old magazines, which were only of timber, and gone to decay, in order to build new ones of stone. This happened in 1640, when the emperor began to suspect them ^d of some private views of designing them rather for forts than magazines; whereupon an order was immediately sent them to quit the island, and to confine themselves to their factory at *Nangbazaki* ^y.

Fine new
buildings.

Dutch dissem-
ent.

Stately castle.

THE rest of the island hath nothing considerable in it, except its castle, a noble and stately edifice, formerly belonging to *Firandono*, brother to the then king of the island. It stands on an eminence, in the midst of a spacious plain; and hath a noble bridge leading and reaching quite to the first court of it, and is defended at each end by a guard of arquebusers. It is seen at a great distance at sea, by reason of its advantageous situation, and much more on account of its lofty tower, which is several stories high, each decreasing in breadth and height as they rise upwards, from the lowest. On the sides of the castle are eight gates, with each a flight of steps leading to it. At the foot of the hill on which the castle stands are seen four pavilions or cupolas, answering to its four angles; and from each of which runs a gallery to the other, supported by a row of pillars ^e.

Liqueio, or
Riuhu island.

THE *Liqueois* islands, or, as *Kæmpfer* calls them, *Riubu*, are, as we have elsewhere hinted, a chain of them, reaching from that of *Ximo* to that of *Formosa*, or from the 24th to the 26th degree of north latitude. They are in great numbers, but only six of them are of any considerable bigness, and take their name from the largest, called *The great Liqueio*, or *Legnio*. They are supposed to have been first peopled by the *Chinese*, because the inhabitants mostly speak their language, though corruptly; but were conquered by the king of *Saxuma*, one of the tributary kings, of the isle of *Ximo*, to the emperor of *Japan*, with whose capital alone, of all the *Japanese* sea-ports, they are allowed to traffick. They likewise pay a tribute to that prince, besides a yearly present they send to the emperor of *China*, with whose subjects they ^f

^w KÆMPFER, Dutch Ambass. & al. & al. sup. citat.

^x Idem.

^y Idem, & CONNER, Dict. &c.

^z Idem,

(N) The name of *Xicoko*, or rather *Xicocoff*, signifies, in their language, *The country of four*, and is given to it on account of the four chief districts or provinces of which it consists. It is also called *Tonfa*, or rather *Tofa*, from one of its largest provinces, once perhaps the head kingdom of the four, as it is also called *Tokoji*, or ra-

ther *Sanctoi*, and *Jio*, or more properly *Hsu*, from two other provinces, then perhaps the most considerable. Lastly, it hath the name of *Xiu* from the capital of a fourth province of that name, and now the most considerable maritime town in it, it not the metropolis of the whole island (15).

a likewise carry on a considerable trade. But we do not find that they make any present, or pay any tribute, to that of *Japan*, tho' in some measure subject to him.

THE goods they commonly import into *Saxuma* are silks, cottons, stuffs, and other commodities, which they bring over from *China*, as also some products of their own, such as corn, rice, fruit, pulse, awamuri, which is a strong spirit made out of the remainder of their crop; <sup>their com-
modities with
Japan and
China.</sup> mother of pearl, and a variety of other shells, those in particular called cowries, which pass in several parts of *India* for current coin. Another sort they calcine, or prepare into a kind of white varnish, with which the boys and girls paint themselves; and a third sort of flat shell, polished very thin and transparent, which the *Japanese* use instead of glass, or oiled silk, for their windows, besides some scarce flowers, roots, and plants, esteemed by the *Japanese*,
b which we have no room to enumerate, all which they transport in their own jonks, or small vessels. However, according to the *Japan* laws, this trade should not exceed the value of 150,000 thails, or crowns, *per* year, beyond which nothing should be bought or sold; but it plainly appears, that they dispose of much greater cargoes, through the connivance of the *Japanese* directors of that trade, who find their account in it^a. The rest of the inhabitants ^{inhabitants.} of these islands are either husbandmen or fishermen, who are good-natured and affable, lead a merry life, diverting themselves with music, dancing, and drinking of their rice-beer; and, if we may believe the *Japanese*, some of their islands are so fertile, that they yield rice harvests twice a year. As for their religion or government, we know but little of it, only that they acknowledge the king of *Saxuma* for their sovereign; yet, like the *Japanese* and *Ton-
kingese*, they have a *Dayro*, or ecclesiastical hereditary monarch, whom they affirm to be de-
c scended from the gods of their country, and pay him a suitable respect: he commonly resides at the island of *Fajama*, one of the chief of the *Liquios*^b.

WE shall conclude this section of the division of *Japan* with an account of its most re-
markable curiosities, both natural and artificial. Among the former we may reckon, 1. Their <sup>Curiosities of
Japan.</sup> volcanoes, which they compute to be no fewer than eight in the empire; and some of them very terrible, having been known to cast out continual streams of fire and flame, without intermission, for several centuries. Of this nature is that which issues out of a small rocky island over-against *Nangbazak*; and another over-against *Saxuma*, which hath been known to burn for many ages, and throw up at different intervals vast quantities of sulphur, and other
d combustible stuff. The mountain of *Fesi*, in the province of *Suruga*, is no less remarkable, <sup>Burning
mountain.</sup> not only for its vast height (in which it is only exceeded by the same *Pic of Teneriff*, though in shape and beauty it excels it, and most others of that kind), but for its top being covered with everlasting snow, which, being frequently blown about by the force of the winds, represents a kind of smoking hat. This mountain, the *Japanese* tell us, was formerly a burning one; but, upon a new opening being made by the violence of the flames, the fire ceased some time after; the sulphur, and other combustibles, being in all probability exhausted by the fierceness of its burning, as it hath happened in many other such places in the empire^c.

2. THE next rank of natural rareties are their hot baths and mineral springs, many of which
e are reckoned by the *Japanese* to be infallible remedies against the venereal and other inveterate
diseases. Some of these springs are so hot as to exceed boiling water; and one of them, we <sup>Natural rare-
ties.
Hot springs.</sup> are told, which is equal in heat with boiling oil, only breaks forth twice a day, for about an hour, at which time the eruption is so violent, that it will lift up and carry off the biggest stone that can be laid on the mouth of the spring; and comes up with such a noise, that it resembles that of a cannon^d. These hot springs are in great numbers, and mostly used for bathing; but the *Japanese* commonly content themselves with repeating it five or six times, and leave off as soon as they find themselves better; whence it often happens that they are but half cured, for want of knowing how long they should continue it, and what proper regimen to observe (O). They have likewise a great variety of cold mineral springs, from which their <sup>Cold mineral
springs.</sup>

^a KEMPFER, lib. iv. c. 9.
2. 11.

^b Id. l. i. c. 4.

^c Id. ibid. lib. i. c. 8. vid. & CARON, VAREN.

(O) Their method is, to proceed from a less hot bath to one that is more so. They stay in it but a few moments; then go into a bed, and cover themselves well, in order to sweat, and keep to a warming hot diet all the time they use the bath.

The monks who live in the neighbourhood of those baths give particular names to their several springs, according to their nature, and degrees of heat, the froth that rises on the top, the sediment at the bottom, or the noise which they make as they bubble out of the ground; and, in their old way of gulling the superstitious populace, affirm them to be designed as so many

purgatories for tradesmen and handicraftsmen, whose profession bears a relation to the properties above mentioned. Thus they assign those which have a foul sediment to bad rice brewers; those which throw up much froth, to bad cooks and pastry cooks; those that spring with murmuring or frightful noise, for back-biters, wranglers, and quarrelsome people, &c.

These hot springs were put to a still more barbarous use during the time of the persecution of the Christians there, thousands of whom were flung into and kept in them either till they renounced their religion, or till their flesh dropped off their bones (10).

(10) KEMPFER, lib. i. c. 8. *Japan*, 2. 11.

High mountains.

sick might reap much greater benefit, if their physicians and quacks were more expert in the right use of them. 3. They have mountains of a prodigious height in several parts of the empire; and on some of them the roads are so steep and rugged, that those who travel on horseback are forced to alight, and either walk on foot, or be carried in *Canges* (P); notwithstanding which, as they yield most part of the year a beautiful verdure, and a variety of fragrant smells, and abound with springs and rivulets, it makes amends in a great measure for the trouble and charges they put one to. The highest and most famed mountain in the empire is that of *Fesi*, mentioned under the last article, which is visible almost forty leagues off at sea, though about eighteen miles distant from the shore. These rivulets, by joining with a multitude of others in their windings and descent, grow up into considerable rivers, and in some places form a fourth kind of natural curiosities, viz. large and surprising cataracts, like those famed ones we have formerly mentioned in the description of *Egypt*^c. The most remarkable of those in *Japan* is that which falls from the famed lake of *Togitiz*, or *Facone* (Q), which, being surrounded on all sides with high mountains, hath no outlet for its waters, but through one of them called *Fitangajama*, which lets them out through three different apertures, from whence they fall down by the side of the mountain in the nature of cataracts, from a considerable height, and with a dreadful violence and noise; thence the three streams, gathering again into one, and receiving others into it, runs down with a prodigious vehemence, and dreadful noise, by a narrow chanel, through a deep valley, over rocks and precipices, into the sea^f.

Cataracts.

Curious animal.
White ant.

AMONG the animal kind we may reckon their white ants, in shape, bigness, and other particulars, like our common pismires, but white like snow. The *Japanese* call them *Dotoes*, or *piercers*, because their snout is armed with four sharp crooked pincers, with which they will pierce through any thing but stone or ore in a very little time, and will do a great deal of mischief to whatever they get into; and no other way is yet found of keeping them from merchandizes, and things of value, than by strewing some salt under and about them. These small creatures are not able to bear the fresh air; but, in their excursions, make themselves such ways under-ground as our moles do; or if above-ground, as over a floor or table, will rear themselves arches or trenches all the way they go, which they leave behind, and are about the size of the little finger. Their male ducks are no less curious for largeness, the beauty of their shape, and variety of their colours and feathers. Their heads are covered with a stately large topping, their tails rise in a beautiful oblique manner; and their wings, which stand over their back, add still to the elegance of their shape. They have nightingales with such sweet pipes and notes, that the curious will give twenty cobans for one of them. They have a great variety of beetles; one sort of which, called *Sebi*, or *Semi*, from the music they make, which begins pretty low and slowly, and then grows quicker and louder, and gradually decreases again: they begin to sing with the rising sun, and end about noon. But the most curious of all the *Japanese* insects of the flying kind, is that which they call the night-fly; and which the ladies and virtuoso's keep among their greatest curiosities, on account of its extraordinary beauty^g. It is about a finger long, slender and round-bodied; and hath four wings, two of which are transparent, and cover a pair of others which are shining and polished, and most beautifully variegated with blue and golden lines. Its extraordinary beauty hath given rise to an ingenious fable among them, which the reader may see in the margin (R).

Fine ducks.

Night-fly.

Camphire-tree.

AMONG the vegetable curiosities the camphire-tree is well worth our notice, which is classed among the laurel kind, and bears a berry of a purple or blackish colour. Some of those

^c See before, Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 177, & seq.
VAREN. & al.

^f KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. v. c. 11. CARGN, TEN. RHEIN, Hort. Malab. CARGN, & al.

(P) These are not unlike our chairs here, only not so high, because the person sits on the bottom of it with his legs across under him; and, instead of being carried with two poles, have only one that goes across the top of the machine, and is heaved on two or more men's shoulders.

(Q) *Facone* is a village of about 250 houses, on the road between *Meaco* and *Jedio*. The lake, which takes its name from it, is about two miles long, and a mile broad; and the mountains are so steep, some of them perpendicular over it, that there is no possibility of going round it, but it must be crossed in boats. It yields plenty of fine fish, and one of those mountains, towards the north, affords a fine gold ore. The inhabitants affirm this lake to have been caused by an earthquake; in

proof of which they allege the vast quantity of incorruptible cedar trunks, of a prodigious size, which lie at the bottom, and are fetched out whenever the lord of the place pleases to order it; for all the country about it abounds with those trees, which are the tallest and finest in all *Japan* (17).

(R) They say that all other night-flies fall in love with it; and that, to be rid of their troublesome courtship, it maliciously, though under pretence of trying the sincerity and constancy of their passion, sends them to fetch it some fire. The blind lovers readily obey; and, flying to every candle or fire they meet with, burn themselves to death. However, it is the male, and not the female, which is so justly admired for its beauty (18).

(17) Kæmpfer, lib. v. c. 11.

(18) *Ibid.* l. i. c. 10.

- a hot springs we have lately described have them in great numbers growing about them, of an uncommon size, and full of water. The best manner of extracting the camphire from this *How extract-* noble tree, we have described at full length in the foregoing volume †, together with the *Chinese* ed. manner of purifying it, and the virtues attributed to it by them. But, in this empire, it is extracted mostly by the country-people of the province of *Saxuma*, and isle of *Gotbo*, by a simple decoction of the roots and wood cut into small pieces; whereas that of *Borneo* is said to be a natural substance, gathered on the stumps of old camphire-trees, upon incisions made between the bark and the wood ^b. They have several trees, whose wood, when sawn and polished, *Curious* is so beautifully veined and variegated with different colours and shades, representing land- *woods, &c.* shapes, birds, beasts, &c. that it looks as if it had been painted by a skillful hand; some
- b plane-trees of a singular beauty, besides their varnish and other trees, great variety of marble, and other curious stones of all colours. We pass by several curious shells, which we have no time to dwell upon ^c. The truth is, the *Japanese* were too wise a people to be fond of any such trifles; and if at any time a fisherman happened to catch any of these in his net, which is often the case, they had no better way of disposing of them, than by carrying them *Pearls not val-* to the nearest temple of *Jebis*, which is the *Neptune* of the country, and making a present *ued till* of them to the deity. Even pearls, of which great quantities are caught on their coasts, especially those of *Saykoff*, and on several kinds of shell-fish, besides the mother of pearl, they formerly set but a small value, though large and of a fine orient, till the *Chinese* taught them the price they bore in theirs and other countries; since which they have carried on a considerable *bought by the* traffick of them with *China*. The largest and finest of them are found in a small kind of oyster called *Akoya*, whose shells are as large as a man's hand, closely knit together, very thin and smooth without, but rough within, and of a shining white. *Chinese.*
- c

- THE sea likewise throws great quantities of ambergrise upon some of their coasts, on which they set little or no value, giving it no better name than that of whale's dung, probably on account of its being found in the belly of that fish, as well as of its being thrown on the shore in large dabs, not unlike those of cows dung. These, when taken up fresh, and before they have lain any time exposed to the sun and air, are of a soft glutinous nature, and yield a disagreeable burnt kind of smell, instead of a perfume; but the most odoriferous and profitable is that which is taken off the surface of the sea, and is soft enough to be kneaded together
- d into a round form, which condenses and hardens in time. *Kæmpfer* tells us, he saw one of *Ambergrise* them which weighed 130 lb. weight, and had been gathered on the coast of *Kimakuni*. We *not valued by* are told of a much larger and heavier, which was bought, by the *Dutch*, of the king of *Tidori*, for about 50,000 gilders, and is now to be seen in the museum of the *Dutch* company at *Amsterdam*; it weighs 185 lb. and is of a greyish colour, of a flat round, and very perfect in its kind †. This last we observe, because the *Japanese* are said to adulterate it by mixing a quantity of ground rice, storax, benzoin, or other sweet-scented gums, with the substance of the ambergrise, whilst it is still soft; the fraud of which is easily found out by the greater copiousness of the smoke it yields, and the greater quantity of ashes it leaves behind, when burnt upon a flat iron. However that be, the *Japanese* prefer the yellow, though less valued by other nations; and, according to *Kæmpfer*, only use the grey, though by far the most odoriferous and valuable of the two, only as a kind of specific against natural decays, *How used in* and particularly that of impotency, which is done by mixing one third part of the purest *physic.* opium with it, and making the whole into small pills; one of which, being taken some time before going to bed, seldom fails of creating a new vigour in the patient, suitable to his wish. The reader may see the receipt at full length in *Kæmpfer* above-mentioned *.

- BEING now insensibly carried from the natural to the artificial rareties of this empire, we shall proceed to give a short account of their most considerable ones in that kind; among
- f which, besides their fine temples, idols, palaces, stately towers, and other edifices already mentioned, we may reckon a great number of their fine lofty bridges, mostly built of cedar; *Artificial* and kept in such good repair, that they look still as if they were but very lately finished. *rareties.* They are all railed on both sides, and toll-free; we shall give our readers a sketch of three or four of the most remarkable ones for structure and largeness, besides the famed one formerly mentioned, before the imperial palace of *Jeddo*, and called by way of eminence *Nipponbas*, because all the distances of places through the empire are taken from it ^k. These are, 1. That of *Seltanofas*, over the river *Jedogawa*, which springs from the lake *Oomi*, elsewhere described, and is supported, near the middle, by a small island, and consequently consists of two parts, one whereof is thirty-six kiu's or fathoms, and the other ninety-six, in length. 2. That of *Jafagibas*, near the city of *Okazaki*, in the province of *Mikawa*, which is 208 fathoms long. 3. That of *Jofidanobas*, near the city of *Jofida*, in the same province, which is 220 fathoms

† Pag. 652, & seq.

^b Amœnit. Japan, p. 70. KÆMPFER, lib. i. TEN. RHEIN. CARON, & al.^c Ibid. ibid.

† KÆMPFER, ubi sup. Append. p. 47, & seq.

* Ibid. p. 50, & seq.

^k See

before, p. 35.

long, and lofty enough for the largest barges, even at high water, to pass under it to the city. ^a They are all in general very strong, wide, and lofty, and laid over the banks of the rivers at least two fathoms on each side, and widen with their rails like two wings; so that these last four fathoms may be still added to the dimensions above-mentioned ¹.

A remarkable dyke.

THEY are no less expert in the construction of their dykes, to resist the force of their tempestuous seas, and neither spare time nor cost in making them effectual. That of the harbour of *Fiogo*, in the province of *Setz*, is one of the most remarkable, and is chiefly made of sand, of a considerable breadth, and near two miles long. It proved a work of immense labour and expence, cost the lives of many thousands of men, before it could be brought to perfection, the storms and furious seas having several times spoiled, and twice thoroughly destroyed it. It was at length completed to the emperor *Feki* or *Fege*'s satisfaction, and hath proved a last- ^b ing fence both to the harbour and to the adjacent country ever since ^m. It lies on the south of the town, and hath a good number of houses built upon it (S).

Huge bells.

THE *Japanese* are fond of large bells; but theirs are such as have no clear sound, but rather a dull heavy one, answerable to the name of *gungum*, by which they call them. They are cast much after the same odd manner as those of *China*, elsewhere described ⁿ; and struck with a wooden clapper or hammer, which deadens the sound still more. The famed *Catechu*, or *japan earth*, is made chiefly in *Meaco*, and the town of *Odowara*; it is compounded of some inspissated juice, brought thither from other parts by the *Dutch* and *Chinese*; and here it is mixed with some quantity of amber, the best camphire, and some other ingredients, and made into round little balls, cakes, idols, flowers, &c. and then put into neat boxes for sale ^c and exportation. It is in great esteem, particularly among the women, because it fastens the teeth, and gives an agreeable sweetness to the breath ^o. They are also very curious in some other of their medicinal compositions; and as they are, like other *Indians*, much given to the search after the grand panpharmakon, or universal medicine, their fondness for that study hath led them to many curious discoveries, though of a different kind, as it hath in all other places where that notion prevails. As to their curious japan and porcelane, and other ingenious works, they have been mentioned in another place. We shall conclude this article with a factitious ^d metal of theirs called *Sovaas*, which is a composition of copper, with a small mixture of gold, and some other minerals; and comes so near to the beauty and colour of gold, that things made of it, when they first come out of their shops, might be easily mistaken for it; but, in

The japan earth.

Factitious metal, like gold.

time, will grow somewhat blackish. A great variety of utensils are made of it, very curiously wrought, and greatly admired; and one may say in general, that the great men of the emperor's court, who are very ingenious at most of those arts, make it their chief amusement, when in disgrace or banishment, to study after some new improvement or discoveries in this and other curious arts and manufactures, the benefit of which quickly spreads itself among the laborious part.

S E C T. IV.

The Origin, Antiquity, and History of the Japanese.

Japan, by whom first peopled.

THE generality of *Europeans* believe the *Japanese* to be descended from the *Chinese*; ^e whilst the former, scorning so base an origin, boast themselves to be the offspring of their own gods, and their nation to be much more antient than the *Chinese*, or any other upon earth. The reader may see a sketch of the fabulous account they give of themselves in the margin (A); but the *Chinese*, who pretend to have been the first peoplers of the *Japan* islands, found

¹ See KÆMPFER, lib. v. cap. 3. VAREN. lib. i. cap. 25. CARON, & al. c. 8.

ⁿ See before, vol. iii. p. 647, & seq.

^m KÆMPFER, ubi supra, l. v.

^o KÆMPFER, ubi sup. l. v. c. 11.

(S) The *Japanese* add, in their superstitious way, that it could never have been finished, had not one of their heroes (or, as others say, thirty of them), suffered himself to be buried alive, to pacify their angry *Jebis*, or god of the sea (19).

(A) The *Japanese* have two genealogies of their deities; the first of which is a succession of celestial spirits, or beings absolutely free from all mixture with corporeal substance, who ruled during an undetermined and incomprehensible number of ages. The second a race of terrestrial spirits, or good men, not quite possessed with that pure being which was peculiar only to their predecessors, and these governed the *Japan* empire in

a lineal succession, each during a long but limited term of years, till at length they begat a third race of them, who had nothing of the purity and perfections of their progenitors, and these are they by whom *Japan* is now inhabited.

Of the first sort they reckon seven, whose names are only metaphorical, nothing else being recorded in their writings, either of their actions or government, except that the three first lived without wives, and the four last each of them one, by whom they begat each his successor in a manner far above the reach of human comprehension. The last couple called *Ijanaki Mikotto* and *Ijanani Mikotto* (which last word is the epithet peculiar

(19) Kæmpfer, lib. v. c. 3.

- a found their pretence on two different records of theirs, which, though owned in part by the *Japanese*, do not carry a sufficient degree of evidence to be relied upon. The first is, that, *The Chinese* upon a great revolt in *China*, in which the rebels were defeated, and taken prisoners, their number was so great, that the emperor was prevailed upon, after a severe execution of the ringleaders, to decimate them, and to banish the remainder to the then uninhabited islands of *Japan*. The *Japanese* own part of the fact; but affirm, that they were banished not for rebellion, but for their strenuous adherence to their lawful princes against the then usurper of the *Chinese* crown^a; which is not unlikely to have been the case in some of those revolutions we have formerly mentioned, wherein the government passed from one dynasty or family to another, and that sometimes a strange one.
- b THE other is, that one of the *Chinese* monarchs, who had long been in quest of an effectual medicine to make him immortal, was at length told by one of his physicians, that such a medicine might be made, but that the simples, which were to produce that effect, only grew in the desert islands of *Japan*, and could neither be gathered nor brought over by polluted hands, without losing their virtue; to prevent which, he advised that monarch to send him thither with 300 healthy boys, and as many handsome girls; which was actually complied with; and the physician, who only wanted to go and live peaceably, and at a distance from so whimsical and tyrannic a master, settled himself there; and from them all those islands came to be peopled (B). We have shewn another account of this transaction out of the *Chinese* records^b, which affirm it to have happened in the reign of *Shi-uhang-ti*, the second monarch of the fourth dynasty, whose admiral persuaded him that nothing could be more advantageous to the trade of the empire than to have a colony settled there; and, to engage him the more effectually to consent to it, told him, that one of the islands produced an universal medicine against all diseases, and even death itself, and was accordingly sent thither with the three hundred young persons of each sex above-mentioned. He was no sooner arrived there, but, by the help of the sailors and soldiers he had taken with him, he began to build a city, of which he declared himself sovereign; and from him the whole country was soon after peopled, and the inhabitants are proud of deriving their original from the *Chinese*. But, notwithstanding the pretended concurrence between the *Chinese* and *Japanese* on this head, we shall shew in the sequel, that the latter had begun to be governed by kings of their own above 400 years before this transaction, ^{Founded on two different stories.}
- c so far was their country from being uninhabited till then. However, at present we shall only observe, from what we have mentioned in a late note^c, out of their own writings, how far they are from owning themselves descended from the *Chinese*, and shall now shew how unlikely it is they should be so. ^{Both of them confused.}
- d

DR. *Kæmpfer* hath observed such a vast difference between them, with respect to their language, writing, genius, laws, customs, and religion, that he makes no scruple to suppose them an original nation, and their language one of those primitive ones that started up at the *Babylonish* confusion of tongues; so that, according to this supposition, they must have travelled from the place of the general dispersion directly eastward, without stopping any-where, till ^{*Kæmpfer's supposition of their coming straight from Babylon, exploded.*}

^a Vid. LINSCHOT itiner. HAGENER not. in Caron.
^c Vide supra, not. (A).

^b See before, vol. iii. p. 697, & seq. & (A).

to those spiritual beings), are held in great veneration by the *Japanese*, and were, by their new converts to Christianity, called *Adam* and *Eve*, and are said to have been born, and to have lived and died, in some part of the province of *Ise*.

This *Iyanaki*, they pretend, was the first, who, taught by a peculiar bird of theirs, lay with his wife in a carnal manner, and begat sons and daughters of a far superior nature to the third, but vastly inferior to the first or spiritual rank of beings. This second succession is styled by them that of the five terrestrial gods, for so many they reckon them; viz. 1. *Tenso-Daro-din*; 2. *Ootsoo*; 3. *Ninikino*; 4. *Demino*, and *Awase-Dsunno*. The first of these, being the eldest son of *Iyanaki* above-mentioned, is supposed by the very law of primogeniture to have been intitled to a superiority over his brothers and sisters; and upon him is founded the right of the *Dayres*, or antient monarchs, whose eldest sons always claim the succession upon their father's demise. And with the last of the five ended what may be called the second or silver age of the *Japanese*; and from him proceeded the third generation, or that of the now living inhabitants of *Japan*. They attributed a kind of supernatural power, and unlimited authority, to the descendants of *Awase Dsunno* in a direct line, or, in case of

failure, to their next heir; and give to this day the highest titles to the whole family, especially to the chief of it, who sits upon the throne, tho' they have been so long stripped of their secular power, as we have elsewhere shewn (1).

(B) The *Japanese*, we are told, are so far from denying this story, that they still shew a place upon the south coasts, where he landed, and afterwards settled, with his gallant colony; and the remains of a temple, said to have been erected to his memory, for having brought over to them, from *China*, good manners, and useful arts and sciences (2).

This is, however, so contrary to what we mentioned in the last note out of their own writings, that we see no way of reconciling it, but by supposing that such a colony might come and settle there from *China*, though several parts of these islands might have been inhabited by other nations long before, who not only might give him a kind reception on account of his introducing some arts and sciences, and a greater degree of politeness than they knew before, but might erect some temple or monument in memory of it; and this might be sufficient to make the haughty *Chinese* boast themselves the first peoplers of that country, though they appear to have had kings of their own several centuries before.

(1) See before, p. 10, & seq. *Kæmpfer*, lib. i. c. 7. *Karen*.

(2) *Kæmpfer*, lib. i. c. 2.

they

Japan probably peopled by shipwrecks of other nations.

Where first settled.

Their first settlements,

and government.

they came to the peninsula of *Korea*, from which they had but a short passage into *Japan*; and, in all probability, sailed over thither soon after, as to a country the most agreeably situated for their convenience and safety^d. But what seems wholly to overthrow this conjecture, as well as the *Chinese* pretence above-mentioned, is not so much the great difference that is found between their language, religion, customs, genius, complexion, &c. and those of their neighbours, which might and hath been accounted for by some authors in another way (C), as from that which is still observed to this day to reign among themselves in all those respects; and this not only between one island and another, but even several parts of one and the same island, or even provinces, notwithstanding their having been so long united under one monarch. All which seems to us to prove evidently, that these islands were at first peopled by different nations, driven upon their coasts by storms and contrary winds, and at different times, and not by any single one at any one certain period. What still farther confirms this assertion is, that the difference between their languages, customs, stature, complexion, &c. from those of other nations, is so far from being so universal as is pretended, that one may rather observe such a visible conformity between them and all the neighbouring trading nations, as far at least as the coasts of *Malabar* (D), as seem plainly to point to us the origin from which each of them sprung. To this might be added, that the oldest inhabitants are said to have settled in the province of *Isje*, now *Iga*, on the southern coasts, on which account it is still remembered, and honoured with pilgrimages; which makes it more probable that they were cast there by chance, or some tempest, than that they travelled thither from the northern parts of that large island, after their crossing thither from *Korea*, in search of a warmer climate to settle in. However that be, it would be doing them an injury to suppose them descended from the effeminate *Chinese*; and, if we must needs allow them the offspring of one single nation, that of the *Tartars* bids fairest for it, for they have indeed more of the genius of it, though softened by a degree of politeness above them.

WHEN these early settlements were first made, it is hard to guess at, unless we will suppose with *Kämpfer*, that they came thither by land, and directly, and by constant marches from *Babylon*, in which case a few years might suffice to bring them thither; but, as we have shewn the other hypotheses to be better founded, it cannot be supposed, with any probability, to have happened till navigation began to be frequent on those seas; but how soon that was, it is impossible to determine with any tolerable certainty. Whilst these were busy in fixing, improving, and enlarging, their settlements, in this fertile and delightful spot, other colonies might land in other parts, and be readily admitted, as there was no want of room, but rather of hands to cultivate those vast tracts that were still uninhabited; and so by degrees each colony might draw nearer to the other as they grew more numerous, till at length they were forced to set boundaries to each other; and, where any wanted room, they might send some of their own people to seek new habitations among the other adjacent isles.

THIS conjecture (and more than conjecture cannot be offered in a case of such distance both of time and place) will lead us to another equally probable; viz. that each of these colonies had their own respective heads or sovereigns, under whom they lived: much after the same

^d KÄMPFER. lib. i. cap. 5. Vide & COUPLET, & al.

(C) *Linschott*, and, after him, *Hagener*, in his notes on *Caren*, tell us, on the authority of the *Japanese* themselves, that they conceived such an invincible hatred to the *Chinese*, upon their being banished from that country for their loyalty to their natural princes, that they agreed one and all to eradicate as much as possible the memory of their origin, by gradually altering their religion, laws, language, and character, and introducing new customs and manners quite opposite to those they had brought from thence. And we have had occasion to observe, that in many things they seem to be downright antipodes to the *Chinese*; but that this should be done with a design to root out all remembrance of their extract, and that they should so readily own both, is too inconsistent to be urged as a proof of either, wherever they had it from; and, if real fact, can only be true of one part of the inhabitants, as will be farther seen in the sequel.

(D) The *Japanese* records mention an island discovered by them some centuries ago, called *Genkaisima*, lying on the north coasts, and inhabited by *Oni*, or black devils, against whom they waged a bloody war, till they had cleared the place of that vermin, as they called them, and sent thither a colony of their own in their stead. These black devils are supposed with great pro-

bability to have been some *Malayan* merchants, who were lost or shipwrecked upon that uninhabited island, and peopled it, because the history of that war takes notice of their wearing long hair spread over their shoulders, like what is done by the *Malayans* to this day; and that they drove a great commerce along those seas, from *Madagascar* quite to *China*, and islands adjacent, is evident not only from the title which their monarchs assume of lords of the winds and seas to the east and to the west, but much more from their language, which spread itself almost over all those eastern countries (3).

Other black inhabitants are also mentioned, in the *Japanese* history, to have been found in some other islands on the south coasts of *Nippon*, which could hardly be other than some *Malayan* merchants, or else inhabitants of the *Molucca* islands, who were cast upon them by stress of weather, and settled themselves in them.

To all this we may add the great variety of complexions, hairs, shape, manners, &c. which reigns thro' the whole empire, and answers, in some respect or other, to those of the *Chinese*, *Tong-kinese*, *Siamese*, *Malabaric*, and other maritime nations along those seas; all of whom seem to have put a helping hand to the peopling of those islands.

(3) Vide *Kämpfer*, ubi supra, lib. i. c. 5. et seq.

a manner as most other nations did, or even as the *Tartars*, *Arabs*, and others, do to this day in hords or tribes; and wandering with their families and cattle from place to place, for the convenience of pasture. This polyarchal government might last some series of centuries, each hord or tribe having its own laws, customs, language, &c. and in time, as they grew more numerous, they began to encroach upon, and war against, each other, till at length, either their continual feuds and depredations obliged them to put themselves all under the government of one sole monarch; or, which may be as probable, and hath often proved the case among other nations, till one chief, more potent and politic than the rest, might bring them all under his subjection, and assume that universal power, both ecclesiastical and civil, and pompous titles, which we have formerly observed the *Japanese* *dairo's* did^c. But, before we come to speak of the succession of these monarchs, it will not be amiss to give our readers a short account of the *Japanese* chronology.

We have observed lately, that they have, like other antient nations, three æras or epochs; the first, of their seven gods, consisting of an almost an infinite number of ages; the second, of their demi-gods, or five heroes, which, that they might not come behind the *Chinese* in point of antiquity, they pretend lasted 2,342,467 years; and the third, that of the mortal men, or ecclesiastical hereditary emperors, the successors of *Avase-dsunô*, the last of the heroic race; and this last is agreed to have begun about 657 or 660 years before Christ, which was the seventeenth year of *Kaiwo*, or, as the *Chinese* call him, *Hui-wam*, or rather *Whey-vang*, the seventeenth emperor of the *Chew*, or third *Chinese* dynasty^d. From that time to the year of Christ 1693, they reckon 114 emperors, all of the same family, to have successively sat on the *Japanese* throne; and these value themselves highly, upon being the eldest branch of *Tensio-dai-sin*, the first founder of the *Japanese* monarchy, and the lineal issue of the eldest son, and so downwards (E).

THE title those monarchs are commonly called by, is that of *Mikaddo*, which is a kind of diminutive of *Mikotto*, the grand title by which their pretended divine predecessors used to be distinguished, that of *Dairo* signifying rather their court than their dignity, though they are frequently called by it. To these we may add those of *Day*, *Oo*, *Kawo*, and *Tay*, all which signify a sovereign prince, a supreme lord; that of *Tensin*, which signifies the son of heaven; and some others equally august; but when he speaks of himself, he only styles himself *Tsin*, or prince; and when he signs, it is by that of *Maro*, the signification of which our author hath not told us^e.

BEFORE we come to the history and succession of these monarchs, it will not be amiss to apprise our readers, that, to avoid all confusion in their chronology, their historical books always begin the reign of each of them with the next new year, though they have been in possession of the throne several months before, which are added to that of their predecessors. But, in the historical remarks upon them, they always take notice of the day and month in which every *Mikaddo* came to the crown. As to the *Japanese* histories, they say but little of the lives, virtues, and vices, or political government, of their monarchs; but chiefly take notice of their names, descent, birth, succession, length of their reigns, the *Nengos*, or short æras, instituted by them, the place of their residence, and the most material occurrences that happen

^c KÆMPFER, lib. i. cap. 5. Vide & COUPLET, MARTINI, DU HALDE, CARON, & al. See also before, p. 12, & seq. ^d See before, vol. iii. p. 463. ^e KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 4.

(E) The *Japanese* make use of two different æras; the first and the most common of which is styled by them *Nin-o*, which properly signifies a great or powerful monarch. And here, by way of emphasis, the very first begins from *Sin-mu*, their first emperor, who began his reign 660 years before Christ. So that, according to this æra, the year of Christ 1756, is with them the year 2415.

The other, called *Nengo*, was antiently invented by the *Chinese*, but not introduced into *Japan* till the reign of their thirty-sixth emperor, and takes in only a period of a few years, sometimes under 20, and seldom above it. Its beginning, and name or character, which is commonly taken from some memorable accident, is appointed by the emperor, and by him continued at will. It is made use of in their proclamations, orders, journals, letters, and almanacs, and, upon proper occasion, the first grand æra of *Nin-o* is added to it. When our author came into *Japan*, anno 1693, the *Nengo* was called *Gen-rok*, which signifies the happiness of nature and art, and was so called by the then reigning emperor, on account of his father's resigning the crown, in order to

lead a retired life; and that year was then the sixth of that æra, and the 2353 of the grand one, or *Nin-o* (4).

Besides these two, they have a third way of computing by cycles of sixty years, which they have adopted from the *Chinese*, whose third emperor *Wang-ti* is said to have been the inventor of (5); but with this difference, we are told, that whereas the *Chinese* mention the number of the cycle, as well as the year of it, the *Japanese* only mention the latter, without the former; the reason of which is, to avoid acknowledging themselves inferior to the *Chinese* in point of antiquity, who can shew a succession of cycles for many centuries, before the foundation of their monarchy.

The beginning of their year falls in between the winter solstice and spring equinox, about the 5th of *February*; but as they are extremely superstitious in celebrating the day of the new moon, they commonly begin it with the nearest new moon which either precedes or follows the 5th of *February*. They likewise make use of leap-years, every other or every third year, or seven leap-years in the cycle of nineteen years (6).

(4) Vide Kæmpfer, ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 2. ^{eund} (6) *Ibid.* lib. ii.

(5) See vol. iii. p. 677, (O). Vide et Caron et Hagen, not. in

in the empire, such as wars, fires, earthquakes, rebellions, comets, strange meteors, building of temples, palaces, &c. births or deaths of great men, or great saints, downfall of great ministers, introduction of new sects, idols, priests, and festivals, from other countries, miracles, prophecies, and other wonders, performed by their gods, saints, and priests, and other such superstitious trash; to which we may add what other remarkable occurrences have happened in *China*, and other neighbouring countries; from which we shall only extract out of our authors what we think most deserving a place in a work of this nature.

Emperors of
Japan.

The Reigns of the Mikaddos, or original Emperors of Japan.

- I. **SIN-MU**, founder of the *Japanese* monarchy, began his reign, as hath been already hinted, in the year before Christ 660, and seventieth of his age (F). He civilized his subjects, made a thorough reformation of the laws and government, and introduced chronology amongst them, dividing the time into years, months, and days. In the sixtieth year of his reign, were first introduced the worship of foreign idols, brought thither from *China*, and other parts of *India*, which we have mentioned in a former chapter ^b. *Sin mu* reigned seventy-nine years, and, having secured the throne to his posterity, died in the 157th year of his age; and with his reign begins the grand *Japanese* æra of *Nin-o*.
- II. **SUI-SEI**, *Sin-mu*'s third son, succeeded him in the eightieth year of that æra, and fifty-first of his age. He reigned thirty-three years, and died in the eighty-fourth of his age. He was succeeded by his son,
- III. **ENEI**, in the 113th year of the æra, and twentieth of his age; who, after a reign of thirty-eight years, left the crown to his second son *I-toku*.
- IV. **I-TOKU** mounted the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the 151st of the æra. He removed his court to *Keitz*, where he died, after a reign of thirty-five years, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was succeeded by his son,
- V. **KOSIO**, in the year of the æra 186, and thirty-third of his age; and, in the fifth year of his reign, a war arose between the provinces of *Go* and *Jetz*, which is the first that is mentioned by any *Japanese* history. He reigned near eighty-three years, and died in the 115th of his age, and was succeeded by his second son *Koan*.
- VI. **KOAN** mounted the throne in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and 269th of the æra; and removed the imperial residence to *Muro*, in the province of *Farima*, and some years after to *Khuroda*. Under his reign there happened a great eclipse of the sun, and a comet appeared in *China*. He reigned 101 years, and died in the 137th of his age.
- VII. **KOREI**, alias *Koffi*, the eldest son of *Koan*, succeeded him, in the fifty-third year of his age, and 371st of the æra. In the 6th year of his reign, the lake and river of *Oomi* are said to have sprung up suddenly, in one night, in the province of that name, by some earthquake, or subterranean eruption ⁱ; and, in the 46th year of his reign, the *Japanese* empire was divided into thirty-six provinces. *Korei* reigned seventy-six years, and lived 128. He was succeeded by his son,
- VIII. **KOWKIN**, in the year of the æra 447, and sixtieth of his age; and removed his court to *Karutz*. In his time reigned the first of the three *Chinese* *Neros*, who sent the 300 youths, and as many maids, into *Japan*, to fetch him the universal medicine promised to him by his physician. The *Japanese* history calls him *Sick-wo*, and *Sino-fico*; but he is the same whom the *Chinese* call *Shi-whang-ti*; an account of whose reign we have given in the history of their country ^{*}, and have lately observed how absurdly they ascribe the first peopling of *Japan* to those 300 couples, at a time when they had been already governed by their emperors near 450 years. *Kowkin* reigned fifty-six, and lived 116 years, and was succeeded by his second son,
- IX. **KAY-KWO**, or *Kay-quo*, in the fifty-second year of his age, and of the æra 504. He removed his court to *Isagava*, in the third year of his reign; and, in the nineteenth of it, was begun in *China* the first *Nengo*, or short æra, lately mentioned, but which was not introduced into *Japan* till about 780 years after, as will be seen in the sequel. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the moon appeared of a purple colour. *Kay-kwo* reigned fifty-nine years, and died in the 111th of his age.

^b See before, vol. iii. p. 561, & seq. & (A).

ⁱ See before, p. 3, & seq.

^{*} See before, vol. iii. p. 562,

(F) *Sin mu* was the fourth and youngest of all his brothers, and they all reigned before him in their turns; but their reigns proved so short, and so obscure, in comparison of his, that they were not thought worth recording, but were purposely passed by in silence, that the whole honour of founding the *Japanese* monarchy, and

æra of *Nin-bo*, might intirely redound to him; so that he hath been ever since looked upon as the *Julius Cæsar* of that nation. His name, before he ascended the throne, was *I-wa-fkono-mikoto*; but he then changed it for that of *Sin-mu-ten-oo* (7).

(7) *Kämpfer, ubi supra, cap. 3.*

- a X. SIUN-SIN, or *Sin jin*, his son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 564, and fifty-second of his age. In the fourth year of his reign, he removed his court to *Siki*; and, in the seventh, a great mortality spread itself over the empire. In the eleventh, he erected the title and office of *Seogun*, who hath the direction of all military affairs, and command of the army, in case of war or rebellion, and bestowed it upon one of his sons. In the nineteenth year of his reign, the first men of war and merchant-ships were built in *Japan*; and, in the last year of it, two moons were seen in the east. He reigned sixty-eight years, and lived 119.
- b XI. SYNIN, his third son, succeeded him in the 632d year of the æra, and forty-first of his age. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, it rained stars from heaven; and, in the fortieth year, comets and uncommon meteors appeared in the air, followed with a fiery train. In the sixtieth, they began to make fish-ponds in *Japan*, to cultivate rice-fields, and inclose them with ditches. A famous horse, that could run 1000 miles a day, is recorded to have been brought into *Japan*, from some part of the *Indies*. In the ninety-fifth year of his reign, *Bupo*, otherwise called *Kobot*, landed in *Japan*, from the *Indies*, and brought with him, on a white horse, a book, called *Kio*, containing the mysteries of his religion; not long after which, a temple was erected to him, which is still called *Fakkubasi*, or the temple of the white horse. From that time, the worship of *China*, and other parts of *India*, began to spread through this empire; and the number of temples, idols, monasteries, &c. daily increased. *Synin* reigned longer than any of his predecessors or successors, viz. ninety-eight years (F), and lived 139.
- c The twenty-ninth year of his reign, which was the 661st of the æra, was remarkable for the birth of the Redeemer of the world; and the sixty-sixth was no less dignified by his crucifixion and resurrection, supposing it to have happened in the thirty-third year of his age, as is generally believed.
- d XII. KEY-KO, the third son of *Synin*, mounted the throne in the eighty-fourth year of his age, 731st of the *Japanese*, and seventy-first of the Christian æra; and, in the twenty-third year of his reign, a new island is recorded to have started out of the bottom of the sea, near the great one of *Nippon*. It had the name of *Tsicuba-sima* given to it, and was consecrated to *Jebis*, the *Neptune* of the *Japanese*. Three years after, a *Mia*, or temple, called *Takajonomia*, was built on the island, in honour of him, and a sufficient number of priests or bonzas appointed to attend his worship. Both temple and island became famous and rich, on account of the great concourse of people to it; and the latter is affirmed to have been always free from earthquakes. *Keyko* reigned sixty, and lived 143 years.
- XIII. SEY-MUU, his fourth son, succeeded him in the 49th year of his age, and 791st of the æra; and removed his court to *Siggu*, in the province of *Oomi*. He settled the confines of all the provinces of his empire in the sixth year of his reign; and died in the sixtieth year of it, and the 108th of his age.
- e XIV. TSIAU-AI, the second son of *Sey-muu's* sister (who was married to *Jamatta-takino-mikotto*), and was grandson to *Keko*, or *Keyko*, the twelfth emperor, mounted the throne in the 852d year of the æra, and forty-fourth year of his age. He made his way to it by the murder of *Kumasi-usomu-kuno-mikotto*, and died in the ninth year of his reign, and fifty-second of his age.
- f XV. SINKU-COGU, or *Tsin-gukwoo-guu*, succeeded him in the thirtieth year of her age, and 861st of the æra. She was the late emperor's relict; and had a farther title to the crown, by the relation she bore, in the fifth degree, to the emperor *Keyko*. She carried on the war against the *Korcans*; and, in the beginning of her reign, went over thither, at the head of a numerous army, which she commanded in person. Here finding herself pregnant, she hasted back to *Japan*, and was delivered of a son in the town of *Tsikusen*, in the province of *Mikassa*, which was then her residence. This son was called *Vacono-ooji*, but, after he mounted the throne, took the title of *Oofin-ten-oo*, and, after his death, had that of *Jamata-fatz-man*, or *Mars* of *Javata*, given him, and was, for his martial exploits, numbered among the gods of *Japan*. His mother was no less honoured after her death, and, after a glorious reign of seventy-years, was ranked among the goddesses of that country, with the title of *Kassino-day-miosin*. She was succeeded by her warlike son above-mentioned.
- XVI. WOOSIN, or *Oofin*, in the 930th of the æra, and seventy-first of his age. He proved a great prince, both in peace and war, and a true father of his country, which he governed with great prudence and clemency, during a reign of forty-three years. He lived 113 years, and left the crown to his fourth son,

(F) Our author should have excepted their sixth daïro *Koan*, to whom he gives a reign of 101 years*, unless we suppose an error to have crept either into his, or his English translator's copy †.

* See, *Before*, p. 50.

† Conf. *Kämpf. Engl.* p. 161, & 163.

- XVII. NINTOKU, who mounted the throne in the 973d year of the æra, and twenty-fourth of his age; and proved likewise a good and virtuous prince, and was highly revered by his subjects, to whom he remitted the taxes at several times (G). He reigned eighty-seven years, and died in the 111th of his age. There is a temple built to his honour in the city of *Tsino-kuni*, where he is honoured with the titles of *Naniva*, *Taka-kuno*, *Mia-koresinaro*, *Day-mio-tsin*, all pompous in their kind.
- XVIII. RITSU, his eldest son, succeeded him in the 1060th year of the æra, and seventy-second of his age. His usual residence was at *Kozur-koos*, in the province of *Jamatta*, where he reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,
- XIX. FAN-SEY, who mounted the throne in the year of the æra 1066, and in the fifty-fifth of his age. He removed his imperial residence to *Sivagakki*, in the province of *Kaa-waatz*; where, after a short reign of eight years, he left the crown to his younger brother,
- XX. INKIOO, in the year of the æra 1074, and thirty-ninth of his age. This prince resided at *Aska*, in the province of *Jamatto*; and sent for a *Chinese* physician, to take care of his health, and died in the fortieth year of his reign, and eightieth of his age.
- XXI. ANKOO, his son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1114, and fifty-fourth of his age; and resided at *Jamatto*. He had not reigned three years before *Maijuwa*, a near relation of his, rebelled against him, and defeated and killed him. He was, however, succeeded by
- XXII. IN-RUKIA, his younger brother, and *Inkioo*'s fifth son, in the year of the æra 1117 (H); who revenged his brother's murder, by putting the traitor *Maijuwa*, or, as others style him, *Maijuvano-o sin*, to a condign death. In the seventh year of his reign he married the princess *Vakaki*, whom he declared empress; and made a law, which still subsists, importing, that the children of such of the dairo's wives as should be declared empress, should be acknowledged as lawful heirs to the crown. In the ninth year of his reign, the first putjes, a round copper coin, with a square hole in the middle, for the conveniency of stringing them, after the manner of those of the *Chinese* †, were first coined in *Japan*. He reigned twenty-three years; but how long he lived is uncertain.
- XXIII. SE-NEI, his second son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1140, and of his age thirty-seven, and reigned only five years, and left the crown to,
- XXIV. GEN-SOO, a grandson of *Riaku*, who succeeded him, and reigned three years; and then resigned the crown to his brother. He lived eighty-five years.
- XXV. NIN-KEN reigned eleven years, and lived fifty-seven.
- XXVI. BURETZ, the son of *Nin-ken*, succeeded his father in the year of the æra 1159; that of his age is not mentioned. He proved a cruel tyrant, and took delight in cutting off people's heads unawares, and ripping up pregnant women, and other such acts of barbarity (I). He reigned but eight years, and was succeeded by,
- XXVII. KEI-TEI, who was the great grandson of the emperor *Oosin*, and mounted the throne in the 1167th year of the æra, and fifty-fourth of his age. He removed his court from *Tsutuki*, his usual residence, to *Fotoguani*, in the province of *Jamatto*. His reign, which lasted twenty-seven years, is recorded as a glorious one, though we are not told for what; and, after his demise, in the eighty-first year of his age, his successor deified him with the titles of *Askano*, *Day*, *Mia*, *Sin*.
- XXVIII. AN-KAN, his son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1194, and of his age sixty-nine; and, after a short reign of two years, was deified, and is still worshipped as the protector of the province of *Jamatto*.
- XXIX. SENK-VA, his brother, succeeded, and deified him, in the 1196th year of the æra, and, after a reign of four years, died in the seventy-fourth year of his age.
- XXX. KIM-ME, vulgarly *Kin-mei*, another brother of *An-kan*, succeeded *Senk-va*, in the thirty-second year of his age, and 1200th of the æra. He was a religious prince, but much addicted to the foreign pagan worship, especially that of *Budsdso*, which spread itself in his dominions, and caused the idols of *Buds*, or *Foloque*, to be carved in *China*, and set up in *Japan*. What inclined him to this sort of superstition, is the pretended miraculous apparition of some

† De his, vide vol. iii. p. 621, & seq.

(G) In his reign a child is said to have been born in *Fida* with two faces, four arms, and four feet.

(H) He is reported to have been born with grey hairs; and hence it is thought, that some historians put his accession to the crown in the seventy-first year of his age, tho' it be plainly inconsistent with the chronology and the age of his predecessors (8).

(I) Some add, that he was, on that account, like to have been consumed with fire from heaven; and that, to

prevent further damage from it, he caused a subterranean room to be built, all of stone, in some part of the palace, to which he used to repair whenever it thundered.

He took delight in plucking people's nails off their hands and feet; their hair from all parts off their bodies; to make people climb up to the tops of trees, and then shake or shoot them down, and laugh heartily at their falling.

(8) *Kampfer, ubi supra, lib. ii. c. 4.*

of

a of those idols in *China*, and other parts of *India*; particularly in *Japan*, that of the god *Amida*, which was seen at the entry of a pond near the city of *Naniwa*, environed with golden rays, no one knowing how it was conveyed thither. In memory of it, the emperor instituted the first *Nengo*, or short æra, in *Japan*, and called it *Conquo*. The *Japanese* historian adds, that this miraculous idol was afterwards carried, in great pomp, into the country of *Sinako*, and deposited in the stately temple of *Sinquosi*; where it wrought many miracles, and hath rendered that place famous all over the empire. *Kim-me* reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-three.

XXXI. *Fit-atzu*, or *Fin-tatz*, his second son, succeeded him, in the 1232d year of the æra, but no mention is made of his age. He was no less superstitious than his father, nor his reign less pregnant of wonders; and particularly, the birth of the great apostle of *Japan* *Sotoktais*, which was preceded and followed by very surprising circumstances, some of which the reader may see in the margin (K). This proved a rare time for idol-carvers, priests, and temple-builders, who flocked thither from other parts; so that idol-worship spread far and wide over his dominions. He was no less superstitious in other respects; particularly with relation to brutes, in whose behalf he enacted a law, that, on six several days of each month, every living creature whatsoever should be set at liberty; and that every one who had none of them, would do well to procure some, that they might not want an opportunity of giving a proof, on those days, of their merciful disposition towards those creatures. In the eighth year of his reign the first image of *Siaka*, or *Xacca*, was brought over from beyond sea, and conveyed into the temple of *Kobusi*, in the city of *Nara*, where it hath been held in great veneration ever since, and still occupies the most eminent place in that grand edifice. In the fourteenth year of his reign one *Moria*, a great opposer of *Sotoktais*, raised great commotions in the empire. He bore such a mortal hatred to all the idols of the country, that he took, burnt, and destroyed them, where-ever he came; but, in about two years time, his party was quite defeated, and he put to death for his presumptuous enterprise. They add, that having thrown the ashes of those burnt idols into a lake, there arose suddenly a most dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightning. *Fit-atzu* reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

XXXII. *Joo-mei*, in the year 1246 of the æra; and, in his reign, a temple was built, in the small province of *Tamatsucuri*, in memory of the defeat of *Moria*, above-mentioned. *Joo-mei* reigned only two years, his age is not mentioned, and,

XXXIII. *Siu-siun*, his brother, succeeded him; in the third year of whose reign, and in the seventh month, the empire of *Japan* was divided into seven large tracts of land, called *Gokisizido*, which division still subsists, and is to be met with in all the *Japanese* maps. We have taken notice of it in the last section ‡. *Siu-siun* reigned only five years, and left the crown to,

XXXIV. *Syko*, or *Swiko*, grand-daughter of the emperor *Kim-me*, and relict of *Fit-atzu*, in the year of the æra 1253. In the sixth year of her reign a peacock and a crow were brought from beyond sea, among other presents to her, the breed of which still subsists, and the latter have multiplied to such a degree, that they are become a nuisance. The next year was signalized by dreadful earthquakes, which spread almost over the whole empire, and caused great devastations every-where. The next was still more remarkably terrible, not only from fire that fell from heaven, but from the heavy rains which followed immediately after, and laid many towns under water. In the twelfth year she caused the statue of *Siaka* to be cast in brass, which was not long after melted, and coined into small money, and another of plaster put in its room. In the same year gold was first brought into *Japan*, from *Korea*. In the twenty-first year of her reign, died the celebrated *Sotoktais*, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. And, in the thirty-fifth, a swarm of strange flies was observed in the country, which made a loud humming noise, and did a great deal of mischief. *Syko* died in the thirty-sixth year of her reign. Her age is not taken notice of.

XXXV. *Dsiome*, grandson to the late emperor *Fit-atzu*, succeeded her, in the 1289th year of the æra; and resided at *Jamatto*. In the third year of his reign, was born the celebrated devote *Gienna-giosa*, founder of the order of the *Jammabos*, or mountain priests. In

‡ See before, p. 33, & seq.

(K) His mother, before her pregnancy, saw herself, in a dream, surrounded with celestial rays, as bright as the sun, and heard herself addressed in the following words: *I, the holy Gufo-bosatz, must be born again, to teach the world; therefore I am come down to enter into thy womb.* Upon which she awoke, and found herself with child. Eight months after she heard the babe speak distinctly in her womb; and in the twelfth month she was, not only without pain, but with great pleasure and

delight, delivered of a son, who was then named *Fit-siun*, but afterwards *Tais*, and *Sotoktais*. He began, from his tenderest infancy, to give singular tokens of his future greatness, and extraordinary piety, and took the greatest delight in prayers, and other parts of devotion; insomuch that once, when he was but four years old, and had been praying very fervently, the burnt bones and relics of the great *Siaka* were, in a miraculous manner, put into his hands.

the same year a comet was seen for some time. And in the twentieth year of his reign, on the tenth day of the second month, a star was observed in the moon. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to,

XXXVI.
Kwokoku.
After Christ,
642.

XXXVI. Kwokoku, his imperial consort, and adopted daughter of the emperor *Tenmu*, in the year of the æra 1302. In the second year of her reign, five different colours were observed in the sky. She reigned but three years, and was succeeded by,

XXXVII.
Kookoku.
After Christ,
645.

XXXVII. Kookoku, her younger brother; who removed his *Alaca*, or palace of residence, to *Nagora-tojosaki*. He was the first who honoured the ministers and officers of his court with titles, and marks of distinction, according to their several ranks. He also regulated what respects should be paid to those who only enjoyed secular offices. He was also the first who introduced the *Chinese Nengos*, or short periods, and ordered them to be used through the empire. We have given an account of them at the beginning of this section. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

38. Si me.

XXXVIII. Si-me, the empress *Kwokoku's* daughter, who reigned only seven years.

XXXIX.
Ten tai.
After Chr.
652.

XXXIX. TEN-TSU, the emperor *Dsiome's* son, in partnership with the *Itoku*, or nearest relations, succeeded her, in the year of the æra 1322. In the fourth year of his reign was built the famous temple of *See-guanfi*, and its chief idol, carved by the celebrated *Kahga*, who, for his incomparable skill in this kind, was afterwards fainted. In the tenth year of his reign was shewn, in the province of *Xikugo*, a monstrous stag with eight legs. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XL.
Ten-mu.
After Chr.
672.
Opposed by a
brother.
Defeats him.
Silver brought
over.

XL. TEN-MU, his younger brother, in the year of the æra 1332. This prince met with no small opposition from a younger brother, named *Oto-mo-no-oshi*, who was then at the head of a numerous army; but, after a contest which lasted about five months, he had the good fortune to defeat him, and obliged him to rip up his own bowels; in memory of which, he instituted a new *Nengo*. In the second year of his reign he built the stately temple of *Atsuta*; and, in the third, silver was brought over from the island of *Tjusinia*, belonging to the *Koreans*, where they had been to dig and work a mine of it. In the fourth year the great festival, called *Matfuri* (L), was celebrated for the first time at *Nara*, *Tu-atu*, and other places of the empire. In the seventh year there fell hail as big as peaches; and, on the next, they had peaches full ripe in *February*. In that same year there was seen something like the *Aurora borealis* towards the east, which made that part of the sky appear as if all in a flame. c

The coin of it
forbid.

An earthquake.

In the tenth the use of silver coin was forbid, and the round pieces of copper and brass substituted in its stead. About the same time the empire was divided into sixty-six provinces. A violent earthquake was felt in the thirteenth year of his reign; and, on the next, the emperor died, on the ninth day of the ninth month, and in the fourteenth of his reign. His death occasioned fresh troubles at the ecclesiastical court about the succession; notwithstanding which,

XLI.
Tito.
After Chr.
687.

XLI. TSITO, the relief of *Ten-mu*, and one of his nieces, not named, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1347. This reign is only remarkable for the first *Sacki*, or rice-beer, being brewed in *Jenkinosari*, a city in the province of *Oomi*. She reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XLII.
Mon-mu.
After Christ,
697.

XLII. MON-MU, *Ten-mu's* grandson, in the year of the æra 1357. This is the first emperor who granted coats of arms to each province, in the eighth year of his reign; and, in the ninth, caused a square measure (called by the *Japanese Maas* and *Sao*), three of which contain exactly four pounds of rice, to be made of wood, and sent a pattern into all the provinces of the empire, and ordered it to be thenceforward the standard for measuring rice, corn, and other grain. He reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by,

XLIII.
Genmei.
After Christ,
708.
Coins gold and
silver.

XLIII. GENMEI, daughter to the emperor *Ten-ishi*, in the 1368th year of the æra. She ordered gold and silver money to be coined, in the first year of her reign; but prohibited the latter in the year following. In the same year was born *Abeno-kamar*, a prince of the imperial blood, very famous in the *Japanese* history. In the third year of her reign was built the famed temple of *Koubokusi*, in which is an idol of *Akica*, cast in a mixed metal of brass and gold, by the great master *Taisoquan*. Three years after she settled the names of all the provinces, cities, and villages, throughout the empire, and ordered them to be entered in the public records. She reigned seven years, and was succeeded by,

XLIV.
Gen-hoo.
After Christ,
715.

XLIV. GEN-SHO, grand-daughter to the emperor *Ten-mu*, by his son, in the year of the æra 1375. Her reign is famed for some short *Nengos*; but more particularly for the miracu-

(L) This festival was instituted in honour of the god who is acknowledged the tutelary guardian or patron of a city or district, and hath been celebrated all over the empire, with all possible pomp and splendor, with solemn processions, vocal and instrumental music, dancing, plays, and other diversions. These tutelary gods are often changed for others, by cities and provinces, es-

pecially after any public calamities, as famines, earthquakes, &c.; for, in such cases, the gods of those countries which have suffered most are disarmed, as unworthy of any further regard; and those that are supposed to have protected their votaries best, that is, of those countries or cities which have escaped, are adopted in their room.

a lous appearances of the gods *Kumano-gongin*, *Anida*, *Jakusi*, *Senju quam-wong*, and *Biffam-montem*, in several parts of the empire. From the first year of her reign she made some regulations for the dress of the women; and, after a reign of nine years, resigned the crown to her brother's son *Sio-mu*; after which she lived twenty-five years, and died in the forty-eighth year of her age.

Apparition of
some of the
gods.

XLV. *Sio-mu* mounted the throne in the year of the æra 1384; In the eighth year of whose reign, they say the sea-coasts of *Kiz* looked like blood during five whole days; which was followed, on the next year, by great storms, a great drought, and a steril crop, which caused a famine in some parts of the empire. In the thirteenth year of his reign the small-pox proved very mortal through the empire (M). He began to build the first nunneries in the sixteenth year of his reign; and in the twentieth was finished the famed temple of *Day-bods*. He reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his daughter,

XLV.
Sio mu.
After Christ,
724.
Strange place-
names.

XLVI. *Koo-ken*, in the year of the æra 1409. But whether she was married, we are not told. In the first year of her reign gold was presented to her, which had been dug up in the mines of *Ossio*, for till then that metal had been imported from *China*. Soon after which, she finished the stately temple of *Toodasi*, which her father had begun, pursuant to a vow, but did not live to complete (N). She reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XLVI.
Koo ken.
After Chr.
749.

XLVII. *Fai-tai*, the emperor *Ten-mu*'s great grandson, in the year of the æra 1419; of whom nothing more is recorded, than that he removed his court to *Fora*, in the province of *Oomi*; thence to *Tayranokio*; and lastly to *Fairo*, in the province of *Ravadji*; within the six years of his reign, and was succeeded by,

XLVII
Fai-tai.
After Chr.
759.

XLVIII. *SEO-TOKU*, the empress *Koo-ken*'s eldest daughter; who only reigned five years, and left the crown to,

XLVIII.
Seo toku.

XLIX. *Koo-nin*, the emperor *Ten-tsu*'s grandson, in the year of the æra 1430. In the second year of whose reign a storm of thunder and lightning happened, dreadful beyond expression, the fire descending from heaven like stars, and with a loud and fearful noise. On this occasion the emperor ordered the *Matsuri*'s, or solemn feasts and processions, to be celebrated in all parts of his dominions, to appease the *Jakusi*, or evil spirits, who have the command of the air and fields. In the eighth year of his reign the river *Fusu-usin-gava* was quite dried up; and, in the tenth, a dreadful fire broke out at *Meaco*, which destroyed all the temples of that metropolis. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his son,

765.
XLIX.
Koo-nin.
After Christ,
770.

L. *KWAN-MU*, or *Quam-mu*, in the year of the æra 1442, and of his age forty-six. In the sixth year of his reign a foreign people, who were not *Chinese*, but of some more distant country, came over to invade *Japan*. The *Japanese* did all that was in their power to get rid of them, but to little purpose, their losses being still supplied with fresh recruits. Nine years after their arrival, *Tamamar*, a brave and renowned general, was sent against them, with better success, who gave them several defeats, and killed their commander in chief. They held out, however, some time longer, and were not intirely suppressed till the eighteenth year after their arrival, and of the æra 1466. *Kwan-mu* reigned twenty-four years, and died in the seventieth of his age.

L.
Kwan-mu.
After Christ,
782.
Japan in-
vaded.

e LI. *FEI-DSO*, or *Fei-dso*, reigned only four years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LI.
Fei-dso.

LII. *SA-GA*, who reigned fourteen years; during which time a great number of temples, monasteries, &c. were erected all over the empire. His younger brother,

LII.
Sia ga.

LIII. *SIUN-VA*, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1484, and reigned ten years; in the second of which, the *Japanese* historian mentions one *Vrasima*, who returned from *Forisfan* into *Japan*, in the 348th year of his age. He had lived, it seems, all that time under water, where they believe people do not grow old.

LIII.
Siun-va.
824.
A strange
story.

LIV. *NI-MIO*, or *Nin-mio*, *Sa-ga*'s second son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1694, and reigned seventeen years. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

54. Ni-mio.
834.

f LV. *MON-TOKU*, or *Bon-toku*, in the year of the æra 1511; in the fourth year of whose reign several violent earthquakes were felt in *Japan*, by one of which the head of the great *Day-buts*, or idol of *Siaka*, was thrown down, in his temple at *Meaco*. He reigned eight years, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

L.V.
Mon-toku.
851.
Violent earth-
quakes.

(M) The *Japanese* physicians distinguish three sorts of small pox; viz. the *siô h*, which is properly that disease; the *fajika*, which is rather a kind of measles; and the *kare*, which signifies watry pustules.

In their treating of the small pox, they commonly wrap up the patient in red cloth. And when one of the emperor's children falls ill of that distemper, not only the bed and room, &c. are furnished with red, but all the persons that come near the patient must be clad in the same colour.

As to the venereal, or great-pox, it is not unknown among them, but is called the *Portuguese* disease, as hath been elsewhere hinted.

(N) The history adds, that, upon the consecration of that edifice, one *Giogii* obtained, by his prayers, the miraculous presence of *Barramou*, an eminent god in *Jada*, who came accordingly over, and assisted at it.

LVI.
Sei-va.
After Chr.
859.
A famed prince
born.

LVI. SEI-VA, in the year of the æra 1519; in the fifth year of whose reign the books of the great *Confucius* were first brought, read, and approved of, at the imperial court. In the ninth year of his reign was born, in *Jamatto*, the celebrated princess *Tijue*, daughter of *Tsike-kugu*, a prince of the imperial blood, who became famous for her extraordinary learning, and whose writings are highly esteemed in *Japan*. *Sei-va* reigned eighteen years, and resigned the crown to his son, and died four years after his abdication.

LVII.
Jo-sey.
After Chr.
877.
Runs mad.

LVII. JO-SEY, *Sei-va*'s eldest son, was but nine years old when his father reigned, in the year of the æra 1537. In the second year of his reign two fairs appeared in *Osaka*. This prince found the crown fit so heavy upon him, that he lost his senses in a short time; on which account the prime minister thought fit to depose him, after he had reigned eight years.

LVIII.
Kooko.
885.
A strange
rain.

LVIII. KOOKO, the emperor *Ni-mio*'s second son, was placed on the throne in the year of the æra 1545; in the seventh month of the first year of whose reign it rained sand and stones, which destroyed almost the whole crop of rice. He reigned only three years, and was succeeded by his third son,

LIX.
Uda.
883.
LX.

LIX. UDA; in the second year of whose reign there fell so much rain all the summer, that the fields were overflowed, and the harvest greatly damaged. He reigned ten years.

Day-go.
After Chr.
888.
A total dark-
ness.
A great fire
at Meaco.

LX. DAY-GO, his eldest son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1557; and on the first year of his reign, on the third day of the sixth month, it grew on a sudden so dark (probably by a total eclipse of the sun) that the people could not see one another. In the second year died *Somme-Dono*, who had been declared *Kiffaki*, that is, the supreme woman, or empress, and mother of the presumptive heir to the throne. In the 16th year, on the second day of the fifth month, a great fire happened at the capital of *Meaco*, which consumed 617 houses. On the twenty-sixth year a hare was sent to court which had eight legs, out of the province of *Jamatto*. *Day-go* reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his twelfth son,

LXI.
Siu-zaku.
After Chr.
931.

LXI. SIU-ZAKU, in the year of the æra 1591; in the second year of whose reign, *Mas-fakaddo*, a prince of the imperial blood, revolted; and the rebellion could not be quelled till seven years after, when the author of it was defeated and killed. In the third year of his reign, on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, was felt a violent earthquake, and another on the seventh year, on the fifteenth of the fourth month. Most of this prince's reign was troubled with storms of thunder and lightning, which reduced a great number of temples and monasteries to ashes; particularly in the thirteenth year, during which the storms were almost universal in all the provinces of the empire. *Siu-zaku* reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by,

LXII.
Murakami.
917.
A general
flood.

LXII. MURAKAMI the emperor *Day-go*'s fourteenth son, in the year of the æra 1607; who, in the fourth year of his reign, called a synod together, at which assisted all the heads of the different sects, to deliberate about some matters of religion. He reigned twenty-one years, and left the crown to his second son,

LXIII.
Ren-sei.
918.
64. Jen-vo.
970.
LXV.
Kwassan.
After Chr.
935.
Turns monk.

LXIII. REN-SEI, or *Rei-sen*, in the year of the æra 1628, aged then sixty-one. He reigned but two years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LXIV. JEN-VO, or *Jen-ho*, who reigned fifteen years, and left the crown to his nephew, LXV. KWASSAN, or *Quassan*, was the son of the late emperor *Ren-sei*, and was but seventeen years old when he mounted the throne, in the year of the æra 1645; and had scarcely reigned two years when he was seized with a religious fit, left his imperial palace in the middle of the night, and retired into the monastery of *Quan-si*, where he was shaved, and dedicated himself to a retired life. He continued twenty-two years in the same monastery, and died in the fortieth year of his age.

LXVI.
Itsi-dsio.
After Chr.
987.

LXVI. ITSU-DSIO, his cousin, and son of the late emperor *Jen-vo*, succeeded him immediately upon his abdication, in the year of the æra 1647. His reign is famed for the number of learned men who then flourished at his court, but the eighteenth year of it was visited with a mortality which raged all over the empire. He reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by,

LXVII.
San-dsio.
After Chr.
1112.

LXVII. SAN-DSIO, the emperor *Ren-sei*'s second son, in the year of the æra 1672. He reigned five years: in the third of which his residence was burnt down, as was a great part of another on the next.

LXVIII.
Itsi-dsio II.
Cachibudans.
1112.
A great
plague.
A great
flood.
A great
flood.

LXVIII. GO-ITSU-DSIO, or *Itsi-dsio* the second, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1677. In the fifth year of his reign *Sai-siu* obtained leave of him to be drawn about in a covered chariot drawn by two oxen; which new fashion was so well liked, that the whole ecclesiastical court soon followed it. On the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the same year there was a violent storm, which did a considerable deal of mischief; and in the sixth year a grievous plague raged through most parts of the empire. In the twelfth year, and in the fourth month, answering to our *June*, there fell such quantities of snow as covered the ground to the height of above four feet. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LXIX.

- a LXXIX. Go-siu-samv, or *Siu-faka* the second, in the 28th year of his age, and 1697 of the æra: in the fifth year of whose reign, in the first month, there was a violent earthquake. He reigned nine years, and left the crown to his eldest son, LXXIX. *Go-siu-samv*.
 LXX. Go-rei-sin, in the year of the æra 1706; in the thirteenth year of whose reign a rebellion was raised in the province of *Oju*, by one *Jori-jie*, which lasted five years, till the emperor's crown-general totally defeated the rebels, and slew their two head commanders. He reigned twenty three years, and died in the forty-ninth year of his age. LXX. *Go-rei-sin*.
 LXXI. Go-san-dsio succeeded him in the year of the æra 1729, and thirty-sixth of his age; and, after a short reign of four years, left the crown to his eldest son. LXXI. *Go-san-dsio*.
 LXXII. Siira-kava, in the year of the æra 1733; in the ninth year of whose reign there was a very great drought. He reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his second son, LXXII. *Siira-kava*.
 LXXIII. Fori-kava, in the year of the æra 1747; who reigned twenty-one years, and died in the thirtieth of his age. LXXIII. *Fori-kava*.
 LXXIV. Toba, his eldest son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1768; in the first year of whose reign a noise was heard in the air like that of the beating of drums, which continued several days. In the fourteenth was born *Kijomori*, a prince of the blood, very famous in the *Japanese* history (O). He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, LXXIV. *Toba*.
 LXXV. Siu-toku, in the year of the æra 1784; in whose reign was built the town of *Kama kura*. He reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his youngest brother, LXXV. *Siu-toku*.
 LXXVI. Kon-jey, the emperor *Toba*'s eighth son, in the year of the æra 1802; in the sixth year of whose reign a comet appeared. At this time flourished the famed *Jorimassa*, a prince of the blood, who, by the assistance of *Fatsman*, the *Mars* of the *Japanese*, performed many great exploits (P) during the civil wars carried on between four of the most potent princes of the empire; and, at the end of twenty-seven years, was extirpated with his whole family. LXXVI. *Kon-jey*.
 In the tenth year of his reign was born at court the first great *Seogun*, or crown-general, *Joritomo*, who was pitched upon by the *Dayro* to go, at the head of a powerful army, and terminate the wars between the competitors. This subtle general, abusing the power put into his hands, readily espoused the interest of that party which was most likely to support his own; by which he became so powerful, that he at length found himself strong enough to strip the *Dayros* of their secular power, and to intail it on his own posterity, as we shall see in the sequel. *Kon-jey* reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his elder brother, LXXVII. *Goffii-rakava*.
 LXXVII. Gossii-rakava, in the year of the æra 1810; in the very first year of whose reign *Iffi-ju* revolted, and occasioned a bloody and destructive war, which, from the time of its beginning, was called *Foggianno Midarri*, or *The desolation of the Foggien æra*. In the third year of his reign, and in the eighth month, happened a new rebellion; soon after which he resigned the crown to his eldest son, and some twelve years after turned monk. LXXVIII. *Nidzio*.
 LXXVIII. Nidzio was then but sixteen years old; and, in the first year of his reign, his two generals *Nobujori* and *Jositomo* (the father of *Joritomo*) rebelled against him; the latter of whom was killed two years after, and his son banished to *Idsu*. *Nidzio* reigned seven years, and left the crown to his eldest son, LXXIX. *Roku-dsio*.
 LXXIX. Roku-dsio, in the year of the æra 1826; who was then but ten years old, and died in the third year of his reign. After his death, LXXX. *Taka-kura*.
 LXXX. Taka-kura, the third son of the late emperor *Goffii-rakava*, was raised to the throne in the ninth year of his age; and, in the fourth year of his reign, a great part of the imperial city and palace was laid in ashes. In the seventh the small-pox was very fatal all over the empire; and, in the twelfth, the enemies of *Joritomo* were defeated in the province of *Isju*; and *Jorimassa*, the *Japanese Hercules* lately mentioned, destroyed, with his whole family. *Taka-kura* reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his eldest son, LXXXI. *Taka-kura*.

(O) This prince assumed the title of *Dayro*, and got a court of his own adherents, like that of those monarchs; but, not being able to maintain his title and dignity, was forced to flee to the famed convent of *Abaka*, on the mountain of *Yotom*, where the monks protected him against the imperial court, and the troops sent against him: soon after which he turned monk, lived fourteen years in that monastery, and died in the sixtieth year of his age, of a malignant fever, which made his flesh look as red as if he had been all on fire: a just punishment, says the *Japanese* historian, for his treacherable presumption.

(P) Among other of his feats, he is said to have shot to death, with his arrows, the infernal serpent *Naga*, a monstrous creature, which had the head of a monkey,

the tail of a serpent, and the body and claws of a tiger, and harboured in the imperial palace, to the no small dread and disturbance both of the *Dayro* and his court: if this be not rather an hieroglyphical picture of some chief rebel; for by that time those monarchs, who had enjoyed so high and unlimited an authority during such a long series of ages, and governed with such an absolute sway, began to feel a sensible decay of their power, the vassal and tributary princes, imitating their example, and every where assuming an independent power, being chiefly actuated by ambition and jealousy against each other, till they kindled that most destructive war above-mentioned, which had like to have ruined the empire.

LXXXI.
An-toku.
After Chr.
1181.

Forced to re-
sign.
Drowned.

LXXXII.
Toba II.
1184.

Resigns the
crown.

LXXXIII.
Tutii.
After Chr.
1199.

Resigns.

LXXXIV.
Siun-toku.
1211.
First men of
war built.

85. Fori-
kava II.
1222.

LXXXVI.
Si-dio.
After Chr.
1233.

87. Saga II.
1243.

88. Fikakusa.
After Chr.
1247.

LXXXIX.
Kame jam-
ma.
1260.

LXXXI. AN-TOKU, in the year of the æra 1141; in the first year of whose reign there was a grievous famine, occasioned by the badness of the crop, and the civil wars then raging. In the same year *Kadſuwara* (Q) went over from the party of *Feki* to that of *Joritomo*, who was then called *Tiojenuſi*, and had at that time a son born, and named *Jori Ije*, who succeeded him afterwards in the government of secular affairs. *An-toku*, after a three years troublesome reign, was forced to resign the crown to a fourth son of the emperor *Takakura*, and about two years afterwards was drowned in his flight from some of his enemies, in the western sea.

LXXXII. GO-TA-BA, or *Toba* the second, mounted the throne in the year of the æra 1184; and, in the twelfth year of his reign, *Joritomo*, who had had such success against the generals of the contending parties, came to *Meaco* to pay his respects to the *Mikaddo*, or, as he is vulgarly called, the *Dayro*, and obtained from him the title of *Sey Seogun*, or grand general of the crown (R), and took upon him the command of the imperial forces, and soon after the greatest branch of the secular power. This title is still enjoyed by all who are raised to that dignity, and with the addition of that of *Day*, or high lord, as they came to grow more powerful; for they did not absolutely strip the imperial monarchs of every branch of their secular authority till the time of *Taycho*, or *Taycho amma*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; but kept within some bounds with them, and contented themselves with infringing some part of it gradually, and as occasion offered. *Joritomo* therefore, though not the first that abused this important trust, may be said to have been the first who made a successful attempt on this branch of the imperial prerogative, and who found means to intail this ill-gotten power on his posterity.

GO-TA-BA reigned fifteen years, and then resigned the crown to his eldest son, and died in the sixtieth year of his age.

LXXXIII. TSUTSI, alias *Tſutſi Mikaddo*, was but three years old when he succeeded his father in the year 1189; and *Joritomo* died in the first year of his reign, leaving his power and dignity to his son *Jori Ije*, which last had it confirmed to him by *Tſutſi*, in the fifth year of his reign, and was killed two years after. *Tſutſi* reigned twelve years, and resigned the crown to his younger brother, and lived in all thirty-seven years.

LXXXIV. SIUN-TOKU succeeded his brother in the year of the æra 1191; and, in the sixth year of his reign, the first *Fune*, or men of war, were built in *Japan* by order of *Sonne-tomo*, the second son and successor of *Joritomo*, who was then endeavouring to maintain himself in his post of *Sey Seogun* by force of arms. The emperor reigned eleven years, and resigned the crown to,

LXXXV. GO-FORIKAVA, or *Forikava* the second, grandson to the emperor *Takakura*; who reigned eleven years, lived twenty-four, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

LXXXVI. SI-DSIO, was but five years of age when he mounted the throne; and, in the seventh year of his reign, *Joritſue*, the then *Seogun*, or crown-general, whose usual residence was at *Kamakura*, came thence to *Meaco*, to pay homage to him. *Si-dſio* reigned ten, and lived fifteen years, and was succeeded by,

LXXXVII. GO-SAGA, or *Saga* the second, the second son of *Tſutſi Mikaddo*; who, after a short reign of four years, died in the fifty-third year of his age, and left the crown to his second son,

LXXXVIII. GO-FIKAKUSA, in the year of the æra 1207; in the eleventh year of whose reign happened a violent earthquake. He reigned thirteen years, and lived sixty, but resigned the crown to his younger brother,

LXXXIX. KAME-JAMMA; in the seventh year of whose reign appeared a comet, which was also seen in *China*; and in the ninth year, on the eighth day of the fifth month, were seen

(Q) *Kadſuwara* was a man of mean extraction, but, by his bravery and noble exploits, had raised himself to the degree of one of the most considerable princes of the empire; and, by his now siding with that revolted general, turned the balance almost wholly on his side.

We read of several eminent generals who were killed in this civil war, particularly *Josſaga*, a hero much cried up in the *Japanese* history; and, after him, *Joritſue*, another great commander, whose death was followed by that of his lieutenant-general, and the extirpation of his whole family.

(R) This is the same title with that of *Cubo*, mentioned in the letters of the missionaries, *Varenius*, and other *Japanese* writers; and which we have therefore made use of in the former part of this chapter, as the most known of the two. Dr. *Kämpfer*, who hath given us this extract of their history out of the *Japanese* annals, gives them that of *Sey Seogun*; but, from his and their accounts, it plainly appears, that the dignity is the same; and

that they originally meant the generalissimo of the emperor's forces, whose office it was to decide all competitions between contending tributary princes, to quell all rebellions, and to command all the imperial forces. This post, therefore, was of such importance, that the emperors generally bestowed it on their second, or some younger or favourite son that was fit for it; or, in want of that, to some favourite brother, nephew, cousin, &c.; and these were styled *Cubos*, some of whom, hurried by their unmeasurable ambition, have raised very unnatural rebellions and civil wars, instead of quelling them, as hath been formerly observed. *Joritomo* seems to be the first who had the title of *Seogun* given to him; but, whether because he was not of the imperial blood, or at some great remove from the reigning branch, we will not affirm; only thus much is plain, that his office and power was the same with that of the *Cubos*; and that, like some of them, he found an effectual way of abusing both against his lawful sovereign.

a two fans; and on the second day of the eleventh month were seen three moons. He reigned fifteen years, and resigned the crown to his eldest son, and lived thirty-two years after it.

XC. Gouda succeeded him in the year of the æra 1935; and in the nineteenth year of his reign, and twenty-first day of the fifth month, the *Tartar* general *Mokko*, as he is called by the *Japanese* historians, appeared upon the coasts of *Japan* with a fleet of 4000 sail, and 240,000 men. The then reigning *Tartar* emperor *Syfu*, after having completed the conquest of *China*, about the year of Christ 1270, resolved upon that of *Japan* also. We have formerly given an account of this abortive expedition^a; which, if we will believe the *Japanese* writers, proved so by reason of the tutelar gods of *Japan* relenting the insult offered to them by those invaders, to such a degree, that, on the first day of the seventh month, they excited a vehement storm,

b which destroyed their boasted invincible armada (S). Gouda reigned thirteen, and lived fifty-eight years. He was succeeded by his cousin,

XCI. FUSIMI, *Hikakusa* II.'s son, in the year of the æra 1948; who had a son born in the first year of his reign, to whom he resigned his crown in the eleventh, and died in the fifty-third year of his age.

XCII. GO-FUSIMI mounted the throne in the eleventh year of his age, and 1959th of the æra; and, after a short reign of three years, resigned the throne, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age.

XCIII. GO-NIDSIÖ, or *Nidzio* II. the emperor Gouda's eldest son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1962. His reign is remarkable for a violent earthquake; for the death of the emperor *Kame-jamma*, thirty-two years after his resignation of the crown; as also for the birth of *Takaudsi*, who became afterwards a celebrated *Seogun*, or secular monarch. *Nidzio* reigned only six years, and resigned the throne to,

XCIV. FANNASONNO, younger brother to *Fusimi* II. in the year of the æra 1968; who reigned eleven years, and resigned the crown to,

XCV. GO-DAYGO II. *Nidzio*'s second brother, in the year of the æra 1979: in the latter end of whose reign the civil wars then raging occasioned the shedding of a vast deal of blood. These wars are related at length in a *Japanese* history called *Teyfeki*. Daygo, after a reign of thirteen years, resigned the crown to,

d XCVI. KWO-GIEN, or *Kow-gien*, in the year of the æra 1992: in the second year of whose reign, *Takaudsi*, then *Seogun*, or secular monarch, came to pay his homage to him. He resigned the crown to his predecessor, after he had enjoyed it two years, and lived thirty-two years after that.

GO-DAYGO resumed the throne; and, three years after, the isle of *Nippon* was shook with a violent earthquake. He reigned this second time but three years, and was succeeded by,

XCVII. QUO-MIO, the fourth son of the emperor *Fusimi* II. and younger brother of *Kwo-gien*, in the year of the æra 1996: in the second year of whose reign the then *Seogun*, or crown general, was honoured with the additional and illustrious title of *Day*, or lord. The *Japanese* historians differ about the length of *Quo-mio*'s reign, one giving him twelve, and another but two years: however, he was succeeded by,

e GO-MURACAMI II. *Daygo* II.'s seventh son, in the year of the æra 1999, who yet hath no rank assigned to him in the list of the *Mikaddos*, though we find three *Nengos*, or short æras, mentioned during his reign: the two first of three, and the last of four, years. However, at the expiration of the last,

XCVIII. SIUK-VO mounted the throne in the year of the æra 2039: in the first year of whose reign an end was put to the war called *Sidjo Navatto*. He reigned but three years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

f XCIX. GO-KWO-GEN II. or *Kwo-gen* II. in the year of the æra 2012: in the third year of whose reign *Jesifaki*, the third son of *Takaudsi* the *Day-Seogun*, came to court; and, on the next year, *Takaudsi* himself was sent by that monarch to compose some tumults in the pro-

^a See before, vol. ii. p. 384, & seq. & (M). & iii. 754, & seq.

(S) Both the *Chinese* and *Japanese* histories take notice of this invasion, though they differ somewhat as to the time, and other circumstances. Father *Copley*, in his chronological tables of the *Chinese* empire, and *Du Halde*, in his description of it, place the complete conquest of it in the year 1281; and the *Japanese* in the ninth year of the emperor Gouda's reign, which will fall in with the year of Christ 1284. They differ likewise as to the number of ships and men, their total defeat, and other less material points; and it is not to be doubted but the *Japanese*, who were the gainers in it, have magnified the loss of the *Tartars*; inasmuch that, of that vast navy, few men escaped, according to them, to carry the dreadful news to *China*. However, *Marco*

Polo, the *Venetian* traveller, confirms the main points both of the invasion and great loss of the *Tartars*; and, to the account of that dreadful storm, adds another cause of their defeat, *viz.* the dissensions and jealousies that arose between the two *Tartar* generals. What he adds to it, *viz.* that they were forced to abandon what they had already conquered, seems likewise to intimate as if they had made some considerable progress in it. But the truth is, he was not among them, but resided then at the *Tartar* court in *China*; so that he must take his account from the *Tartars* themselves, who would not fail of representing this great defeat and loss in the most favourable light.

vince of *Oomi*. That general died four years after, and was succeeded by his son above-named, who had the title of *Sei Day Seogun* confirmed unto him, as had also his son and successor *Jossumitz*. *Kwo-gen* reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by,

C.
Jentu II.
After Chr.
1372.
CI.

C. GO-JENSU, or *Jensu* II. in the year of the æra 2032: in the eighth year of whose reign a grievous famine raged through the empire. In the same year a comet appeared. He reigned eleven years, and left the crown to his eldest son,

Gokomatiz.
After Chr.
1383.

CI. GOKOMATZ, in the year of the æra 2043: in the ninth year of whose reign a war raged in the country of the *Udsu*; in the 14th, the famed temple of the *Kenni-fi* was laid in ashes, and, in the 20th, a comet appeared in the spring, which was followed by an excessive drought during the summer and autumn, and by several violent earthquakes in the next winter; in the 22d year of his reign a mountain at *Nansuo*, in the province of *Simotski*, began to burn, and to throw up fire, stones, and ashes; but the flame ceased soon after. The 25th year of his reign was remarkable for its excessive rains, which occasioned several inundations, followed by storms and earthquakes. He reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his son,

CII.
Seo-kwo.
After Chr.
1413.

CII. SEO-KWO, in the year of the æra 2073: in the 4th year of whose reign, *Uje*, of the family of the *Suggi*, rebelled against him. In the ninth year, on the twelfth day of the tenth month, there appeared two suns. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

CIII.
Go funna-so.
After Chr.
1429.
Strange appearances and calamities.

CIII. GO-FUNNA-SO, in the year of the æra 2089. In this year appeared a very large and terrible comet, and another in the eleventh year of his reign. In the sixteenth year, *Josimassa* was honoured with the title of *Sey Seogun*; and, in the eighteenth, the imperial palace was burnt to ashes. During the seven last years of this reign, many strange and dreadful appearances in the heavens are mentioned by the *Japanese* historians, which were followed by famine, pestilence, and a grievous mortality all over the empire. He reigned thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

CIV.
Tsutsumi-kaddo.
After Chr.
1465.
Some comets seen.

CIV. GO-TSUTSI-MIKADDO, in the year of the æra 2121. In the second month of this year was seen a comet, whose tail appeared to be about eighteen feet long; and in the next were felt several dreadful earthquakes. The third year was very fatal to the empire, which was filled with troubles, civil wars, and desolations. On the fifth year appeared another comet; and, in the seventh, on the first day of the twelfth month, was seen a new and larger one than any that had been observed before, and with a tail as long, according to the *Japanese* historian, as a street. This year was likewise remarkable for a great mortality throughout the empire; and, in the eleventh, the waters about *Amagasaaki*, in the province of *Setz*, were driven with such fury, by a vehement wind, into the land, that they overflowed a great part of that country, and drowned great numbers of the inhabitants. In the 25th year of this reign, and on the sixth day of the third month, died *Josinavo*, the son and colleague of *Josimassa*, the then crown-general; and in the next died his father also, and very much regretted. In the 29th year, *Josifsimmi*, having been honoured by the emperor with the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun*, went and commanded the army in *Jesiro*. *Tsutsi Mikaddo* reigned thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

CV.
Kasuvabara.
After Chr.
1501.
A grievous famine.

CV. KASUVABARA, in the year of the æra 2161: in the fourth year of whose reign a great famine raged through the empire; and in the sixth appeared a comet. In the eighth, the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun* was bestowed on *Jositaune*, the brother of *Josinavo*, and twenty-first in descent from *Joritomo*, who went four years after to pay his homage to that monarch. The tenth year of his reign was fatal to *Japan* both by wars and earthquakes; and in the sixteenth appeared another comet. *Kasuvabara* reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

CVI.
Gonara.
After Chr.
1527.
Fosokava kills himself.
Great calamities through Japan.
Josi-tir murders himself.

CVI. GONARA, in the year of the æra 2187: the beginning of whose reign was signalized by the conclusion of a grievous war between the two great princes *Fosokava* and *Kad-suragava*; the former of whom, two years after, put an end to his life by ripping up his own bowels, with that courage and resolution which is the peculiar character of the *Japanese* heroes. During this monarch's reign, the empire was visited twice with pestilence and a grievous mortality, thrice with vast rains and inundations, and once with such an universal storm as blew down a prodigious number of buildings through the island, and in particular the imperial palace. In the 21st year *Josi-tir* received the titles of *Sey-Day-Seogun*; eighteen years after which he ripped up his own bowels. He was the son of *Josisar*, and twenty-fourth in descent from *Joritomo*; and was raised to that dignity in colleagueship with his father, who died three years after, in the 24th of *Gonara*'s reign. *Gonara* reigned thirty-one years, and was succeeded by his son,

CVII.
Ookimatiz.
After Chr.
1558.

CVII. OOKIMATZ, whose reign began with a grievous drought and famine, in the year of the æra 2218. In the 11th year of his reign, *Jositira*, the son of *Josi-tir*, was raised to the dignity of *Sey-Day-Seogun*, or secular monarch, in his father's stead, who had ripped up his own bowels three years before. In the sixteenth year, *Kamio*, which is the upper city of *Me-aco*, was set on fire by incendiaries, by which the greatest part of it, and of the imperial palace,

- a lace, were burnt down. In the 20th year, in the beginning of the ninth month, appeared a large comet, which did not go off till the next year. In the 25th year, on the second day of the fifth month, the famed *Nobunanga*, the then *Sey-Day-Seogun*, and twenty-seventh in descent from *Joritomo*, and his eldest son, were killed at *Meaco* (T); and, on the next year, came some ambassadors from the *Riuku* or *Laqueo* islands. In the 28th year of this reign, and in the seventh month, *Fide Jofi*, who afterwards took the name of *Taycho* and *Taychosamma*, was by the emperor raised to the dignity of *Quanbuku*, which was then the next to that of the *Dayro*, by virtue of which they acted as his vicegerents. We shall give a farther account of him in the sequel, when we come to speak of the secular monarchs; and only observe here, that it was he who stripped the emperors of the last remains of their secular authority, and made himself absolutely independent of them in all secular affairs, except the paying a kind of formal homage once in three, four, or five years, as hath been formerly hinted ^b.

Taycho raised to the dignity of vicegerent.

After Chr.

1585.

Becomes absolute.

THIS 28th year was likewise remarkable for a violent earthquake which happened at the end of the eleventh month, and continued to repeat its frequent, though gentler, shocks the best part of the next year, which was the 29th, and last of *Ookimatz's* reign, who then resigned the crown to his grandson, and died seven years after.

CVIII. GO-JOSEI, who was the eldest son of the hereditary prince *Jookvo*, who died the year before, on the seventh day of the eleventh month, in the year of the æra 2247. In the third year of his reign, *Fide Tsugu*, a nephew of *Taychosamma* above-mentioned, and by him declared his heir and successor (though afterwards disgraced, and condemned to rip up his bowels) a cruel and bloody prince, killed *Foodsjo*, a revolted tributary king, in the province of *Sagami*, and extirpated his whole race, according to the *Japanese* rules of war, which advise, by that means, to root out and destroy at once the cause and the evil; and on the next year was invested with the title and dignity of *Quambuku*.

CVIII.

Go-josei.

After Chr.

1587.

- c IN the sixth year of this reign, *Taychosamma* carried the war into the peninsula of *Korea*, of which we have given an account at the end of the last volume ^c, and with a view, as he pretended, of conquering afterwards the empire of *China*, but ended the war in the seventh year of it. In the eleventh year of *Go-Josei*, and on the twelfth day of the eleventh month, happened several violent earthquakes, which continued their shocks for a whole month; and about the same time it rained hair of four or five inches long in several parts of the empire; which phenomenon is often mentioned in the *Japanese* histories.

Korean war.

After Chr.

1592.

Dreadful earthquakes.

Rain of hair.

- d IN the twelfth year, which was the 2258th of the æra, *Fide Jofi*, the twenty-ninth in descent from *Joritomo*, took upon him the title of *Taycho*, or great prince, having by that time got the supreme and absolute power and command over all secular affairs; and died on the 16th of *December* of the same year, leaving his son and successor *Fide-jori*, then under age, to the care of *Jejas-sama*, one of his favourite counsellors. In the fourteenth year, *Jofida Tsibu*, who had some place at *Fide-jori's* court, rebelled against the emperor; but he and his adherents were soon after defeated, and the chief of them, with all their families, exterminated. In the seventeenth year, the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun* was given to *Jejas*, or *Jejas-sama*, the governor of *Taycho's* son, probably on account of his having suppressed the rebellion above-mentioned, whilst that of *Nay-Day-Sin* was given to *Fide-jori*; and two years after, the former of those titles was given to *Fide-tada*, *Jejas's* son. In the same 19th year of this reign, a mountain arose out of the sea in one night's time, near the rocky island of *Fatsisco*, whither the grandees in disgrace are commonly banished. In the 21st year arrived at *Suruga* an ambassador from *China*, sent thither to compliment the secular monarch, or, as the *Chinese* historians pretend, to present him with the letters patent, and title of king, from the *Chinese* emperor. In the 23d year, *Jejas* ordered a strong castle to be built in the province of *Owari*; and on the next year the *Riuku* or *Laqueo* isles, which had sent an embassy to *Japan* in some former reign, were subdued by the prince of *Satzuma*, or *Sazuma*, in the great island of *Ximo*, a tributary of *Japan*; ever since which time, they have been looked upon as belonging to the empire.
- e
- f
- Go-josey reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by his son,

Taycho's new title,

and death

After Chr.

1598.

A rebellion quelled.

Jejas's new title.

A mountain rises out of the sea.

A Chinese embassy to

Fide-jori.

The Laqueo islands conquered.

CIX. DAY-SEO-KWO-TEY, in the year of the æra 2272: in the third year of whose reign, *Fide-jori* was deprived of his life and dignity by the treacherous *Jejas*, as will be seen in the sequel; by which the latter passed from the family of *Taycho* to his own, in which it hath continued ever since. *Jejas* himself died in the fifth year of this reign, and left the secular crown to his own son *Fide-tada*. In the eighth year appeared a very remarkable comet; and, in the

CIX.

Day-seo-

kwo-tey.

After Chr.

1612.

^b See before, vol. iii. p. 754, & seq.

^c See also, p. 755. & seq.

(T) Some of the letters of the missionaries mention him not only as a cubo, or crown general, but as a tyrant, who had seized upon several of the petty kingdoms about the metropolis of *Meaco*; and had raised

himself to such a vast height of power, that a conspiracy was formed against him, in which he and some of his sons were killed, and the rest dispersed, together with all his friends and adherents (1).

(1) See *Taren. lib. i. c. 4. ad fin.*

Emperor married Fide-
tada's daughter.

tenth, the emperor married with great pomp and ceremony the said's daughter, at his own palace of *Meaco*. Two years after, *Jemitz*, the son of *Ide-tada*, went to pay his homage to the emperor, and obtained from him the title of *Day-Deo Seagon*. *Day-Deo* reigned eighteen years, and then resigned the crown to his own daughter. He lived fifty years after that, and died in the ninetieth year of his age.

CX.
Nio-te.
After Chr.
1630.
Chinese
ambassy to
Jemitz.
Chinese ab-
literated in
Japan.
Christianity
persecuted,
and totally
abolished.
After Chr.
1637, &c.

CX. NIO-TE, or *Sio-te*, came to the crown in the year of the æra 2200: in the third year of whose reign died *Ide-tada*, the secular monarch; and his son and successor *Jemitz* went soon after to pay his homage to that prince. In the seventh year of her reign, the *Chinese*, who had been for some time forbidden to come into *Japan*, on account of their suffering cowards and traitors, like their natural princes, to be dethroned and destroyed by the conquering *Tartars*, were again permitted to trade, though not to settle there. By this time the Christian religion had been propagated with such surprising success throughout the empire, and was favoured and embraced by so many of the petty princes, and even by some of the secular monarchs, according to some relations [*Ide-jori*, the son of the great *Taycho*, being affirmed to have been of that number], that it had already kindled an universal persecution against them, and one of the bloodiest that ever was known in any age or country. We shall find a more proper place to speak of it under the next article; and only observe here, that it was about the latter end of the eighth year of this prince's reign that the famous rebellion of the Christians happened at *Simabara*, in the province of *Iizen*, which brought on the utter extirpation of Christianity out of the empire; though neither she, nor any of her predecessors, had any hand in either the promoting or the abolition of it. The secular monarchs were the chief actors in both; and these rather acted according to their own inclinations and interests, than by any directions from the ecclesiastical throne, of which they were now become quite independent. All therefore that the *dairo's* could do to stop the progress of a new religion, so contrary to their glory and interest, could be only setting the vast numbers of priests and monks to preach against, and all the superstitious laity to oppose themselves to it; tho' all this would have proved ineffectual, if the secular monarchs had not given the finishing stroke to it by that cruel persecution, and the severe laws they enacted against it.

THE twelfth year of this prince's reign was attended with a grievous famine and great mortality; and, in the fourteenth, she resigned the crown to her younger brother,

CXI.
Go-kwo-mio.
After Chr.
1643.
Imperial pa-
lace burnt.

CXI. GO-KWO-MIO, commonly styled *Gotto-Mio*, in the year of the æra 2303, and on the 7th day of the 9th month, though he did not take full possession of the throne, and title of *Mikaddo*, till the fifth day of the eleventh month. In the eleventh year of his reign, the imperial palace was set on fire, and a great part of it consumed, together with several stately temples, and other public edifices: soon after which, some lads of twelve and fourteen years of age were taken up on suspicion of having set fire to it, and to other parts of that metropolis. On the 20th day of the ninth month of the same year, died the emperor, and was buried with great solemnity in the temple of *Sen Ousi*, on the fifteenth day of the ensuing month. He was succeeded by his third brother,

CXII.
Sinin.
After Chr.
1654.
Jeddo burnt.

CXII. SININ, in the year of the æra 2314: in the third year of whose reign, and not before, some authors pretend that the *Chinese* obtained leave to renew their traffick with *Japan*. In the same year a dreadful fire broke out at *Jeddo*, the residence of the secular monarch, which continued burning several days, and laid the greatest part of that noble capital in ashes (U). In the seventh year, the palace of the *Dayro* at *Meaco* was likewise set on fire, and a great part of it laid in ashes. In the eighth year, on the first day of the fifth month, happened a vehement earthquake, by which a mountain in the province of *Oomi*, upon the river *Katzira*, was sunk so deep into the ground, as not to leave the least footstep of its having stood there. *Sinin* reigned eight years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

CXIII.
Kinsen.
After Chr.
1653.
A mountain
sunk by an
earthquake.
A mountain
sunk by an
earthquake.
A mountain
sunk by an
earthquake.
A mountain
sunk by an
earthquake.
A mountain
sunk by an
earthquake.

CXIII. KINSEN, or *Teysen*, the youngest son of the late emperor *Day-seo kwo-tey*, in the year of the æra 2323. This prince, in the third year of his reign, established a court of inquiry in all the cities, towns, and villages, throughout the empire; whose business was, to examine what belief or sect each family, and each individual of it, was of, and to be continued once a year from that time forward, not on any determinate day, but on some convenient time either before or after the ceremony of trampling upon the crucifix, and other Christian images (W), but

(U) This terrible fire, which happened on the 13th day of the first month (February), Anno Chr. 1657, Mr *Hageraer*, who was then residing at that metropolis, as ambassador from the *Dutch East India* company to the secular emperor, hath given a full and curious account, which hath been since inserted in *Montanus's Memorable Events to Japan*, p. 370.

(W) We have already hinted something of this cere-

mony upon another occasion (1): it having been imposed with a design of discovering those who are Christians, or christen, from those that are not; the former chusing rather to lose their lives than to offer such an indignity to their religion; and the latter not only complying with, but performing it in such a manner as may best express their abhorrence of it.

(2) See before, p. 23, & seq. (B), & alibi passim.

a but more probably before it, if we may guess at it by what is still practised at *Nagasaki*, and other places, where Christianity had flourished most ^a.

In the sixth year of this reign, on the first day of the second month, and for forty-five days successively, the capital of *Jeddo* suffered greatly by fire, which seems to have been done designedly, and the malicious intent levelled chiefly against the merchants warehouses, and those parts where they were quartered. The 6th year, having suffered by a long and continued drought, brought on a famine in the next; and the emperor ordered, that, from the twentieth day of the first month, for 100 days successively, boiled rice should be distributed to the poor, at his own charge, in all the parts of the empire. The next year is noted in their history for grievous storms and inundations in most of the maritime provinces, and for a great mortality among men and cattle. On the next year, as they were cleaning the river that runs by the port of *Osacca*, they took up great quantities of gold and silver, which had, in all probability, been sunk there during the late civil wars. On the eleventh year, and the ninth day of the fifth month, not only the *Dayro's* palace, but a great part of the city of *Meaco*, were again reduced to ashes; on which account that monarch ordered, that certain quantities of rice should be given or lent to those who stood in need of it, as is frequently done in time of famine. On the eighteenth year died the then secular monarch *Jjetzua*, and in the next his successor *Tsinajos* had the following pompous titles bestowed upon him by the emperor *Kinsén*, and super-added to those of *Sey-Day-Scogun*; viz. *Nadai Sin, Sioni-j-ukonjeno Taifo* (X). In the twentieth year there was again a great famine and mortality in the empire, especially in and about the capital of *Meaco*; and, in the last month of that year, the city of *Jeddo* was again set on fire, and the greatest part of it destroyed. In the twenty-first year died *Tokumatz*, the son and presumptive heir of *Tsinajo samma*, the then reigning secular monarch; on which occasion the whole empire went into a general mourning, and all music, and other rejoicings, were forbidden for the space of three years. On the last month of the same year the city of *Jeddo* suffered a fresh conflagration; and about three years after, *Kinsén*, having then reigned twenty-four years, resigned the crown to his son,

CXIV. KINSEN, or *Kinséokwo*, in the year of the æra 2347, of Christ 1687, which was the year in which our author was in *Japan*, and with which he concludes his list of ecclesiastical monarchs, which is extracted out of their history ^c.

CXIV.
Kinsén II.

^a Vide KÆMPFER, lib. ii. c. 5. lib. iv. c. 3. & seq.

^c Idem ibid.

Whether or no the court of inquiry, and the ceremony of trampling upon the cross, were established at the same time, we cannot affirm, though, in point of time, they follow one another. However that be, these courts are obliged first to take a list of every inhabitant within their verge, old and young, and to what sect each individual belongs, which list is afterwards to be conveyed by the proper officers to the court; and this is commonly taken at the close of the old year; after which they proceed to that which they deem the more important ceremony, viz. the *Jetomi*, or *figure-treading*, as they there style it. This is performed by trampling upon a crucifix, upon the image of the Virgin *Mary*, or of some other saint, and shewing some other tokens of contempt and abhorrence to them: even the children, that are not capable of performing it, are held up in the arms of some relation, and made to touch the figures with their feet. These images are about a foot long, and cast in brass; and, when every person belonging to one street, none excepted, hath gone through this detestable ceremony, they immediately go on with the next, till they have gone through the whole city, town, or district; after which, the officers, who are obliged to assist at the ceremony, perform it themselves in the same manner, and then witness with their hands and seals, both for each other, and for all the rest, at the bottom of the list, that it hath been duly performed by all those whose names are inserted in it. If any hath dared to refuse to comply with it, they are condemned to death, if they are persons of any note; or, if only poor, ignorant, and vulgar people, are either imprisoned for life, or at least till they publicly renounce and renounce the little Christianity they have.

This ceremony was, soon after the abolition of Chri-

stianity, ordered to be performed in every place belonging to the *Japanese* empire, on the second day of the year, which immediately followed the general inquiry above-mentioned; and lasted longer or shorter, according to the number of inhabitants belonging to each district; and, when finished, the pictures were locked up in a box, and preserved by the magistrate till the next year. But they have since much abated of its strictness, and only compel strangers or suspected persons to it, as they have taken such precautions against that religion being ever introduced again among them; so that it is only at some of their trading sea-ports that they kept it up at the time of our author's residing there (3).

(X) What the import of those titles is, we are not told, but only in general, that they are of the most pompous kind; and we only mention them here, to shew how far the dignity and authority of those monarchs was sunk by this time, that they had no other way of preserving the poor remains of it, but by bestowing on those secular upstarts such singular honours and swollen titles; but their complaisance did not stop there; for, as soon as any of them died, they made no difficulty of placing them among their gods, and to give them some new names, still more sublime and pompous, if possible, in order to secure the favour of the next successor. On the other hand, as the bulk of the nation still retained a profound regard for their natural and antient monarchs, the secular ones could not fall upon a more effectual way of preventing any new revolt in their favour, than by thus endeavouring to obtain such signal tokens of their favour and esteem, as might induce the people to believe that there was a perfect harmony between the two courts, and that they acted every thing in concert with each other.

^c Kæmpfer, lib. iv. cap. 3. & all the pages.

The names and
reigns of the 36
secular mo-
narchs.

THE following is a regular list of their cubos, or secular monarchs, from *Joritomo*, who laid the foundation of this new kind of monarchy, down to *Tsinajos*, who was then reigning in the year of Christ 1687 above-mentioned. But in this we shall content ourselves with the bare mention of their names, succession, and length of their reigns, at least as far down as the great *Taycho*, because we find little recorded of them but what we have already taken notice of under the reigns of the *Dayro*'s, with whom they were contemporary.

1. JORITOMO was born in the tenth year of the reign of *Konjey*, the seventy-sixth *Dayro*, *An. Chr.* 1152, or 1154 according to others, and began his reign about *An. Chr.* 1188. He reigned eleven years, and died in the first year of the *Dayro Tsutsi Mikaddo*, *An. Chr.* 1199.

2. JORI-IJE, his eldest son, succeeded him, and reigned five years.

3. SANNETOMO, *Joritomo*'s second son, reigned seventeen years.

4. JORITZNE, a son of *Quan-Baku-Dooka*, reigned eighteen years.

5. JORI-SANE, alias *Jori-suga*, the son of *Joritzne*, reigned eight years.

6. MUNE-TAKA-SINNO, alias *Soo-Son-Sinno*, the son of the *Dayro Sayga II.* reigned fifteen years.

7. KORE-JAS-SINNO, his eldest son, reigned twenty-four years.

8. KUME-SINNO, alias *Sanno-Ofi*, the *Dayro Fikakusa II.*'s third son, reigned twenty years.

9. MORI-KUNI-SINNO, the son of *Kume-sinno*, reigned twenty-five years.

10. SONUN-SINNO, the son of the *Dayro Daogo*'s II.'s second son, reigned two years.

11. NARI-JOSI-SINNO, the fourth son of the same *Dayro*, reigned three years.

12. TAKA-UDSI, a son of *Askugo-Sanno-kino-Cami-nago-Udsi*, reigned twenty-five years.

13. JOSI-JAKI, the third son of *Taka-udsi*, reigned ten years.

14. JOSI-MITZ, *Josi-jaki*'s son, reigned forty years.

15. JOSI-MOTZI, the son of *Taka-mitz*, reigned twenty-one years.

16. JOSI-KASSU, *Josi-motzi*'s son, reigned under his father.

17. JOSI-NORI, another of his sons, reigned fourteen years.

18. JOSI-KATZ, *Josi-nori*'s eldest son, reigned three years.

19. JOSI-MASSA, another son of *Josi-nori*, reigned forty-nine years.

20. JOSI-NAVO reigned under his father *Josi-massa*.

21. JOSI-TANNE, another son of *Josi-massa*, reigned eighteen years.

22. JOSI-SYMMI, *Josi-tanne*'s son, reigned fourteen years.

23. JOSI-FAR, *Josi-symmi*'s son, reigned thirty years.

24. JOSI-TIR, *Josi-far*'s son, reigned sixteen years.

25. JOSI-TAIRA, or TIRA, *Josi-tia*'s son, reigned four years.

26. JOSI-AKI, *Josi-taira*'s son, reigned five years.

27. NOBENAGA, alias *Nobunaga*, or *Nubunanga*, *Oridano Dansio*, *Tayra*'s second son, reigned ten years.

28. FIDE-NOBU, *Nobu-Tada*'s son, reigned three years.

Taycho-
samma's
line extract,
and sigil.

29. FIDE-JOSI, afterwards styled *Taycho* and *Taycho-samma*, the first that deserved the title of secular emperor, was a man of obscure birth, a mere peasant's son; but from his younger years raised himself to be butler to a *Japanese* nobleman, some say a tributary prince. We have elsewhere seen what a mean and disadvantageous account the *Chinese* give of his extract, and surprising rise and fortune^f. The *Japanese*, though they own him to have sprung from the lowest rank, are not agreed about the means and manner by which he raised himself to such a height of wealth, power, and credit, as to be at length created *Quambocu*, or vicegerent of the empire, by the *Dayro* himself; but all own that his valour and merit, and the services he did to his country in suppressing the pirates at sea, and quelling several feuds and rebellions on land, made him highly deserving of it. We have already taken notice of several of the cubos, or crown-generals, having raised themselves to a prodigious height of secular power; but more particularly about the latter end of the sixteenth century, when one of them, the emperor's second son, had stripped his father of all his secular authority, and left him only his ecclesiastical power and dignity untouched, as being a privilege derived to him from his pretended divine extraction, and lineal descent from the gods; to all which his father, whether by force or through fondness or indolence, consented, as if it had been by a mutual compromise.

Cubos exorbi-
tant power

gives rise to a
new govern-
ment.

The cubo op-
posed by the
other princes.

HOWEVER, this bold step proved more beneficial to the empire than it did to the new secular emperor, as it laid the foundation of a new form of government, highly conducing to the peace and happiness of it, and the most likely to keep the *Japanese* nation in awe, till then too much inclined to revolts and seditions; for whether the *Dayro* was forced, or willingly consented, to that change, it was not to be expected that the rest of the princes of the empire would sit contented under it; their ambition and insolence, as well as their power, was by that time risen to too great a height to suffer these new monarchs to tyrannise over them, whom the old ones

^f See before, vol. iii. p. 755, & seq.

- a were not able, for near four centuries, to keep within their duty; insomuch that it was in order to curb and suppress their frequent wars and seditions that those *Dayros* had suffered the crown-generals gradually to usurp so great an authority. It was therefore no wonder that the most powerful of them should unite their forces against such an upstart and dangerous enemy; and they accordingly opposed them with such warm vigour, as soon after paved an easy way to their total reduction, and to that final blow which the brave *Taycho* gave to their power and lawless tyranny. This remarkable revolution happened about the year of Christ 1583; by which time those tributary kings and princes had so weakened each other, by their mutual wars and depredations, as well as by their strenuous opposition to the cubos, that he, who was a person of the most consummate wisdom, and perfectly well acquainted with the present state of the empire, could easily foresee what poor resistance they would be able to make against him, at the head of such a numerous army as he then had under him; his title of *Quamboku*, or vicegerent, empowering him to raise what number of them he thought fit, and to oblige those tributaries to furnish their quotas, under the penalty of military execution. He was no less dreaded for his courage than his wisdom, of both which he had already given sufficient proofs, both by sea and land; and it was more by these, than by force of arms, that he brought about that glorious work within the short space of ten years, and made himself as absolute over the whole empire as any monarch in the east.
- b Both reduced by the brave *Taycho*. After Christ, 1583. His character.
- c The first step he took towards the effectual suppressing the strength of those princes he had not quite reduced, was, to undertake the *Korean* war, of which we have given an account in the last volume; and which, though it had not the success as might have been expected, yet proved so far serviceable to him, and which perhaps was all he aimed at by it, that he thereby removed those discontented leaders, and their troops, out of a native into a foreign country, where they could not fail of exhausting their strength and treasure against the warlike *Tartars*; whilst he was pursuing the most proper measures for securing to himself the possession of his new-acquired authority, and being at last so wearied and battered as to be glad to be recalled upon any terms; and, instead of being in a condition to revolt again in haste, be willing to be re-admitted to their own native dominions, on such conditions as he should be pleased to impose upon them; some of which were no less hard upon them, than effectual to his own designs (Y).
- d The princes forced to submit to his terms. Severe laws against the people.
- e When he had thus happily suppressed the power of those petty monarchs beyond all danger of their attempting any thing to recover it, his next business was, to restrain the insolence and unruliness of the common people, who are always lovers of change, and easily drawn into parties and factions, where care is not taken to curb them; and this he did by enacting such severe laws as could not but effectually deter them from all kinds of revolt. We have given an account of them in a former section^b; and well was it for him, as well as the peace of the empire, that the circumstances of it were such, that no one dared, or was in a condition, to oppose them. Thus having by these means subdued all the provinces of *Japan*, and made himself absolute over all those princes who had formerly governed them, he took upon him the title of *Taycho*, or sovereign lord, and began to lay the plan for new regulations, in order to establish his new government on such a firm foundation as should not be easily shaken. Among these were the shutting up of the empire to all foreigners, particularly to the *Portuguese*, who were grown very powerful, rich, and numerous; and the total extirpation of Christianity out of it, under the severest laws and penalties; but, as these were a work of time, he was obliged to leave it to his successors to finish; and died in the same year, on the sixth of December Anno Cbr. 1598, leaving the government to his son *Fide-jori*. After his death, he was, according to the *Japanese* custom, numbered among the gods, and honoured by the then *Dayro*, *Jofey* II. with the divine title of *Tojokumi Daimiosin*, and with that of *Tsin Satzman*, or *Satzman* the modern, or the second *Mars* of *Japan*. The temple in which his urn is kept is still standing at *Meaco*, though much gone to decay, by reason of the secular government passing soon after into another family.
- f Takes the title of *Taycho*. His plan, and new regulations. Death. Divine honours.
30. HE had a nephew named *Quambacundono*, alias *Fide-tsugu*, to whom he designed to have bequeathed the throne, and had already made him his colleague; but the young prince, having
- His nephew put to death.

^b See before, p. 13, & seq.

(Y) Among other of these conditions (which, how disagreeable soever they were, it seems, forced to submit to) one was, that their wives and families should live within his court, and place of residence, which he had, on that occasion, taken care to fortify, as well as to adorn with suitable palaces for their reception. The pretence for it was, indeed, their safety, and the security of their persons, wealth, &c. in those troublesome and dangerous times; but, in reality, they were to be there as hostages they could give him, or he

desire, of their fidelity. On this condition they were promised to be put in possession of their dominions on their return; and that a time should be afterwards fixed for them to make their appearance at court, and see their families once a year. And thus it was that that politic prince, by one fatal stroke, settled the government of the empire upon such a foot, as put it wholly out of their power to raise any new disturbances or seditions in their respective territories.

highly disabled him by some means not known, was soon after disgraced, and by him ordered ^a to rip up his own bowels.

*Fide-jori, a
man, Iejas
made his son-
in-law.*

*Falls in with
Taycho's
measures.*

*Reverts a-
gain to Fide-
jori.*

*The sad death
of that prince.*

*Iejas mounts
the throne.
His new regu-
lations and
acts.*

31. FIDE-JORI, *Taycho-samma's* son, was but six years of age when he succeeded his father, and was by him committed to the care of *Iejas-samma*, one of his favourite counsellors of state. Him the old emperor had engaged by a solemn contract, signed with his blood, and backed by the most binding oaths, to resign the crown to his son, as soon as he came of age, and deliver the regency and government into his hands. To secure the crown still faster to him, he had made him marry the daughter of *Iejas*; so that *Fide-jori* had enjoyed, if not the government, yet at least the title of emperor, during the space of fourteen years, under the tuition of his father-in-law, when he was at length deprived by him both of that and his life. *Iejas*, or, as ^b he was formerly called, *Ongosio*, who descended from the illustrious family of *Toku-gawa*, was not inferior in politics to the great *Taycho*, and intirely gave into his design of driving the *Portuguese*, and extirpating Christianity, out of *Japan*. Their motives for it may be seen in the margin (Z); but *Fide-jori* was against both, and was even suspected to have been a secret convert to that religion; but whether justly or no, is not easy to determine. However, his father-in-law, whether on that account, or hurried on by his ambition, made that his chief pretence for dethroning him; and, having streightly besieged him in the castle of *Osacca*, a place of prodigious strength, and built by the late *Taycho*, for the security of his own person whilst he was pursuing the *Korean* war ^c, obliged him to surrender in the fourth year, and in the seventh day of the fifth month. The unfortunate prince, retiring thereupon into the palace with his most faithful friends and adherents, caused it to be set on fire, chusing rather to perish in the flames than fall into the hands of his treacherous and victorious father-in-law. This siege, so famed in the *Japan* history, happened in the third year of the reign of the *Dayro* *Day-se-kwo-tey*, in the year of Christ 1612 *: And, after its surrender,

32. IJEJAS-SAMMA, or as he was called before he mounted the throne, *Ongosio*, or *Ongoschio-samma*, was now at full liberty to follow the measures which *Taycho* had chalked out for his son; the principal of which were, 1. To banish the *Portuguese*, and other foreigners, out of the empire. We have indeed seen in another section, that he granted liberty to the *English* to establish a factory at *Firando*, and made some extraordinary grants to Captain *Saris*; but these favours proved short-lived; and, upon his conceiving a jealousy of the *English* and *Portu- d* *guese* being nearly allied, deprived them on a sudden of all further commerce with *Japan*. The second was, the forbidding the subjects of his empire to go abroad either for trade, or on any other pretence, and the recalling all that had been settled in foreign countries, and obliging them to return within a time limited. 3. The prohibition of cards, dice, duels, luxury, and profusenefs either of cloathing or table, and all foreign dainties, as hindrances to the practice

^a See before, vol. iii. p. 755, & (I).

* See before, p. 61.

(Z) Among other things of less moment laid to the charge of the *Portuguese* in *Japan*, one was, their being grown so rich and dangerous by a flourishing trade, as well as by their intermarriages among the natives, as to have entertained some strange hopes, and even to have concerted some treasonable measures, for making themselves masters of the empire. This appeared from two letters full of dangerous projects, the one intercepted by the *Dutch*, then at war with the *Portuguese*, and in full pursuit after this profitable branch of trade, of which they were resolved to supplant them, and another sent by the *Japanese* then settled at *Quang-tong*, which were brought to court, and are said to have filled the then emperor with horror and surprise, and to have determined him to root them totally out of his dominions, they being fraught not only with the highest sentiments of ingratitude and malice against him, but with the most sanguine hopes of shortly seeing the whole empire freed from his tyrannical yoke, and submitted to that of a Christian sovereign, which was by the *Japanese* interpreted to be the king of *Portugal*; but the *Portuguese* protested, it meant no more than a spiritual submission to the pope. Whether of the two soever the letters might point at, the matter could not but have a bad aspect; and, taking it even in the most favourable sense, neither *Taycho*, nor any of his successors, could bear with any patience the thoughts of being obliged to owe their investiture to so distant a pontiff, when they had one of their own so near, and so intirely at their devotion: much less still could they bear the thoughts of such a bold attempt being made on the dignity and authority of the latter, antient and venerable as it is looked upon

to be by the whole nation, in favour of the former, of whom they knew so little, and who resided at such a vast distance from them. The *Dayro*, his court and family, as well as the whole tribe of monks and priests, must have been still more alarmed and exasperated at a design so detrimental and dishonourable to them, and have looked upon the authors of it with the utmost abhorrence.

Several other circumstances appeared still more to their disadvantage, such as the contempt which the new converts shewed for the gods, religion, and priests, of the country, the great veneration and respect they had for their own, the vast number of profelytes they made daily, and the flaming zeal and constancy they shewed in defence of this new faith; but, above all, the extraordinary joy and exultation that had appeared in the looks of all their new converts, a little before the intercepting of the letters above-mentioned; and the haughtiness and insolence with which some of their prelates behaved towards persons of distinction, to whom they then refused to pay the usual respects due to their rank; heavy complaints of which were made at court. All these things put together were sufficient to alarm the government against them, and to make them apprehend, that, if they were suffered to increase, they would foment new revolts and seditions against those very monarchs who had, with so much pains and loss of blood, so lately broken the strength of the little tyrants of the empire, and thereby put a most effectual end to the civil wars which had for so many centuries been the bane and ruin of it.

- a of virtue and continence. 4. To grant the *Dutch East India* company a free trade into *Japan*, *Admits the*
in consideration of the services done by them to their nation, some of them mentioned in the *Dutch to*
last note. Of the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, and the settling of the *Dutch* factory there, we *trade.*
have give an account in a former section; but the abolishing of Christianity proved by far the *Persecutes the*
most difficult task, and such as could not be completed but by the most horrid persecutions and *Christians.*
butcheries; infomuch that it cost less heathen blood to acquire the supreme government of the
empire, than there was now shed of the Christian to establish and secure it. *Taycho*, who, as *Taycho's pro-*
we observed before, was the first projector of this bloody scheme, began with issuing out a *clamations and*
proclamation against them, *An. Chr. 1586*, the very year after he was made *Quambacu*, or *laws against*
vicegerent, and several persons were executed soon after for not conforming to it; yet this was *them.*
- b so far from stopping the progress of it, that, if we may believe the Jesuits letters, 20,570 per- *Great numbers*
sons were butchered for it four years after; and in the two following ones, 1591 and 1592, after *of them mas-*
their churches had been actually shut up, they made above 12,000 new profelytes: and the *cred.*
Japanese writers do not disown, that not only *Fide-jori*, *Taycho's* son, dethroned, as we lately
hinted, *Anno 1616*, but the greatest part of his court, his soldiers and military officers, were of
that number, which the more exasperated his father-in-law against them when he came to the
crown, and made him wreak his fury the more severely upon them.
- BUT those zealous converts, notwithstanding their being deprived of their chief guides, who *Their surpris-*
were either forced to flee, or were put to some cruel deaths, were neither to be reasoned out *ing constancy;*
of their religion, nor frightened by swords, hatchets, halters, gibbets, crosses, fire, or any other
c cruel punishments, but readily submitted themselves to the most unheard-of tortures, and bore
them with such unparalleled constancy, as struck their bitterest enemies with admiration and
astonishment. We may add, that the cheerfulness with which they suffered the most cruel *during a 40*
deaths, rather than renounce their divine Saviour, excited so much the more the curiosity of *yars bloody*
the heathen to know what doctrine it was that produced such miraculous effects; and these, *persecution.*
when once instructed in it, found it so full of truth and comfort, that they could not forbear
embracing it at all hazards. And hence it was that this persecution, dreadful as it was beyond
any thing we meet with in history, continued to rage with near the same vehemence full forty
years, and was not ended till the reign of *Fide-tada*, or, as he was otherwise called, *Taito-konni*,
the third son, or, according to others, the grandson, of *Jejas-samma*, who gave at once the
d finishing stroke to Christianity, as we shall relate under the next reign.
- JEJAS-SAMMA reigned fourteen years, taking in some of his regency, or, according to others, *Ijejas's death.*
about four or five from the death of *Fide-jori*, at which time they suppose him to have been
seventy years old. He lies buried at *Nico*, near the city of *Meaco*, the burial place of that
family, and was succeeded by his third son, or, as others say, his grandson,
33. FIDE-TADA, or, as he was called after his father's death, *Taito-konni*, or *Taito-kuin*- *Fide-tada re-*
samma. This prince followed the steps of his predecessors; he renewed the privileges which *news the per-*
his father had granted to the *Dutch* company in the years 1616 and 1617; and went on per- *secutions a-*
secuting the Christians with the utmost rigour and cruelty, till at length these, being tired with *gainst them.*
seeing such myriads of their brethren butchered and tortured in the most inhuman manner, and
e seeing no prospect of an end being ever put to their miseries, in a fit of despair, retired, to *They retire in-*
the number of thirty-seven thousand, into the castle of *Sima-bara*, seated on the coasts of *to a castle;*
Arima, in the island of *Ximo*, and province of *Fisen* or *Figen*, with a firm resolution to defend
their lives to the very last. They were soon after closely besieged in it; and defended them- *are besieged and*
selves with surprising valour during three months, but were at length forced to yield to the *butchered.*
superior strength of *Taito-konni*. The castle was taken on the 28th day of the second month,
that is, on the 12th of *April 1631*, and all the besieged put to death; so that the last drops *A final end to*
of Christian blood, as one may say, being by this means spilt, the persecution and butchery *Christianity in*
of them ceased soon after, and the empire was cleared at once, and shut up against them for *Japan.*
ever after, not only against natives, but against all foreigners that professed Christianity, and
f more especially the *Portuguese*, who, having made some attempts to retrieve an access to *Ja-*
pan by means of an embassy sent thither from *Ma-cau*, had the mortification to hear that the
chief of them were all put to death, as we have formerly hinted ¹.
- THIS prohibition, however, did not extend to the *Chinese*, who were for some time per- *Chinese per-*
mitted to trade with them; only with this restriction, that they should have liberty to come *mitted to trade*
to *Nangbazaki*, and into no other port; so that they came thither not only from *China*, but *there.*
from other parts of *India*, where vast numbers had settled themselves after the conquest of that
country by the *Tartars*. But this privilege, which was granted them chiefly on account of the *Their liberty*
arts and sciences, and some branches of heathenish superstitions which had been brought from *restrained.*
China into *Japan*, was not long after taken away in a great measure, on account of their pre-
g suming to bring with them, and sell, Christian books, sent thither by the missionaries, with
a view of reviving, if possible, the Christian religion among them; which so exasperated the

¹ See before, p. 21, & seq. sub not. (Y)

government, that they resolved to put them upon the same foot with the *Dutch*, and to confine them much after the same manner; and how narrowly that is done, we have shewn in a former section ^k.

FIDE-TADA reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

Ijemitz and
his two suc-
cessors.

34. IJEMITZ, alias *Ijemits-ko*, and *Ijeti-ru-ko*. From this time, we may look upon the empire of *Japan* as entirely shut up against all strangers, and every thing that is done there as impenetrable; except that our author, who was there in 1692, and attended the *Dutch* ambassador to *Yeddo*, hath given us the bare names of two of his successors, without any other particulars than the length of their reigns.

IJEMITZ reigned twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son,

35. IJETZNAKO, who, after a thirty years reign, left the crown to his son,

The character
of the law.

The present
condition of the
Japanese.

36. TSINAJOS, alias *Tsinajosiko*, who was at that time upon the throne, and in the forty-third year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was, we are told, a great and wise prince, and inherited all the virtues of his predecessors; eminent for his clemency, yet a strict maintainer of the laws of his country. He was brought up in the politics and philosophy of *Confucius*, and his subjects lived in peace and amity under his mild government; and, if he debarred them from the benefit of a foreign commerce, and the liberty of visiting other countries, he took care at the same time to promote a domestic one between the several islands and provinces of his empire; which he rightly thought sufficient to make them happy, since his dominions are naturally provided with all the necessaries of life, improved by the singular industry of his subjects, and the blessings of peace and tranquillity. These are the advantages they enjoy by being now shut up and kept from all commerce and communication with foreign nations; but we have had occasion to shew elsewhere, that this was not the principal motive that induced those late monarchs to confine their subjects within those bounds; but that their own safety, and superstitious fears, and dreams of foreign invasions, backed by some pretended prophecies to the same tenor, and to which they give great heed, was the main spring which moved them to use such extraordinary precautions against any attempts of that kind.

^k See before, p. 23, & seq. sub not. (B).

APPENDIX to the History of Japan:

O R,

A description of the Land of Jedso, and the Islands belonging to it.

The land of
Jedso describ-
ed.

Whether an
island or conti-
nent, divided
from Japan.

Its extent.

IT hath been much disputed, whether the vast tract of land lying on the north side of the great isle of *Nippon*, or *Japan*, and is commonly looked upon as part of that empire, and subject to it, be contiguous to or separate from it, by an arm of the sea; and secondly, whether it be an island, or a large continent joining to *Tartary* on the west, and to *America* on the east. As to the first, we have already shewn, from some of the latest discoveries of the *Dutch*, and of Captain *Saris*, as well as from the *Muscovite* and *Japanese* maps, that *Jedso*, or *Yesso*, is divided from *Japan* by an arm of the sea, or, to speak more properly, by a double streight, viz. of *Sangaar* on the *Japan* side, and of *Jeso*, or, as some of our maps erroneously call it, *Kamtshatka*, on the north, between which lies the island of *Matsuma*, or, as the *Russian* maps call it, *Matmanska*, and in those of the *Japanese* *Matsumai*, with about half a score of others of lesser size. The other question, whether it be a continent or an island, and, if the former, whether it be contiguous to *Tartary* and *America*, or divided from them, is not yet agreed on; we shall, in the sequel, take notice of all that hath been discovered and said about it ^{*}.

JEDSO, or *Yedso* (A), extends itself from 42° to 50° north latitude, and whether or how far beyond is not known. As for its breadth and figure from east to west, we are still more in the

^{*} De hoc, vide int. al. Sum. of Discov. of the N. E. passage, in *Philos. Transf.* N° 118.

(A) This name is variously written, *Jedso*, *Jetso*, *Jetsoo*, *Jezzo*, *Yedso*, *Yesso*, *Yetso*, and *Jeso*, and is much the same with the *Japanese* *Jeso-gajima*, or the island of *Jeso*.

We must not omit observing here, that several modern geographers have, after Mr. *Strahlenberg*, confounded this land of *Jedso* with the peninsula of *Kamtshatka*, lying between the gulf of its name, and the

northern *Japan* sea, on the easternmost borders of the *Russian* empire; whereas it is, in fact, different, and divided from it, at least on the west side, by the sea above-mentioned, though, perhaps, contiguous to it on the north. We have ourselves fallen into the same mistake, in the last volume of our *Antient History* (4), and take this early opportunity of acknowledging it to our candid readers.

(4) *Additions to the Ant. Hist.* p. 253.

dark

- a dark about it, the coasts being intersected by many deep and large gulfs, hitherto unpenetrated, which makes it look rather like a group of islands. The *Japanese*, who have been masters of it at least ever since the reign of *Yoritomo*, their first secular monarch, call it *Jeso-gasima*, or the *Called Great* island of *Jeso* (B), and distinguish it from the northern part, called *Oku-jeso*, that is, the upper *Jeso-gasima*, or higher *Jeso*, which they look upon as a continent. But how those two are divided from each ^{its northern} other, and how far the former, or island, reaches northward, is not easy to guess, either from ^{extent nor} their maps, which are very obscurely drawn, and imperfect in that respect, nor from their ^{known} report, their commerce with it reaching little farther than the southern coasts. However, tho' Mr. *D'Anville* hath ventured to make two islands of it, yet the generality of geographers make the southern part of it to be an island, and the rest a continent, of an unknown extent.
- b THE southern coasts of it lie just opposite to the most northern ones of the isle of *Nippon*, ^{Sanguin, and} and both together form the double strait, lately mentioned, of *Sangaar* and *Jeso*, which is ^{large la-} divided by the island of *Matsuma*. The passage from the one to the other coast is but of one day's sail, and in some part, as between the capes of *Tanjasakki* and *Euroen*, not above thirty miles, yet is not to be made at all times, by reason of the currents, which run strongly, sometimes to the east, and sometimes to the west. The *Japanese* therefore are they that chiefly carry on that little trade that is between them, the *Jesoites* not being expert sailors enough to ^{Trade with} venture over that strait, except in very calm weather. This traffick consists only in some ^{Japan} fine furs, and a sort of fish called *Karazakki*, which is caught in great plenty about those coasts, and is reckoned a great dainty among the *Japanese*, who eat it as we do our cod.
- c THE account which these give us of the natives of *Jedso*, is, that they are a strong, but ^{Native de-} savage people, wearing their hair, beards, and mustacho's, to such a length, as quite dis- ^{tinguish} guises them; especially, as they are said, by some, to be hairy all over their bodies, or, which is more probable, to cover their bodies with the skins of wild beasts, with the fur outward, which, together with their long beards, makes them look quite frightful. But Captain *Saris* had a much more favourable account of them from a *Japanese*, who had been twice amongst them, and told him, that they were a fair and civilized people; and that those of the south part understood commerce, though those of the inland knew nothing of it: that they were much of the same stature with the *Japanese*, from whom they had their cloathing, rice, &c. and made payments in silver and gold dust; that the emperor of *Japan* kept a governor and
- d garrison at the capital, called *Matzimai*, and received his tribute in furs, feathers, and silver: and that the natives came frequently over to the north part of *Japan* to trade, in vessels sewed ^{Small vessels} together with cordage, without any iron-work about them. Thus far the Captain. To which we may add, that they are generally allowed to be very expert at their bows and arrows, which seem to be the chief weapon they have. They are no less skilful in fishing and hunting, the ^{Fishing} greatest part of them living chiefly upon that.
- As to the country itself, it is represented as very rocky, mountainous, and full of large forests, for the most part uncultivated, and but thinly inhabited^a, producing but very few ^{Product} wild fruits and roots, and in some parts a kind of barley, of which they make a coarse kind of bread. They are affirmed to worship the heavens, but without observing any religious rites; ^{Religion} to have their women in common, like the antient *Scythians* and *Britons*; and to be much addicted to wine and strong liquors, tho' we are not told whence they have them. They are so stout and hardy, that, we are told, they have no other cure for their wounds, than that of ^{Hardiness} bathing them with salt water.

^a KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 4. DE ANGELIS, apud Charlevoix Hist. Japan, north voyages.

(B) This they probably do, upon the bare report of the inhabitants of it; for they own, they never penetrated so far as to the sea which divides it from *North Jeso*; neither do their maps express any such partition, but seem rather to join both tracts confusedly together, which would incline one to believe, that they mean no more by the word *gasima* than a peninsula, they having no proper term in their language to distinguish that from a real island.

What seems to confirm this conjecture is, that there is an arm of the sea which runs northward, how far is not yet discovered, between *Jedso* and *Tartary*; and the *Japanese* maps have placed another on the other side likewise, which they have probably discovered, but not penetrated far enough; so that, for aught that appears hitherto, *Jedso* may be only such another long peninsula as that of *Korea*, which was also thought formerly to have been an island, as we have elsewhere shewn (5).

The coasts of it on the east and west side have been, at different times, discovered, and visited by the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, and by Capt. *Saris*; but none of them have penetrated far enough northward, to be able to assure us, whether or no they were really divided from the continent by those creeks and bays that intersected them. Father *Hieronimo de Angelis*, who went thither from *Japan*, calls it indeed an island, in his second relation, but most probably upon no other authority than that of the *Japanese*; for he doth not mention any discovery he made, to convince him of its being so, which he would not have failed to have done, had that been his case; especially as he had spoken of it in his first, as if it had been a continent. Upon the whole, we must therefore wait till some farther discoveries be made, before we can be fully satisfied of its being one or more islands, or a peninsula joined to the large continent beyond it.

(5) See before, vol. iii. p. 748.

This part of
Jedso not well
known yet.

It seems, indeed, as if, in *Kämpfer's* time, these parts were but imperfectly known, seeing neither he, nor his *English* translator, have ventured to give us any of the particulars of the manners and customs of these people. And it was not till the year 1620, when Father *De Angelis*, a Jesuit, and native of *Sicily*, who ventured to penetrate into those northern parts, to preach the gospel among them, that we became somewhat better acquainted with their way of life: and though we cannot say that he hath communicated any thing very remarkable in his letters to his society, yet our *English* readers may not, we hope, be displeased with an extract of what is most curious in them, as we find it extracted by his brother *Charlevoix*, in his History of *Japan*; which is as follows:

The natives
described by
Father De
Angelis.

“THE natives of *Jedso* are more stout and robust, taller and whiter, than the *Japanese*.
“They let their beards grow so long, that, in some, they reach down to their girdles; but
“they commonly shave the fore-part of their heads. Both the men and the women have
“their ears bored, and wear some kind of ornament hanging to them; those of the better

Their diet and
drink.

“sort, of silver; and those of the meaner, of some coloured silk. They make a sort of wine,
“which is very strong, and very common amongst them, probably by reason of the cold-
“ness of the climate, which may be also the reason why they are seldom drunk with it,
“though they drink it so freely, and even to excess;” yet our author assigns another cause for
this, *viz.* their use of the *toda nuevo* (C), which is a kind of oil drawn from a fish of the
same name, and with which they commonly season their rice, which, as in most of those east-
ern countries, is their common food.

Dress of both
sexes.

“THE dress, both of the men and women, is a long gown, of silk, cotton, or linen, spot-
“ted, and bordered with the same stuff, embellished with some sort of needle-work, as

Weapons.

“crosses, flowers, &c. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the lance, and a kind of scy-
“metar, not much above a cubit in length, but exceedingly keen, and of special temper;
“and they are base enough to use poisoned arrows on certain occasions; being naturally cho-
“leric, quarrelsome, and revengeful. Notwithstanding which, our author observes, there
“are but seldom any murders committed amongst them. Instead of shield or cuirass, they
“wear a coat of mail, made of small thin boards, which gives them a mean and ridiculous

Courtesy.

“appearance. They are very courteous towards one another, and ceremonious to excess.
“They are naturally averse to that brutish and detestable sin which is so common in *China*,
“*Japan*, and other parts of *India*, and, on that account, they allow themselves a plurality
“of wives, though only one of them has the pre-eminence, and bears the name and au-

Breach of con-
jugal faith,
how punished.

“thority of wife. If any of them be found guilty of the breach of conjugal fidelity, she
“is condemned to have her head, body, &c. closely shaved, as a brand or public mark of
“her incontinence. But her paramour is only punished with a certain fine, such as her hus-

Religion, very
crude.

“band or parents shall agree to lay upon him. If he refuses to submit to their decision, they
“have a right to strip him not only of his weapons, but of his cloaths, as often as they meet
“him, and to send him home naked. If he makes any resistance, he only augments his
“guilt and fine, and they are empowered to call all that are within hearing to their help, and
“are presently surrounded by a posse, who flock readily to assist them. Their notion of a
“Supreme Being is very crude and imperfect, and unproductive of any worship to him;
“though they pay a considerable one to the sun and moon, as the chief authors and dispensers
“of all good things. They speak indeed of, and pretend to reverence, an invisible mon-
“arch, who presides over mountains, forests, seas, rivers, &c. but that is all the homage
“they pay to him; and even that which they pay to the two great luminaries is neither con-
“stant nor regular, they having neither priests nor doctors, nor settled rites, nor indeed any
“kind of writing; and all that they know of their own history, is only what is transmitted
“to them by tradition; and this is very succinct and imperfect, as well as in many respects
“uncertain, or fabulous.”

No writing
among them.

Arrival of
the Dutch.

FROM this account of Father *De Angelis*, which is likewise confirmed by those of several
Dutch travellers, who have since ventured farther east up the country, *viz.* about the year
1643, under the conduct of the famous *Martin Uriel* (D), it appears, that the natives of this
part

(C) Or rather, as it seems to us, *toda nuevo*, which, in the *Sicilian* language, signifies altogether new, is the name or epithet which the author himself gave to this strange fish, it being a small hairy creature, with four feet, like those of a hog, and yielding this sweet kind of oil, which they not only season their victuals with, but of which they make a considerable traffick, and exchange with the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Koreans*, for rice, cotton, silks, and other commodities, of which their country is destitute, instead of bartering it for gold or silver, with which it abounds.

(D) This celebrated sailor, who had embarked in the

Castricoun, anno 1643, having discovered the coasts of that part of *Jedso*, known since by the name of *Kuritky*, and to the *Japanese* by that of *Oku-jedso*, or *High Jedso*, advanced much farther up into the land than the Jesuit above-mentioned; and though he staid not so long as he in the country, yet made such discoveries in it, as not only confirm the account given us by him, as we have extracted it above from *Charlevoix*, but likewise some new ones, not taken notice of by either, though no less worthy of it. The reader may find a fuller relation or journal of that descent, in the third volume of *Voyages into the North*, out of which we shall men-

tion

a part of *Jedso* are strangers to that industry in agriculture, for which the *Japanese* are so justly famed, and live chiefly upon hunting and fishing. In the latter they make use of boats, put together without nails or pegs, and only sewed together by a kind of cordage made of the bark of a tree, which they call *Coxo*, and which is again untied at their return, and the boards laid on the shore to dry.

To what *De Angelis* said of them, the *Dutch* accounts add, that the men, in general, are ^{much} alike, stout and strong, their skin dark and hairy, and their faces not unhandsome, ^{and not of} nor their noses flat. Their eyes of a fine black; but the worst of their heads and faces is, ^{Jedso.} that they are sadly disfigured with scars and flashes, occasioned, as is supposed, by their quar- ^{Nature de-} relsome, or, perhaps more probably, their jealous temper. The women are much fairer, and ^{scribed.} either shave the fore-part of their head, or tie their hair smooth behind, to prevent its hiding any part of the forehead. They wear ear-rings like the men, and some of them rings upon their fingers, and all of them colour their lips and eye-brows of a fine blue. Their chief employment is of the domestic kind, in dressing of victuals, making cloaths for their husbands and families, in weaving of mats for their houses, and such-like; and some of them are likewise busied in fetching home what the husbands bring in their boats; tho' this last is not very common, because their husbands are extremely jealous of them, and would revenge any attempt made upon their wives or daughters, in the highest degree. In other re- ^{gularity.} spects, we are told, they are good-natured, affable, and courteous, to strangers, and most so to those who converse with them in a free familiar way, and with a chearful countenance; to such they behave with singular modesty and respect; and, when they are to appear before them, they do it in the best apparel they can afford, accost them with great ceremony, laying their hands upon their breasts, bowing respectfully low to them; and, after a short acquaintance, will eat and drink with them, with as much freedom as they do with one another.

As they do not appear to have any settled worship or religion, so neither do they seem to ^{Religion.} have any sort of government, laws, or even subordination, except paying some sort of tribute to their respective lords, as these do to the emperors of *Japan*; but we do not find that they exercise any other authority over them. Some superstitious customs they were observed to practise, as when they are drinking by the fire (for both men and women, we are told, will drink, ^{Given to drink.} and be drunk), they commonly sprinkle some drops of their liquor upon the hearth; in the inside and outside of their houses they likewise stick some cleft bits of wood into the ground, with a kind of small flag of paper, silk, or other stuff stuck into the top of them.

THE women, when ready to lie-in, are removed into separate houses, into which the men ^{Women lie in} are not permitted to come, during the space of about three weeks. This decent custom is the ^{in separate} more easily observed amongst them, as their houses consist of little else than four stumps of ^{houses, poorly} wood, which support an ordinary thatch, or covering, made of the barks of trees; and the walls, or rather sides, made of boards fastened together. The hearth is commonly in the center; and on the top, and one or two of the sides, are left some large apertures, to admit the light in, and let the smoke out. Yet, though so plain and ordinary, they are generally ^{built.} very clean, as well as the few utensils they contain; and the floor is always covered with mats, which are the manufacture of their females, and serve for beds, tables, and stools. Each house, or rather hut, hath a separate apartment, or chamber, about ten or twelve feet long, and seven or eight in breadth, and divided from the rest by a slight partition. The whole building is about twice the height of a man; but the entrance is so low, that one must stoop pretty much to go in and out.

THEIR children, when newly born, are very white, but contract a brownish complexion as ^{Their mode of} they grow up: boys and girls go naked till about ten or twelve years of age; yet are brought up with so much modesty, that when they meet with strangers, especially *Europeans*, they always turn their faces towards them in a stooping posture, and with their thighs crossed; ^{if} but, if they have time for it, they will hang something like a short apron before them. Whenever the mothers give suck to a child, especially to a girl, before strangers, they take care to expose no more of their breasts than the nipple, nor any more of the child's body than the arms, legs, and face; they likewise wrap them up in some cloaths, and carry them hanging on their back, by a girt, when they work or go abroad.

tion what seems most worthy our reader's perusal, concerning these natives.

As to what we hinted just now, about the plenty of gold in this part of *Jedso*, Father *De Angelis* tells us, that, at his arrival there, he found a great number of *Japanese* merchants, who employed the natives in gathering up the grains of that metal, which were washed down by a river which runs near the city of *Matzenay*; and for the liberty of doing which, they paid a consi-

derable tribute to the prince or lord of the country. Their method of getting it from the sand, is, by making a dam, by means of a sufficient number of piles, driven first in to one part of the river, and, when they have picked up all they can find, they remove to another part of it. This was the only instance which he saw; but, no doubt, there are other rivers like this in the country, which contribute to make that precious metal so common among them.

Meat diet.

THEY are not by far so nice either in their cloathing or eating; the one of which they will wear without ever washing, till they rot, in some measure, on their backs, with old age and dirtiness; and, in the other, seasoning their rice, fish, flesh, roots, and herbs, with oil, which they extract from their whales, and their *todo-nuevo*, described in a former note; yet, bad as this food is, they eat it out of dishes made of the same materials as our brown earthen-ware, nicely turned and glazed, and with a couple of sticks, like those used by the *Chinese* and *Japanese**, without touching it with their hands. They have likewise a sort of meat, not unlike in colour and bigness to our hips, but in taste and shape like our medlars, which they chiefly lay up against winter. The poorer sort, and they are mostly such, make themselves cloaths of a sort of hemp which grows wild in the woods; for even these are too lazy to plant or sow it; and, if they wear any thing better, they must have it from the *Japanese* or *Chinese*, as they have their other ornamental trinkets, their rice, sugar, spice, tobacco, pipes made of copper, knives, and other sharp iron tools, &c.; in lieu of which they gave them their fish, oil, wool dried in smoke, furs, skins, feathers of various fine birds, and such-like: in bartering of which commodities, they are affirmed to observe the same laudable exactness and honesty on both sides, without the least fraud or disguise. They easily traffick with one another, their language being originally the same, and their frequent converse quickly obliterating whatever difference there may be in their dialects.

Exchange of commodities with Japan.

Language.

Chief prince's capital.

Other towns.

Tribute to the emperor of Japan.

Executions of prisoners.

and adulterers.

Whether they be contiguous to Tartary, America, &c.

THEY have but few cities in this large tract of ground, if any of them can deserve that name. Even their capital, called by the natives *Matzmay*, which is also the residence of their prince, or chief governor under the emperor of *Japan*, is but an inconsiderable town, in comparison of those of *Japan* and *China*, either with regard to extent, richness, or elegant buildings. The rest, still inferior to it, are those that follow; *Sirarcha*, *Tocapfi*, *Centchiori*, *Croen*, *Ootchoeira*, *Ejan*, and *Sirocani*. But it is from *Matz-may* that the prince takes his progress once a year, or every other year, for the metropolis of *Edo*, where he is obliged to pay homage to the *Japanese* monarch, and to pay him the usual tribute, which consists chiefly in a large quantity of gold, some of the richest furs, and a great variety of the finest feathers. ALL that our *Dutch* travellers add worth taking notice of, is their manner of executing any noted prisoner they make, or any man they surprise in too familiar a converse with their wives or daughters. The criminals, surrounded by numerous crouds, is laid down flat upon his back, on the bare ground, and is held by the arms and legs, each by two stout fellows, whilst the executioner stands over his head, holding a short club, shod with iron, with both his hands. As soon as the word is given, he jumps or dances ten or twelve paces backwards, and then forwards, singing some ditty all the way suitable to the occasion, and, when come near enough to him, discharges a blow on his head, with such force, as fails not to shatter his skull; then stretching out his club, gives him several more upon his breast, till he hath quite dispatched him. This, with respect to the case of adultery, seems to contradict what we have quoted a little higher, out of *De Angelis*, of their compromising the offence by a fine. But in so large a tract of land, it is not unlikely that one part might have laws or customs different from another, and punish a crime of this nature more severely in the one than in the other; a thing which the good father, not having penetrated so far, might not have had the opportunity of observing.

It will not be improper here to observe, that several geographers have supposed this land to be contiguous to *America* on one side, and to *Tartary* on the other; and that it is through it that the first peoplers of the former have steered their course from the latter†. Others pretend, that *Jedso* and *America* are divided by an arm of the sea, much sought after hitherto, which hath a communication with the northern ocean. This seems, in some measure, confirmed by the current which hath been observed to flow constantly from the coasts of *Jedso* directly towards the north, which induces one to suppose, that there is some strait passage, not yet discovered, which joins these two seas, as that of *Gibraltar* doth the ocean and *Mediterranean*. And this seems farther confirmed by what we have elsewhere hinted, of some whales caught in that sea by the *Koreans*, which had *Dutch* fishing-hooks sticking in their flesh§. But that passage, if any such there be, though often attempted, hath been found hitherto impracticable, on many accounts, more particularly on that of the vast mountains of ice which float on those seas, and which seldom, if ever, melt, even in summer (E).

* See before, vol. iii. p. 635.
Voyages into the North Seas, vol. iv.

† See Additions to Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 244, & seq.
See also before, vol. iii. p. 749.

§ See the

(E) We shall not here repeat what we have so fully discussed, in our Antient History, about this pretended passage, but only remind our readers of what we there observed, out of Father *Hinnopin*, who affirms to have seen, on the north side of the *Mississippi*, some *savages*, as he calls them, who came more than 500 leagues from

the west, which he judged to be from *Japan* (6). But as the name of *savage* cannot be properly applied to the *Japanese*, we are rather inclined to think that they came from this, or some part of *Jedso*, or from *Kamtschatta*, or some other still more northern tracts.

(6) Vid. Additions to Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 249. in fin. not. (D), & alib. pass.

a THE account which the *Japanese* give of the *Oku*, or *Higher Jedso*, is only that it is 300 *Oku*, or of their leagues in length, but on what authority is hard to guess, seeing they do not pretend *Higher Jedso* to have even penetrated so far as into *Jeso-gasima*. However, we are told, that a ship having been cast, some years ago, upon the coasts of that continent, found there, among the rude *Natives* and savage inhabitants, some persons clad in fine *Chinese* silks; from which it is conjectured, that they must have some communication with the neighbouring *Daats*, or *Tartary*, from which it cannot be very far distant^b. This account was confirmed since, by an imperial junk sent thither from *Japan*, on purpose to make some farther discoveries, *anno* 1684, but without *Attempts to* bringing any other particulars, though it spent three months on that expedition. Not long *discover it* after, another was dispatched on much the same errand, which sailed from the east coasts of *Japan*, and, after having endured many storms and hardships, between the fortieth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, discovered a large continent, supposed to be *America*, where, having met with a good harbour, they staid till the next spring, and returned, without any other account of the country, and its inhabitants, than that it ran still farther to the north-west. Since that time it was resolved, at the *Japanese* court, that no farther pains or expence should be thrown away about the discovery of those countries.

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THE island, or south part of *Jedso*, which is the most northern part of the *Japanese* domi-^{The south part,} nion, was first invaded, and conquered, by *Joritomo*, the first cubo, or secular monarch, who ^{when first} committed the government of it to the prince of *Matsuma*, or *Matsumai*, the large island, ^{conquered,} lately mentioned, in the straits of *Sangaar*, and then belonging to the great northern province of *Osiu*, or *Oxu*. Some time after, the natives, weary of a foreign yoke, fell suddenly ^{murder the} on the garison which that prince had left there, and butchered them all to a man. The news ^{garison.} of this had no sooner reached his ears, than he sent over a good army, with three hundred horse, to demand, and, in case of refusal, to take, ample satisfaction, and punish the rebels with military execution. This so alarmed the prince of *Jedso*, that, to prevent all farther mischief, and to take off all suspicion of his having had any hand in, or knowlege of, that treacherous action, he delivered up twenty of the ringleaders to him, who were all executed, and ^{Punishment,} their heads impaled along the coasts of *Jedso*. This act of submission pacified the prince of *Matsumai* for the present, and every thing was again restored to peaceable order. However, ^{and submission.} the natives have been ever since looked upon as a stubborn and untractable people, that would

d not fail taking every opportunity that offered to regain their liberty; to prevent which, strong ^{Kept under by} garisons have been constantly kept upon the southern coasts; and the *Jedsoan* prince hath ever ^{strong gari-} since been obliged to send an ambassy to that of *Matsumai*, with presents to a certain value. ^{sms,}

THE secular emperors of *Japan* have, ever since that conquest, styled themselves lords of ^{under the} the island of *Jedso*, and the princes of *Matsumai* pay them homage for it; but it is likely that ^{prince of} their dominion extends little farther than the southern coasts, and that all the rest, both of the *Matsumai* lower and upper *Jedso*, live under the government of their own princes, and are not only independent, but, for aught that appears to the contrary, are unknown and unregarded by the *Japanese*. As to the latter part of the question, whether the northern part of *Jedso* be conti-^{Northern parts} guous to *Tartary*, or the peninsula of *Kamtschatka*, on the west, or to *America* on the east, ^{not under him.} it being foreign to the history of *Japan*, we shall refer our readers to some hints we have given of it in our Antient history^c, and to the description we shall give of those northern tracts in the sequel of this work.

ON the coasts of *Oxiu*, or *Osiu*, or *Higher Jedso*, on the east-north-east of it, are two small ^{The gold and} islands, to which the *Japanese* also lay claim, but which we should hardly have thought worth ^{silver island,} taking notice of but for the pompous names they have given to them, whether deservedly or not, we cannot determine. The smaller and more remote from them they call *Ginsima*, or the island of silver, and the larger and nearest *Kinsima*, or the island of gold. However, they keep their state and situation very secret from all strangers, chiefly from the *Europeans*; because those names have already tempted some of the latter to go in quest of them, but hitherto ^{In vain at-} without success. Among the rest, the king of *Spain*, having been informed that they lie ^{tempted by the} westward of *America*, and consequently in that part of the world, which, by the pope's divi- ^{Europeans.} sion, was assigned to him, as all those that lay to the east were to the king of *Portugal*, sent out an expert pilot to search for them, *anno* 1620; but his attempt proved abortive. The ^{Unfortunate} *Dutch* made the same attempt some time after, particularly once in the year 1639, and twice ^{attempt of the} *anno* 1643; but all without any success, and the two last very unfortunate: for, besides ^{Dutch.} that they suffered much by storms on those rough seas, the captain of one of those ships having ventured to go on shore, with several of his men, in some port in *Japan*, under the fortieth degree of latitude, they were all seized, and clapt in irons, and conveyed to *Jeddo*; where they were as severely treated, as if their intention had been to betray or invade the empire, though they pretended to have been sent only from *Batavia* to make some further discovery on the coasts of *Tartary* and *America*, and were cast upon that coast by stress of weather.

^b KÆMPF, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 4.
MOD. HIST. VOL. IV.

^c Additions to Ant. Hist. p. 244. & seq.

so watchful and vigorous are they against all attempts upon any part of their dominions: and it is not unlikely that this severity hath deterred the *Dutch*, and other nations, from either going in quest of those islands, or venturing to come too near these tempestuous coasts.

Thus much shall suffice for the empire of *Japan*, which we shall now conclude, according to our former engagement, with an account of the magnificent procession, and grand ceremony, of the two *Japanese* monarchs, the daïro and cubo, paying their visits to each other, at the great metropolis of *Meaco*, which, as hath been formerly observed, is the usual residence of the former, and the place where the latter was obliged to repair, to pay him this kind of formal homage^d, every five years.

A short description of the magnificent march of the Japanese cubo, from Jeddo to Meaco, and of his entry into that metropolis.

*The cubo's
splendid march
to Meaco.*

WE observed formerly, that this grand visit, or homage, was usually paid to the daïro at his own palace, where he was obliged to keep himself, in some measure, immured from public sight, and without any other appearance of grandeur, than that of a numerous court. But, by the account we are going to give of it, from an eye-witness (namely, his excellency *Conrard Krammar*, who resided there, as an ambassador from the states of *Holland*, anno 1626, and was present at the splendid entry of the cubo into that capital, as well as at a great part of that grand ceremony), it appears, that it was then performed at one of the cubo's palaces in that capital, to which the daïro himself repaired, with a splendid retinue, if possible superior to that of his competitor, lest, probably, the ceremonious formality should be looked upon as more glorious to the all-powerful vassal who performs it, than to the impotent and merely titular monarch to whom it is paid. So that we need not wonder at their mutual emulation, to make each the most magnificent appearance, both with respect to their numerous retinue, the richness of their equipage, and the excessive value of the presents they make to each other, upon this solemn occasion.

*Divided into
28 stages.*

*with their
equipages.*

BUT, before we come to speak of this, it will not be improper to observe, with regard to the cubo's procession, and vast retinue, that the preparatives of it took up a whole year*; that the route from *Jeddo* thither was divided into twenty-eight stages, or relays, two of which he takes up each day, the one at noon, and the other at night, and in each of which he meets with fresh equipages, and a new set of guards, and all of which follow him quite to the daïro's court; so that, by the time of their arrival at *Meaco*, they amount to such a considerable body, that they are obliged to rear up tents in the streets, for the accommodation of the soldiery; whilst the cubo, and his numerous court, repair to his own imperial palace, there to receive the daïro's grand visit, on the day appointed, instead of paying it to him at his own, as was usually done before.

*Is joined by the
daïro, in the
same pompous
state.*

THIS we are speaking of, our author tells us, happened on the 15th of *October*, in the year 1626, above-mentioned; when, to render the procession still more magnificent, the two monarchs agreed to unite their splendid and numerous retinues, and to march jointly through the streets of that metropolis, to the palace appointed for that grand interview. Every street, through which they were to pass, instead of being covered with the finest of silks, was strewed over with a shining kind of white sand, mixed with a certain quantity of powder of talc, which formed a smooth but hard kind of silvered road all the way. On each side of the streets, close to the houses, was raised a sort of balustrade, which was lined with a double file of soldiers, cloathed in white robes, with a small cap on their heads, finely varnished, each having a couple of scymetars hanging by their sides, and holding a short pike in their hand.

*This joint
march thro'
the streets.
His presents
carried before,
followed by
100 rich
chairs.*

THE march began before the break of day, and was preceded by the domestics of each monarch; those of the daïro carrying the presents, which were designed for the cubo, in large chests, beautifully varnished, and having his arms finely painted upon them, and these were guarded by some companies of soldiers.

THESE were followed by about 100 stately norimos, or chairs, each carried by four men cloathed in white, and all made of fine wood, some of an exquisite white, others of a shining brown, delicately polished, the tops of which were of copper, curiously wrought with feltoons, and other embellishments, and these contained the ladies and gentlemen of the daïro's court, all richly dressed; and each norimo was preceded by a fellow who held a large umbrella over it, the ground of which was flowered with gold, and other rich embroidery.

*The guards
richly dressed.*

THESE were followed by twenty-four gentlemen on horseback, with small brown caps varnished, on their heads, and a black plume hanging over it. The sleeves of their gowns were long, their boots made of smooth leather gilt, and their drawers were of satin of va-

* See before, p. 13, sub not.

* CHARLEVOIX, Prelim. Disc. to the Hist. of Japan

rious colours, covered with gold and silver lace. The handles of their scymetars were of silver gilt, and each had a quiver and arrows hanging to his saddle, the two ends of which waved behind on the crupper of his horse. These were of the smaller kind, but full of mettle, and richly caparisoned. Their saddles were finely embroidered; the holsters were made of tygers skins, adorned with lace, and hinges of red silk, which hung down below the girths. Each horse had, besides, two small gilt horns between their ears, and their manes curiously interwoven with gold and silver wire. Each of these horses was led by two men, who held the bridle with one hand, and with the other an umbrella of crimson damask richly embroidered and fringed. Each of these gentlemen was followed by eight servants in white, each having two scymetars hanging by his side. As for the horses, they had no other shoeing than a piece of red silk. After these came three stately coaches, drawn each by two black bulls, covered with a rich crimson silk, and each led by four men. Each coach was of a shining brown, richly gilt and embellished; and each had three doors, one on each side, and one behind, which last was that they went in at; and each was flanked with festoons, and other ornaments. The wheels were shot with gold, and the spokes plated with the same metal finely enamelled. The roofs were high and round, and the rest square; the sides covered with plate of gold: the inside was of a fine shining black varnish, on which were painted in gold the arms of the dairo. In each coach was one of the wives or mistresses of the dairo, with a suitable female attendance within, and guarded by a great number of footmen. Behind each coach was carried a stool or boot, with several steps covered with plate of gold, to help the ladies to go in and out, and upon each of them were laid the rich varnished slippers of the daires, or mistresses of the dairo. If we may believe our author *Krammar*, the charge of all these sumptuous equipages amounted to above 500,000 guilders.

Next to those three coaches, followed twenty-three norimo's of a fine wood, as white and sleek as any polished alabaster, all covered and adorned with plates of copper of curious workmanship; each norimo being filled with ladies of honour richly dressed, who made another part of the three sultanessies retinue, and all of them escorted by a numerous attendance; and each of them carried by four stout fellows in white, and each followed by two others who held each a stately umbrella over them. Next to these came on horseback sixty-eight gentlemen more, marching two and two, and attended by a numerous retinue of footmen; after whom came a great number of lords of the highest rank, who carried some other presents for the cubo, the most considerable of which were a couple of scymetars, the handles of which were enriched with diamonds, a clock of most curious workmanship, two large candlesticks of beaten gold, two ebony columns, and three escritaires of the same wood, inlaid with ivory and mother of pearl, the drawers of which were filled with curious books; and, lastly, two large dishes of beaten gold, besides a number of others of less value. Next to these came 260 noblemen, of the best families in the empire, on horseback, marching two and two, and were followed by the cubo's brothers, and by 164 tributary kings, and each with a retinue suitable to his dignity; the emperor's brethren marching one by one, and the tributary princes two and two, according to their rank; those of the higher rank taking the left hand of the others, as being esteemed the most honourable among the *Japanese*. These preceded two other stately coaches, much more magnificent than any of the former, and attended with far richer equipages than any we have hitherto mentioned; in the first of which was the late cubo or emperor *Fedj-tedda*, who had resigned the throne to his son *Toxo-gunfama*, then reigning, and who was in the other state-coach; and these were followed by a detachment of 400 soldiers well accoutred, who closed up the cubo's retinue. These were again attended by a vast number of coaches, chairs, waggons, and other carriages, and, amongst them, about thirty norimo's of ivory and ebony richly adorned, and surrounded by a proportionable number of sumptuous umbrellas, and all escorted by a great number of gentlemen and servants on horseback and on foot; and followed by a great company of musicians, who filled the air with their songs, and with the sound of various instruments.

This superb cavalcade was closed by the dairo's norimo, preceded by forty life-guards, and carried by fifty gentlemen in the richest dresses. The chair itself was enriched within and without with all the embellishments of art and costly materials; the top of it was altogether magnificent both in its structure and ornaments; and the inside represented a fine blue sky, with the sun, moon, and stars, of the most costly materials; and in the center, on the outside, was planted a cock of massive gold, with its wings extended, as if going to take its flight. A numerous retinue, all richly clad, closed up the procession, followed by vast crowds of spectators of all ranks, who were come on purpose to that metropolis, from all parts of the empire, to see that grand ceremony. The misfortune was, that the streets were immediately thronged with such vast multitudes, that great numbers of them were squeezed or trampled to death by the press; and what added still more to the general disaster, was, the darkness and confusion which then reigned through the streets, the procession having taken up the whole day in going through the city: so that many of them, striving to break through the croud with

Many females
carried off.

with their scymetars, wounded and slew all that stood in their way, without distinction; to a
to say nothing of a great number of rogues and villains, who were come thither with no other
end than to rob and plunder every coach and chair they met with, not only of their costly
ornaments, but, what was still worse, to rob parents of their daughters, and men of their wives
or female relations, who were sought after for many days, in vain.

The dairo's
reception and
entertainment
at the cubo's
palace.

We omit a great number of other disorders which were committed on that night, as well
as many other circumstances relating to that superb cavalcade, all which the reader may see at
full length in the description which the ambassador above-mentioned hath given of it, or in the
extract which Father *Charlevoix* hath published of it in the history of *Japan* †; all that needs
be farther added to it from our author, is, that the dairo staid three days in the cubo's pa- b
lace, and was entertained by him with the greatest splendor, and outward marks of respect,
being attended and served all that time either by himself, by his sons, or by the late emperor
his father, who, if we may believe the account which *Krammar* gives us of it, even conde-
scended to dress all his victuals; whilst the prime ministers of state in the like manner waited
upon the dairo's three wives. The presents likewise which the cubo made to him at his de-
parture, in return for his, were no less magnificent, consisting of 3000 ingots of silver, two
rich scymetars of exquisite temper and workmanship, and with sheaths of massive gold, 200
sumptuous garments, 300 pieces of sattin, 12,000 pounds weight of silk, stately horses richly
harnessed, and five large silver pots full of musk, ambergris, and other costly perfumes.
From this way of the cubo's performing, and the dairo's receiving, this ceremonious homage, c
so different from what we have shewn was performed before that time, one may reasonably
conclude, that there is a much better understanding between the courts of those two mon-
archs; but, whether so or not, we can only conjecture, seeing all the avenues to that empire
have been so closely shut, and all possible intelligence from thence so effectually prevented
ever since, as we have lately shewn; and, as a farther instance of which, we shall subjoin the
ill success which one of the *Romish* missionaries met with in his attempt to penetrate thither in
disguise from the *Philippine Islands*, where he had resided some time.

All farther
intelligence
from Japan
prevented.

Abbot Sidoti's
attempt to
land in it.

His name was *Sidoti*; and he had the title of abbot given him by the pope, upon his set-
ting out from *Rome* for *Manilla*, whence he hoped to find out means to contrive a passage
into *Japan*. Accordingly, having been recommended to the governor of that capital, and
procured a vessel to be built there, out of the charitable sums he had collected among the d
zealots of his church for that intent, he set sail in it in the month of *August* 1709, under the
conduct of *Miguel Floriano*, an expert sailor, who offered himself to conduct him thither,
and arrived in sight of the *Japan* coasts on the ninth of *October* following. They came as
near the land as they dared; and, perceiving a fisher-boat at some distance, they agreed to go
and speak to it. They were provided for this purpose with a *Japanese*, who, though a hea-
then, had promised the governor of *Manilla* to introduce *Sidoti* into land, and to keep him
concealed there, if need required it. This fellow was accordingly dispatched to the fisher-boat,
and talked a good while with the people; but was so terrified at the answer they gave him,
that he would not suffer his own boat to come nearer to them, though to all appearance ear-
nestly invited to it by the fishermen. At his return to the vessel, he strove all he could to di- e
vert the abbot from landing; assuring him, that he could not escape being seized, and conveyed
to the emperor, who, being a bitter enemy to the Christians, would immediately condemn him
to the most excruciating death. The terror which appeared in his looks, and some expressions
which his fright extorted from him, made *Sidoti* and his company suspect that he had betrayed
their design to the fishermen: but neither that, nor all that the *Japanese* could say, were suf-
ficient to divert him from his resolution of landing out of hand into what he called that long-
wished-for spot; so that, after the usual prayers, and other preparatives, the good abbot, ac- f
companied by the captain *Floriano*, and seven others, went into the long-boat about midnight,
and with great difficulty climbed up the rugged coast, and got to land, which he devoutly
kissed as soon as he set foot upon it. The rest of his company, fearing to be surpris'd, thought
fit, after many pious and good wishes, and a melancholy farewell, to return to their ship;
which they safely reached by eight in the morning, and sailed away, leaving the zealous *Si-*
doti to the care of the Divine Providence. Thus far goes the account of this voyage; in which
we have omitted several circumstances in the behaviour of that missionary, which savour more
of enthusiasm than discrete zeal. It was not till near seven years after that the news of his
death were brought to *Quang-tong* by some *Chinese* vessels which arrived there in the month
of *May* 1716; the substance of which, if it may be depended upon, was, that “ *Sidoti* had g
“ scarcely landed in *Japan*, before he was discovered, and sent prisoner to the mandarin, who
“ immediately sent notice of it to the court. The emperor, being desirous to hear from his
“ own mouth the design of his coming, ordered him to be conducted thither under a proper
“ guard; but, not being able to understand him, caused him to be strictly guarded till he

His arrival,
and ill success.
Lands, and is
sent prisoner
to the emperor.

Kept under
strict guard.

† Vid. Prelim. Discours. & lib. xvii. KRAMMAR in Collect. of Voyages.

- a “ could learn so much of the *Japanese* tongue (a grammar of which he had, among other
 “ books, brought on purpose with him^c), as to be able to express himself intelligibly in it.
 “ It is reported, adds the publisher on that account, but without any foundation, that that
 “ monarch had given him four young gentlemen of his court, to learn the *Latin* tongue of
 “ him. This fact is very uncertain; but it is false that he caused them to be shut up in an
 “ iron cage, and to be committed to the custody of the *Dutch* factory at *Nangbazak*. The *News of his*
 “ *Chinese* captain, from whom we have these particulars, attributes *Sidoti*’s death to his long *death brought*
 “ and austere fasting, which he carried much too far. Yet, faithful as this relation may *to Quang-*
 “ appear (concludes the publisher), we think we ought to wait for some more authentic ac-
 “ count of that missionary’s death, before we venture wholly to rely upon it^f.”
- b Thus far the account of the ill success of this fresh attempt; and which, how artfully so-
 ever worded with respect to that person’s death, yet sufficiently shews the vigilance of the
Japanese government to stop up all the avenues to that empire from all *Europeans* excepting the
Dutch, and to prevent these from getting any intelligence of what is done within their domi-
 nions. We have already seen in a former section how narrowly they are confined within the *The Dutch in*
 limits of their little factory, and how carefully they are watched from prying into, or getting *Japan kept*
 the least information of, what is transacted either at court, or in any part of the country. *closely guard-*
 The haughtiness and tyranny which they are obliged to stoop to under that jealous and despotic go-
 vernment, which looks upon them as no better than spies and traitors, would be nothing to *Exposed to*
 what themselves would be made to suffer, should they give them the least umbrage, or even *great indigni-*
 c shadow of suspicion; to say nothing of the irretrievable loss of this beneficial trade to their *ties;*
 countrymen and principals; to prevent which it is that they submit themselves to be thus
 hardly used, and immured, like prisoners and malefactors^g. But lest we should be suspected
 by our readers of exaggerating their confinement and severe treatment, we shall close this his-
 tory of *Japan* with a passage out of their countryman *Kämpfer*, who doubtless could have no
 interest or inclination to disparage his fellow-sufferers, seeing he shared the same fate. His
 words are these: “ So great was the avarice of the *Dutch*, and such the alluring power of the *which their*
 “ *Japanese* gold, that, rather than forego the prospect of a trade so very advantageous, they *gain renders*
 “ submitted themselves to an almost perpetual imprisonment (for such in fact is their abode *tolerable.*
 “ at *Desima*), and chose to undergo many severe hardships from a foreign heathen nation;
 d “ such as, to avoid performing divine service on *Sundays* and solemn festivals, to abstain from
 “ praying or singing of psalms in public, intirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling
 “ upon Christ before the natives, and all other outward marks of Christianity; and, lastly,
 “ submissively and patiently to bear the abusive and injurious treatment of those insolent in-
 “ fidels towards them, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a noble and gene-
 “ rous mind.”

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
 Auri sacra fames!*^h

^c *Letters edifiantes* & cur. vol. x. p. 56, & seq.
 & seq.

^h *Hist of Japan*, lib. iv. cap. 6.

^f *Ibid.* p. 62.

^g *Ibid.* vol. xiii. præfat. p. 13.

B O O K XVIII.

The history of the commerce to, and the settlements in, the East Indies, by the several European nations.

C H A P. I.

Of the nature, extent, and importance, of the commerce between the inhabitants of Europe and the East Indies.

The reason why Europe is so much preferable to the rest of the quarters of the globe.

WHEN we consider and compare the antient empires with modern sovereignties; or the vast dominions of some of those monarchs with the small countries, the possession of which renders a king in *Europe* great and formidable, at least in the conceptions of his neighbours; the bulk of mankind is apt to think that the circumstances of things are strangely altered; that crowns, in these days, are not to be compared with the imperial diadems of old; and that our western principalities deserve hardly to be named at the same time with those enormous territories which belong to the emperor of *China*, the Khân of *Great Tartary*, the *Mogul*, or even the Shâh^a. But, upon mature reflection, it will be found, that neither the great monarchies of old, or those vast empires that still subsist in the remote parts of *Asia*^b, deserve, all circumstances considered, to be preferred to the sovereignties of *Europe*; because the foundations of their respective governments were never so secure, the welfare of the generality of their subjects was not near so well provided for; and, though their dominions might be more extensive, yet the influence of their power did not reach so far as some of those kingdoms and republics that now subsist in *Europe*^c.

The design and method of this chapter.

THIS has chiefly arisen from their entering deeper into the nature and importance of foreign commerce, which has never failed to improve, to polish, and to enrich, the inhabitants of every country where it has been cultivated with any degree of attention; and, of all the branches of foreign commerce which the working mind or enterprising heart of man has been able to discover or pursue, that of the *East Indies* has been ever esteemed the chief^d. It is true, that some questions have arisen, whether the motives, on which this preference is founded, are quite so strong as they are commonly thought. But experience, which is universally allowed to give the best lessons upon this subject, has fully justified this notion for above two centuries and an half^e; which sufficiently proves the importance of this part of our history, in which we are to give the reader an account of the rise, progress, and extent, as well as the revolutions in, and present state of, the commerce and plantations of the *Europeans* in the *East Indies*: a subject in itself equally instructive and agreeable; and which, being fully and fairly handled, without prejudice to those nations that first opened a way thither, or partiality to the people, who, in process of time, have reaped the benefit of their labours, will be found as entertaining as it is important.

The maritime power of the antients much inferior to that of the moderns, and the reason.

BUT, previous to this, it will be requisite to make a few general observations, in order to establish the truth of what has been already advanced; and to shew, beyond a possibility of contradiction, that this commerce with the *East Indies* has been the real source of that beneficial alteration which has been so conspicuous, within the space of the last two hundred and fifty years, throughout almost all *Europe*. Before the commencement of that period, naval power, considered in the light in which it now stands, was hardly known. The same ships served indifferently for trade and for war: in time of peace they carried merchandize; and, when that was interrupted, they were employed in transporting soldiers^f. It is true, that history mentions very numerous fleets, and great battles at sea; but when we come to inquire

^a VAREN. Hist. Japon. c. 1. Imper.

^b PUFFENDORF Introd. to the Preface

^c HUET Histoire de Commerce et de la Nation des Antiens. p. 337.

^d G. HORNII Orbis

BARROS, decad. 1. lib. 4.

^e DANIEL Histoire de Mille Française, l. xiv. c. 2, 3.

^f JOAN DE

^a strictly into the size, the strength, and the structure, of the vessels employed on such occasions, we find them very far inferior in every respect, not only to those that are now in use, but to the vessels that were built in *Spain* and *Portugal*, in a very short time after they became maritime powers ² (A).

In reality, nothing but long voyages can procure, encourage, or preserve, a naval strength; ^{the decay of} because such voyages supply the materials for, as well as excite a spirit of, general commerce. ^{the true} A few branches of trade may reward the industry of the subjects of a small principality, and ^{ground of ma-} enable them to live in a state of ease and affluence, in comparison of their neighbours ^{ritim}; but ^{strength, and} the true spirit of commerce, like that of empire, will never be at a stand; for, if it does not ^{have the pro-} swell and enlarge, it will quickly dwindle and decrease. It was the opening of a new route to ^{ferous Europe.} the *East Indies* that gave rise to maritime power, in the modern sense of the word, not only by making ships of force necessary, but by raising and employing constantly a much greater number of seamen than had been ever heard of in former times; and the immediate consequence of this was, giving a check to the *Mohammedan* powers, and obliging them to bend their care to defend their own territories, instead of threatening, as they had done a little before, to over-run all their neighbours. Before this period the *Turkish* fleets were extremely formidable, and were so at the time the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* began to make a figure at sea, but their forces were quickly crushed; and, as they had not the same resources with the Christian powers ³, they were unable to repair or recruit them; so that they have gradually sunk into that despicable state in which they remain at present (B).

^c As there is a natural connection between all the constituent parts of the empire, so the increase of naval power brought with it other advantages, and enabled princes to provide in a ^{sequence to-} more effectual manner for the security of their dominions, and the protection of their subjects, ^{wards pre-} than was practicable in preceding ages; and this is the true reason why things have been more ^{venting these} at a stay since that time, and that an end has been in a manner put to sudden revolutions, and ^{destructive re-} rapid conquests ^{volutions that}. It is true, that the passions of mankind remaining always the same, there ^{happened here-} have arisen from time to time restless and ambitious princes, who have shewn the greatest ^{before.} willingness to over-run the countries, and enslave the persons, of their neighbours; but, who ever will consider how these attempts have been defeated, and what inconsiderable changes have been made even by the longest wars that have been maintained within this period, will be ^d satisfied that some great alteration must have happened to produce an effect so different from what usually followed upon such wars in earlier ages, when kingdoms were quickly overthrown; and, property being every-where at the mercy of power, none were suffered to enjoy the benefits bestowed by Providence, but such as were able to defend their possessions by the sword; which was attended with such inconveniencies, as much lessened the value of those possessions ¹.

We shall understand this matter better, if we consider the visible change that has been wrought in the manners of most of the *European* nations since the opening of the trade to the *Indies*, which may be truly considered as the main wheel of the great machine of commerce; ^{The commerce} since, by the emulation which the very search of a passage to it raised, *America* was discovered; ^{of India is the} and all the advantages derived from thence, are justly therefore ascribed to this, as the first ^{prime mover} cause ^{in respect of}. This change of manners grew from the many new and different employments which ^{that general} trade furnished in a greater or less proportion, where-ever it prevailed. By this means multi- ^{trade which} tudes were brought to devote their time and their labour to cultivating the arts of peace, and ^{has changed} to the improvement of the countries which they inhabited; instead of placing all their hopes of ^{the manners of} aggrandizing and enriching themselves by plundering and oppressing their neighbours; and ^{the European} nations.

² Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in the third volume of Churchill's Voyages. Commerce, p. 165.

¹ Decadence de l'Empire Ottom. p. 135.

^h Traité sur le

ⁱ Discourse of War and Peace, p. 13.

^k Interets des Princes, p. 31.

^m GALVANO's Discoveries, published by Hakluyt. THOMAS MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade. Sir WALTER RALEGH's Discourse of Shipping, p. 16.

(A) There is not any fact, in proof of which better evidence may be brought, than this. In the war so long carried on by the Christians against the *Saracens*, and other infidels, the *Venetians*, the *Genese*, the *Pisians*, furnished the best part of the ships they employed, even to the greatest princes in *Europe* (1). In the war between *England* and *France* both nations hired ships for their respective services, and discharged them when the war was over (2). In the north of *Europe*, trade and naval power were in the hands of the *Hanse Towns* (3). How great changes have been gradually made, and how things have settled to the state they are now in, will appear from the following sections.

(B) This great event of finding a direct passage by sea to the *East Indies* was very critical; for it happened, as will be hereafter shewn, at the very juncture when the *Mohammedans* had reached even to the *Spice Islands*; and when, in consequence of their trade, they had a very considerable force, not in *Europe* only, but in the *East Indies* (4); which is now so intirely destroyed, that, except the piratical states of *Barbary*, there is no *Mohammedan* power, in any part of the world, that has a fleet worth mentioning (5).

(1) P. Daniel Histoire de la Ville d'Amsterdam, l. xiv. c. 6.

Memoires de Hambourg, de Lubek, &c. de Holstein, p. 122.

(2) Freyart, l. i. c. 36.

(3) Statut du

(4) See an account of it in the first book of the History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 100.

this it was that by degrees, as the many good effects of such a disposition appeared, gave a new turn to politics, and induced princes, and their ministers, to turn their views to the encouragement of industry, as the fittest and most effectual means of rendering their subjects, and consequently themselves, rich and powerfulⁿ. This alteration in policy was quickly attended with such evident advantages, as, in spite of all prejudice, established those maxims so beneficial to the liberties and welfare of mankind, that we are no longer in danger of seeing that ancient spirit of barbarism arise, which for so many ages overwhelmed the finest countries in blood and confusion (C).

Which is the result of commerce, and power of wealth, notwithstanding what has been suggested to the contrary.

THERE is one point that it is fit should be cleared, in order to free this method of reasoning from any objection; and it is this: That it being allowed the disposition to labour, to improve and to carry on trade, is very different from that martial spirit which is requisite to render a nation either formidable to others, or secure from their attempts; it should seem, that, in all competitions, power would be rather on the opposite side than on that of trade. But as history and experience, so, when closely attended to, reason and the nature of things, will shew that it is otherwise^o; for armies are raised, and fortresses are maintained, by money; and, where trade accumulates that, those who have the management of the affairs of such a nation will be always able to avail themselves not only of as great, but of a greater, strength than they would be able to raise any other way^p. And whereas, in disputes managed merely by strength and courage, a few great actions are commonly decisive, and the party beaten ruined without resource; it has happened quite otherwise, as indeed it is natural it should happen, in the wars managed by trading nations, who, notwithstanding repeated losses by land, have recruited their forces, repaired their fortresses, and, by drawing wars into a great length, have, in process of time, diminished and weakened superior powers, so as to oblige them to conclude treaties upon equal and moderate terms, and to abandon and forego their conquests^r.

The trade to the East Indies the soul of all commerce throughout Europe.

WHATEVER may be affirmed of trade in general, we may with good grounds apply to the commerce of the *East Indies* in particular, for the reason that has been before assigned; because it was the original source of all that naval power, and of all the advantages accruing from it, which, since the discovery of a passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, have resulted to the princes and states of *Europe*^s. It is to this they owe that apparent, that undeniable, that distinguishing, superiority, which the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe have over the inhabitants of the other parts of the earth^t. From hence arose those numerous settlements, those powerful colonies, and that general influence which extends so far, and from whence such continual and prodigious benefits are received. It is to this discovery, and the consequences that have attended it, that we are indebted for that high respect, and profound submission, which are paid to the *Europeans* in climates at the greatest distance from them, and that by nations, who, till they were taught by experience, thought of themselves more highly than of any other people^u.

Is the source of the superiority of the Europeans over the inhabitants of the other parts of the world.

THESE are not, like the imaginations of oriental poets and historians, or the lofty titles of their conceited monarchs prerogatives, derived from fancy, and confessed only by such abject slaves as dare not question, much less deny them; but solid and substantial marks of superior power and wisdom, which the most sceptical persons in these parts of the world cannot call in question, and which even the haughtiest of those great princes are, however unwilling, constrained to acknowledge and confess^v. Neither is this description placing things in a false and extravagant light; for we might still go farther without offending truth. We might say, it is not only the princes and states of *Europe*, but their trading companies, composed of their subjects, and deriving both their authority and power from the governments under which they live, that lord it in the east, and give at their pleasure either peace or war to its sovereigns^x. It was not the crown of *Britain*, but the *English East India* company, with whom the Shah of

ⁿ Testament Politique de Mr. COLBERT, ch. xv. WILLIAM HOBBS Benefits of Foreign Trade. Sir WILLIAM PETTY'S Political Arithmetic, p. 190, 191.

^o Discourses Politiques & Militaires, lib. i. c. 11. ^p STRAB. Geograph. lib. xvi. QUINT. CURT. lib. iv. Digest. lib. L. tit. xv. 1.

^q Cleric. Compend. Hist. ^r GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republiek van Holland, ii Deel. ch. xv.

^s Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S Naval Tracts. ^t JOANNIS LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam, § 11. cap. 5. Les Elemens de l'Histoire, par VALLEMONT, liv. xi. chap. 6. The present State of Europe, chap. 11.

^u Voyages de THEVENOT. ^v Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. 195. ^x Rapport fait aux Etats Generaux, par DANIEL BRAEMS, Teneur de livres general à Batavia.

(C) In order to be convinced of the truth of what is asserted in the text, the curious and inquisitive reader need only cast his eyes upon what the wisest and greatest of all *French* ministers is said to have written on this subject (6); from whence it manifestly appears, that, without paying a due regard to commerce, it is impos-

sible that any monarchy or state can attain to universal influence. Agreeable to the advice given long before by *Antonio Perez* to *Henry IV.* contained in three words, *Conséjo, Palajo, Roma*; that is, A steady ministry, naval power, and uniformity in religion, were the means of acquiring and maintaining universal influence (7).

(6) Testament Politique du Cardinal Richelieu, p. ii. §. 5, 6, 7.

(7) *Essai sur la Marine, & sur le Commerce*, p. 97. *Persia*

a *Persia*, and he too one of the greatest princes that ever sat upon that throne, concluded an alliance, and purchased their assistance with a grant of the moiety of the customs of the only port in his dominions². It is not the states of *Holland*, but the company of *Dutch* merchants incorporated by their authority, for a certain term, and under such limitations as they formerly thought, and from time to time think fit; that maintain so formidable an empire in the *Indies*, and retain at the court of their governor general the sons of many *Indian* monarchs³ as hostages for their fathers obedience (D).

But that it may not seem as if we had taken pains to give an air of grandeur and importance to the subject which is to employ our attention in this part of our history, without considering the abatements that have been or may be suggested, we shall, tho' they will be more fully refuted in the course of this work, take notice here of two plausible objections that some, who, for particular reasons, have been enemies to this commerce, and others, who, for the sake of singularity, have affected to treat every received opinion as ill-founded, have laboured to adorn with the fairest colours, and whatever might give the nearest resemblance to truth. Neither will we in the least diminish the force of these objections, that they may be the more easily answered; but, on the contrary, will propose them to the view of the reader with all the circumstances of advantage that can be given them; and this, tho' strictly speaking we are not bound to do it⁴. The proper business of this part of the Universal History is to account for the discovery of the *East Indies* by the *Europeans*, for their wars, conquests, and settlements, therein, and for the establishments that subsist at present in those parts, and the advantages which arise from them unto those nations to whom they belong. But as such a history would lose very much of its utility, if either of these objections had any tolerable foundation; so it becomes a thing expedient to explain and remove all doubts about them, that the reader may not be embarrassed in the perusal of the following history, much less perplex himself at every turn with inquiries whether the discoverers, the admirals, the generals, the councils, or the monarchs, occasionally commended, did in reality deserve censure or applause⁵, and whether their acquisitions were certain and solid, or only seeming and fallacious benefits (E).

The first of these objections may be thus stated: *It is generally apprehended that trade is advantageous or detrimental according as its balance is in favour of, or against, the nation by which it is carried on; and the usual criterion is the exportation or importation of silver*⁶. But it is universally agreed, that the trade of the *Europeans* to the *East Indies* is in a great measure carried on not by the exportation and barter of commodities, and manufactures for commodities and manufactures, but by sending silver from *Europe* to purchase commodities and manufactures in the *East Indies*; which being rather instruments of luxury and superfluities than necessities, or even conveniencies, of life, it follows from thence, that this commerce is very detrimental to *Europeans* in general, though it may be advantageous to the particular nations by which it is carried on⁷; for they, by re-exporting part of the effects that they bring home, may not only reimburse themselves intirely for the silver originally carried out, but also draw an additional quantity of specie into their own countries; and yet this, being constantly and uniformly a losing trade, upon the whole, to the people of *Europe*, it must by degrees exhaust the wealth of all nations; first, of those who buy these unnecessary commodities and manufactures, perhaps at the fourth or fifth hand; and, by degrees, such as are the immediate purchasers⁸. For, if the silver thus carried out never return, as it is allowed it never can return, the commerce of the *Indies*, however rich in its appearance, however specious in its consequences, such as fleets, settlements, and fortresses, yet, closely examined, and at the bottom, is no better than a perpetual drain, and a sort of under-current, by which the intrinsic riches of *Europe* are conveyed into the *East Indies* to purchase spices, perfumes, and painted linens, which, thro' the blessing of Providence, and the natural industry of the people, are inexhaustible funds of riches to them⁹; while it remains impossible and impracticable for the *Europeans* to replace those immense sums of ready money with which they are purchased (F).

As

² Relation of the taking Ormus from the Portuguese by the English and Persians, by W. WINDER. ³ JACQUET. Etat present de la Republique des Provinces unies, tom. i. p. 361. ⁴ PAXTON'S Discourse of Trade, p. 27. ⁵ Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. i. c. 10. ⁶ Advantages of the East India Trade to England considered, chap. i. ⁷ MUN'S Discourse of the East India Trade. ⁸ Considerations on Commerce in general. ⁹ Case of our own against foreign Manufactures.

(D) The reader will easily perceive that these facts, which are absolutely certain, fully demonstrate, that the present potentates of *Europe* enjoy a more extensive and better established authority than any of the antient empires; that this is owing intirely to their naval power, as that is to their commerce, which is the basis of companies; things alike unknown to antiquity and to the oriental nations.

(E) These questions have been already treated by several authors, without giving much satisfaction, not Mod. Hist. Vol. IV.

from any want of skill or capacity in them. but because the controversy turning in the end upon facts, nothing but such a history as this, taking in the whole progress of the trade, from the time it was first opened, to our own days, the several hands it has been in, and the consequences which have attended it, could complete the design, and afford all the necessary lights to an impartial and curious inquirer.

(F) It must be allowed, that these suggestions have had so great weight, even with persons perfectly well skilled

Which has
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sive; but,
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swered.

As this objection was made very early by men of great knowledge and experience, one would have imagined that it must have received long ago, if capable of it, a clear and satisfactory answer; which, not to dissemble the truth, is so far from being the case, that some of the strongest advocates for the *East India* trade in *England* have given this point intirely up, and contented themselves with proving, that, how ruinous soever the commerce of the *East Indies* may be to the *Europeans* in general, yet it had been, and might be carried on to our annual benefit of at least six hundred thousand pounds^a. How well this answered their purpose of defending the trade thither, as beneficial to us upon the balance, is not material to this question; but I shall take the liberty of saying, that it was the desire of coming immediately, and without any previous disputes, to the decision of this point, that led ingenious men to make such concessions, which, however, do not by any means bind those who come afterwards from considering this point in another light. It might be urged, that this being a matter of fact, and the objection being now above one hundred years old, we may oppose experience to this conjecture; for, if the drain had been so very great, or the detriment to *Europe* of such consequence, as was then suggested, the dismal effects of it must have been long ago apparent from the great want of silver in all the countries of *Europe*. But as no such thing is visible, and as those countries, that, in the nature of things, must have soonest felt, and that too in the highest degree, such a misfortune, have been so far from being disgusted with *Indian* commodities, as to aim at having a share in that trade themselves; this conjecture, however plausible, seems to be groundless; neither is there the least reason to fear, that, in the space of another century, this trade will be attended with worse consequences than those that have flowed from it already^b. But there is no need of relying solely upon this answer, though, at the same time, it may be affirmed to be both strong and clear, conjectures being never better refuted than by experiments. That reasoning ought never to be suspected in politics, which, without scruple, would be admitted in philosophy or physics; neither can any candid or impartial inquirer after truth suppose, that what is found to be false in fact may nevertheless have a foundation in reason.

The balance of
trade not so
certainly
known
by exporting
or importing
of silver.

BUT, to come close to the point, the fact is, that this doctrine of the balance of trade, and of the standard by which it is discovered, is not true beyond a certain degree. Silver is considered in two very different lights, as the common measure of all commodities, and as a commodity; and it is by confounding these considerations that some very able writers fall into great mistakes. In countries where there are no mines, silver is, generally speaking, to be taken in the first light, as a common measure, and then the state of the inhabitants will be properly enough denominated from its plenty or its scarcity. If they are frugal, industrious, and enjoy a large share of trade, silver will abound amongst them; and if, on the contrary, they are profuse, lazy, or without trade, they will have very little silver^c. But, in countries where there are mines, silver is no more than a commodity; and if the inhabitants of such countries, either through defects in government, or for want of trade, are without the necessities or conveniencies of life, we cannot surely style them rich, whatever quantities of silver they may have in their possession^d. This plainly shews, that silver is not essentially wealth, but only circumstantially so; and that, when it abounds much beyond that proportion which is necessary to render it a common measure, it will in all countries, whether they have mines or not, become a downright commodity, as we see it actually does, and is converted into lace and plate, upon which there is likewise a considerable loss; nor can there be any reason given why the clamour should be greater for the silver exported to the *East Indies*, than for the silver wasted and consumed in all kinds of manufactures^e. By the trade to the *East Indies*, a prodigious quantity of shipping is employed both there and in *Europe*, vast numbers of seamen raised, and consequently a great naval force maintained; and therefore, though spices, perfumes, and painted linens, may be instruments of luxury and superfluities, yet ships, seamen, and a naval power, are things of intrinsic value; and if it cannot be denied that the *Europeans* have these into the bargain, it must be acknowledged they have no hard bargain; since it has

^a Dr. DAVENANT's Essay on the East India Trade, and advantage of Trade, p. 29.

^b COCKBURN's Travels through the continent of Mexico, a thorough search into the true nature of coin and bullion, p. 5.

^c PAXTON's Discourse of the nature, improvement, and advantage of Trade, p. 13.

^d Benefits of foreign Trade, p. 13.

in the nature of mercantile and maritime affairs, that they have declared against this commerce with much vehemence (10); from whence the only conclusion that can be drawn is this; that to form a thorough and settled judgment of the utility or detriment of any trade whatever, we must rely upon experience, which furnishes new lights, and opens new paths that never could have been discovered by dint of thinking; for,

after all, there is no reasoning against facts; and if it can be shewn, that nations were weak and indigent before they had this trade, rich and powerful while they enjoyed it, feeble and exhausted after they lost it, it is absolutely vain to allege arguments against encouraging it; for, how strong soever these may appear, they can prove no more than this, that men may be very learnedly and very logically mistaken.

(10) See Mun's Discourse of the East India Trade, Sir William Monson in his Naval Tracts, and Dr. Paxton, in his Discourse of the nature, advantage, and improvement of Trade.

a been very fully shewn, silver itself, beyond a certain reasonable proportion, is but a superfluity^a.

We may pursue this method of reasoning still farther. It has been asserted, and it cannot be denied, that the endeavours to discover a new route by sea to the *East Indies* produced the discovery of the *West Indies*. Now it is very certain, that the far greater part of the silver that is in *Europe* comes from *America*; and it is no less certain, that a very large proportion of that silver comes into the possession of *Europeans* by the purchase of *East India* goods and commodities^b. What reason then is there to fear, that a trade, which, in its consequences, furnishes us with silver, should bring us into indigence from the want of it? or how can we apprehend that *Europe* in general is more impoverished by the annual exportation of a certain quantity of this metal, than any particular country which exports silver to the *Indies* with a view of consuming a great quantity of *Indian* commodities without expence, and, besides, of bringing back the original silver carried out by the sale of the overplus of those commodities? Is not *America* to *Europe* in general, what the countries in *Europe*, that do not trade to the *East Indies*, are to those countries that do? And when we allow that silver is brought as a commodity from *America*, why should we be so blind as not to see that it is exported also as a commodity into the most distant parts of *Asia*? where, if the people keep or hide it, they are certainly not so wise as the *Europeans*, who use it, and, by the use of it, render themselves rich and powerful, and, in a great degree, the masters of those who dig the silver in the *West Indies*, and of those who are distracted with the desire of hoarding it in the *East*^c (G).

The second objection to this trade may be answered more concisely, because it takes the first in some measure for its ground; that objection stands thus: *It may be doubted whether the passage by the Cape of Good Hope can be truly styled a discovery of the East Indies, since they were known, frequented, and a great trade carried on in the commodities and manufactures brought from thence, long before. It may be farther doubted whether this trade, through that channel, has been beneficial to Europe in general, since it has occasioned a much greater consumption of the product of the Indies, that always was, and ever must be, in a great measure, purchased for ready money.* The restraining a destructive trade is as much a benefit as the extending a beneficial one; and consequently the increasing of a trade, where the balance is against us, must be considered as a manifest disadvantage; neither are these arguments unsupported by experience, since, as it might be naturally expected, the intercourse with the *Indies* becoming easier and more direct, the demand for *Indian* commodities rose in proportion; and the increase of the demand has so far raised the price, that we pay as dear for *Indian* commodities now, though imported intirely by *Europeans*, as when we had no trade thither by sea, but received all these commodities and manufactures by land-carriage^d. On the whole, this being a losing trade for *Europe*, augmenting that trade must augment the loss; which must be still farther augmented by the advanced price of the commodities and manufactures; whence it follows, that whatever benefits the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* at first, and the *English* and *Dutch* since, have derived from this trade, the people of *Europe* in general have been made poorer by the opening of this passage by sea to the *East Indies*; and therefore, instead of

^a Advantages of the East India Trade considered, ch. 2.

Britain considered, p. 40.

^b Empire du Mogul, p. 387.

^c Sir JOSIAH CHILD of Trade, p. 172.

^d MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade.

^e GEE's Trade and Navigation of Great

^f MANOUCHI's Histoire de

(G) It is certainly a point of very great consequence, in order to set truth in a clear light, to prevail upon such as inquire after it, to consider attentively the meaning of the words that are made use of in discussing any subject; because it will be often found that the warmest disputes are not about things, but words, sometimes used in one sense, and sometimes in another, in the course of the same debate. As for instance; in the case before us, there is nothing more common than to speak of the *rich* commodities of the east; and, if you desire to have this explained, they enumerate precious stones, spices, silks, &c. If you inquire the reason why they are styled *rich* commodities, the reason assigned is, because they are sold for a great deal of money. But those who consider things in another light, change the term, and tell us, that these things, as they are not necessary to life, are not really valuable; and if you inquire of them what is valuable, they answer, *Silver*, or money, because that will purchase the necessities of life at all times, and in all places. The inference they make from this is, that the inhabitants of the *Indies* are the real gainers, because they obtain money; and those who deal with them losers, because they part with

money. A little reflection will shew, that the opinion of men governs in both cases. Now if it be certain, as indeed there is nothing more certain, than that, in the opinion of mankind, from the earliest ages down to the present, precious stones, spices, silks, &c. have been always held *valuable*, or, in other words, could be sold or exchanged for large sums of money, or, in other words still, for great quantities of *silver*; then it follows, that, in obtaining these, we obtain things valuable; and unless those, who maintain the contrary, could alter the opinions of mankind, and induce a general persuasion, that there is nothing worth possessing but *silver*, they dispute about words, and not things; neither can there be any thing more childish than to grudge the *Indians* the possession of what they esteem valuable, in exchange for what other nations think so; more especially when we consider that this silver, for which we contend so much, is, in strictness of speech, as little, if not less, a necessary of life, than those commodities that are brought from the *Indies*, for those we eat, drink, and wear; whereas the *Indians* are truly misers, and brood over their silver, without making any use of it at all.

being

being celebrated as an advantageous and important discovery, it ought, notwithstanding its a specious appearance, to be considered as a real misfortune^r.

Answered, by
showing it
carried more
silver out,
when we had
small dealings
than now we
have great
dealings there.

WE must acknowledge, that, when this objection was first started, it might very easily mislead those who had a natural jealousy of foreign trade; and those were not only once a party, but continued long a formidable party, in this kingdom; neither perhaps are they yet extinguished: but, with how much address soever facts and falsehoods are blended in this prospect of the *India* trade, it is very far from being impracticable to disentangle them, and to make the reader sensible, that there is even less in this than in the former objection. If, by purchasing *East India* commodities, there was always such a draught of silver out of *Europe*, as is suggested, it would be a very difficult matter to shew how this, before the discovery of *America*, was replaced; and if it had not been replaced, no doubt, in process of time, the b evil must have become very perceptible, and a gradual declension of silver in *Europe* would have been a general subject of complaint. Whatever sums were then sent into the *Indies*, to purchase commodities and manufactures, must have been laid out to great disadvantage^s. The returns could be but small; and the prices must be high, because of the expences and hazard with which land-carriage must be attended. If ever, therefore, there was room to consider this commerce as prejudicial to *Europe*, it must have been then; when the merchants, factors, carriers, were all infidels, and the Christians paid annually vast sums in ready money for a few spices, perfumes, and precious stones, the intrinsic value of which did not amount to a tenth part of what is now brought from the *Indies*. By this means also, contrary to the genius of their religion, the *Mohammedans* became great and general traders; and *Arabians*, c *Moors*, and negro merchants, were spread as far as *China* and the *Moluccas*, and had settlements, besides, in all the great trading ports throughout the *Indies*; the consequence of which, if it had not been checked by the *Portuguese* happily penetrating into those parts, is much easier to conceive than to describe.

The true and
certain benefits
which have
accrued from
the discovery
of a passage by
sea to the
Indies.

ONE thing is very certain, that the greatest part of the money carried out of *Europe* fell by the way, and enriched the *Mamluks* on one side, and the subjects of the *Turkish* empire on the other; for the *Indians* did not sell at a much higher rate than they do now. When, therefore, a direct passage to the *Indies* was opened by sea, the *Europeans* were plainly delivered from this imposition; and whatever price the commodities and manufactures of *India* bore, it was the *Portuguese* that reaped that profit, which, till then, had enriched the *Mohammedans*.^d It is therefore not true, that, by augmenting this trade, the quantity of silver was augmented that went yearly out of *Europe*; but the very contrary. The *Europeans* had much greater quantities, and a far greater variety, of *Indian* goods, for much less silver; because the expence of brokerage, factorage, and land-carriage, was intirely taken away. Neither ought we to be in any doubt about this, from what is asserted as to the keeping up the price of the product of the *Indies*, because this may be easily accounted for another way^e. The *Portuguese*, the *Spaniards*, the *Dutch*, and indeed every nation trading to the *Indies*, have an interest in keeping up the price of whatever they bring from thence, that they may the sooner, and with more certainty, indemnify themselves for their annual exports in silver. Besides, the navigation being long, hazardous, and expensive, it is impossible that the merchandize brought from thence should be afforded to the last purchaser or consumer but at a large rate; however, as the far greater part of the expence, with which this commerce is now attended, is actually incurred in *Europe*, and timber, naval stores, and provisions, are all provided here, it is manifest, that not above a tenth part of the gross amount of *Indian* commodities, at the rate they are sold in *Europe*, can be paid for them in the *Indies*; and, of that, the fifth part is generally allowed to be discharged by commodities^f. From this method of reasoning the reader will see good reason to conclude, that though this trade be carried on in the same manner as before, that is to say, in a good measure, with money; and though, since the discovery of a direct passage thither by sea, there has been a constant increase of this trade; yet there is no reason to believe that greater, if so great, sums of money are carried out of *Europe* now than were formerly, when we dealt under such prodigious disadvantages, and were obliged to take what was brought to market at whatever rates those who brought it thought fit to demand (H).

WE

^r Remarks upon a thorough search into the real cause of our want of silver coin.
Monson's Naval Tracts. MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade.
Crucis, p. i. lib. i. cap. 1. See this point more largely treated in the third chapter.
Indes Orientales, p. 291.
Essay on the Trade to India.

^s Sir WILLIAM SANUDO Secreta Fidelium

^e Histoire des

^f Dr. DAVENANT'S

^w MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade.

(H) The reader will consider, that this is barely a discourse introductory to our history, in which we touch only the general heads of a subject, upon which many volumes have been written, and therefore must not expect to find every thing that might be offered upon this

topic. We brought formerly many things from the *East Indies*, with which we are now furnished from *America*, such as sugar, indigo, and several kinds of drugs: we have likewise transplanted some of their commodities into *Europe*, and some of their manufactures

- a We might add to all this, that if the price of *Indian* commodities should be equal, or even *greater*, to the consumer than before a direct passage was opened by sea, we ought at the same time to consider, that every thing is grown dearer, or, which is the same thing in other words, money is become cheaper, or less valuable; which will be easily accounted for, when it is remembered, that, since the discovery of *America*, there have been brought into *Europe* to the value of one thousand millions sterling at least¹. Upon the winding up, therefore, of this bottom, it appears, that, if the *Europeans* were not exhausted, or left without silver, while the *East India* trade was in the hands of the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, who bought chiefly with ready money, and had all their *Indian* merchandize with the loads and incumbrances that have been already mentioned, there can be no great danger that this trade should impoverish us now, when there are annually such large supplies by the *Spanish* plate-fleets². It is also evident, that, by having a direct passage by sea, this exportation of silver is not near so great as it would be if the *East India* commodities and manufactures were to come, as they were wont to come, by different routes, and in some measure over-land. It is farther clear, that the trade carried on in the *Indies* from the *European* settlements is of very great consequence, and contributes to our importing prodigious quantities of goods at a very low rate, which, though here in *Europe* sold at a very high price, yet the profit accrues not to the *Indians*, but from one *European* nation to another; and, when the reader sees hereafter that the *Dutch* have burnt great quantities of spices in their own country, to keep up the market, he cannot but conclude that this objection is far from being so well founded as it seems to be at the first view³; so that, after all, such as have laboured to bring an odium upon this commerce, have misrepresented some facts, exaggerated others, and then drawn by sophistical reasonings unfair conclusions; whereas the advocates for it argue from facts about which there can be no dispute, and from the experience of two hundred and fifty years, which will admit of no reply.
- b
- c

As to any slighter objections that have been thrown out from the consumption of seamen in *these long voyages*, the wearing out of ships, the raising the price of naval stores, and others of a like nature, they arise plainly from a narrowness of mind, and from a want of that comprehensive talent which is absolutely necessary to reason judiciously and conclusively, upon a subject of such importance⁴. For, in proportion as trade has increased, if the lives of multitudes of men have been exposed at sea, it is no more than what happened in former times, in almost continual wars, where the hazard was much greater, and not to so good a purpose. The lives of seamen are exposed for maintaining an intercourse between the most remote parts of the habitable world; which encourages industry, and furnishes a vast variety of employments worthy of rational beings. The wearing out of ships, and the expence of naval stores, have also had a consequence little attended to, which was, the carrying back very considerable sums of money into those countries that were most drained by purchasing the commodities of the *Indies*; and thus, according to the nature of trade, or rather from the wise disposition of Providence, such a circulation has been and ever will be maintained, as is necessary to keep all the wheels of universal traffick in motion, and this to the common benefit of mankind in general⁵. So that we had reason to insist more largely on the exportation of silver, as being the capital point by which this subject has been so long embarrassed; and, to leave no room for future doubts upon this head, let it be observed, that, upon the strictest calculations, it has appeared, that not above a sixth part, at most, of the annual produce of the *American* mines has been exported by all the *European* nations that have a share in the trade to the *East Indies*, and that the quantity of *European* commodities sent thither is continually increasing; whence we may safely infer, that, till the quantity of silver (which, as we have shewn, is a commodity as well as a common measure) which is constantly brought into *Europe*, shall be considerably diminished, there can be no just ground for any melancholy apprehension, about the consequences of the *East India* trade (I).

THESE

¹ Dr. DAVENANT'S Discourse of the East India Trade. ² History of Spanish America, p. 111. ³ Advantages of the East India Trade considered, p. 94. Sir JOSIAH CHILD'S Discourse of Trade, p. 171—174. ⁴ GILES'S Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, ch. xxi. ⁵ HOBBS'S Benefit of foreign Trade, p. 93. ⁶ DAVENANT on the public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

tures likewise; so that by degrees this commerce will become more and more advantageous to us, and less so to them. These particulars, and many others, are not mentioned in the text, and yet what is there offered is very conclusive, as well as very consistent; neither is it altogether impossible that, by the invention of engines to supply labour, we may likewise acquire other manufactures; but, whether we do, or not, this trade may

be carried on without prejudice to those we have already.

(I) It is very justly observed, by an author who was perfectly well acquainted with things of this nature, that there is nothing so difficult as to search out and discover all the secret channels by which trade rolls wealth both out and into every country (11). Most certainly, had there been any scarcity of silver induced by the

(11) Dr. DAVENANT, and, since him, the best authors on the subject of Commerce.

Why it is necessary to understand this subject, to inquire into the methods in use among the antients for carrying on a correspondence to the Indies.

THESE considerations being premised, as absolutely necessary to set the value of our discoveries and plantations in a true light, we may with greater alacrity and cheartulness proceed to our intended history; but, in order to do this in a proper method, we must begin with shewing what was the state of things before the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope* was found out; and how this trade was managed of old by different routes, according to the innumerable alterations that were made from time to time, by the frequent revolutions that happened amongst the nations concerned in this trade, and in the countries through which it was carried on^d. This, as it is a very necessary disquisition, will be found to be extremely entertaining, as well as highly useful; and, though it may seem to carry us into ages somewhat higher than will fall properly under the character of modern history, yet no just objection can arise from thence, when it shall be known that there is nothing improbable in supposing that some of those old correspondencies may be hereafter revived, and consequently this history of antient commerce connected with future events, and become thereby something more than modern^e. Neither is this the only point of our apology; for, as the old and almost forgotten roads to the *Indies* may possibly be again traced out and restored, so there have not been wanting some who have suggested, that those new discovered ways which the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* have magnified to so great a degree, though certainly unknown to the darker ages after the destruction of the *Roman* empire, were nevertheless explored in earlier and better times; and that of this there are some proofs to be met with in authentic authors^f. Nay, the lovers of antiquity go farther still; and very confidently assert, that at least two other passages to the *East Indies* by sea, than the great discoverers of later ages have passed through, with all their mathematical skill and learning, were nevertheless traversed long ago by the unlettered *Indians*^g, of which some records remain. We shall find it then highly requisite, to the right knowledge of this subject, to spend some short time in thus enquiring what methods of corresponding with the east were really in use of old, and what are suggested to have been so without any reason.

How essential a part this is of Universal History, and the advantages that flow from it.

By a just examination of these points, setting truth in a right light, detecting falsehoods, and representing the evidence fairly on both sides, where matters are doubtful; many important passages are brought to the reader's notice, which are not only consistent with, but absolutely necessary to complete, the views of an Universal History. It must be confessed, that though hardly any thing can be more obvious than the great utility of such an inquiry into points of this nature, yet most writers of history have been very negligent about them; so that there is hardly any thing more difficult than to collect together, and as it were glean, the several matters of fact that relate to them, as they lie hid here and there, in the works of different authors, and of such too as have written on various subjects^h. Yet, whatever trouble there may be in performing this, it is a very essential point of our business; for, as the writers either of particular nations, or of determinate periods of time, either touch things of this nature but slightly, or, if they dwell upon any, do it only with a view to the main design of their histories; and as those who extend their plans are for that reason obliged to be more succinct, and, though they mention perhaps a greater variety of facts, seldom do any thing more than mention them; we cannot justly expect any tolerable satisfaction from their relationsⁱ. But, in the very scheme of an Universal History, an account of the discoveries made, of the commercial intercourse subsisting, or colonies transported, from one quarter of the terraqueous globe to another, becomes a capital consideration, demands a distinct article, and, being deduced in a natural method, shews manifestly the truth of those observations made at the beginning of this chapter, and, being thus related together, explain and illustrate each other; by which they enable the attentive reader to penetrate thoroughly into the true nature of commerce in general, and free him from those prejudices and prepossessions that inevitably infect the minds of those

^d HUET Commerce des Anciens, ch. ix.

^e Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. p. 735—738.

^f HAK-

LUYT, PURCHAS, FOX, and other authors who treat of the North-east and North-west Passages.

^g STRAB.

Geogr. lib. ii. PLIN. Hist. natur. lib. iv. cap. 17. SOLIN. cap. 19.

^h EVELYN'S Treatise of Navigation

and Commerce.

ⁱ ARISTOTLE, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, PLINY, ATHENÆUS, &c.

augmentation of the *India* trade, it would have altered the proportion between gold and silver; which it has not done, though such as consider things superficially might be easily brought to believe the contrary. In the first year of King *Henry* the eighth, gold was coined of the same fineness that it is now, and a pound of gold troy weight was then worth twenty-five pounds two shillings and six pence, whereas it is now worth forty-four pounds ten shillings, from whence it seems as if gold was become dearer; but neither is that the case, for both these

sums in silver are very near the same weight, that is about fourteen pounds and four ounces; consequently the proportion is not at all altered, or very little (12); which must be owing to our receiving in *Europe* great quantities of gold from *Africa*, the *East Indies*, *Peru*, and *Chili*, as well as silver from *America* (13). We may therefore be sure, that, while this proportion continues the same, we cannot suffer any real evil by the quantities carried out of either of these metals.

(12) *Fleetwood's Chronicon pretiosum*, p. 20.

(13) *Davenant's Essay on the East India Trade*, p. 17.

who

a who take their notions of this subject from such as write of the affairs of any one nation whatever ^k (K).

BESIDES, that kind of science, which arises from this reading, is the true political key by which a variety of mysterious events are opened; so that we see clearly the true grounds of the rise of one nation, and the decay of another; the causes why at certain times there are such vast changes even in the exterior appearances of countries, which, from paradises in one age, become deserts in the next^l. We likewise discern how as great alterations are wrought in the tempers of whole nations, who, from being restless, ambitious, and continually disturbing their neighbours, become industrious, peaceable, and even protectors of those to whom they were once enemies; and then again by degrees, perhaps, degenerate into indolence, avarice, and a spirit of tricking. We perceive that there are natural causes why trade so often shifts its channels; why it seems sometimes perfectly docile, and obedient to laws, and at others is injured and destroyed by the very measures that are taken to protect and promote it^m. These are certainly acquisitions of real consequence, more especially in these times, when, without a tincture of this kind of science, history may very easily mislead, and can hardly instruct to any great purpose (L).

We may likewise add, that this is that knowledge which forms the true connection between ancient and modern history, since, by becoming thoroughly versed in it, we are enabled to distinguish between those principles on which the great monarchies of old were constructed, and the fundamental maxims of modern governmentsⁿ. We are convinced, from an infinity of examples, that, whenever the fermentations occasioned reciprocally by the ambition of princes, and the resentment of their subjects, subside, the natural turn of the human race is, to have a quiet intercourse with each other, and a reciprocal exchange of those blessings which Providence has liberally bestowed on all, though in different proportions. We cannot help perceiving, that, in consequence of this universal disposition, several old routes, by which the communications were maintained between very remote countries, subsist either in whole or in part at this day, notwithstanding temporary interruptions; and we learn how to make a just distinction between the partial and bounded endeavours of the ancients in this respect, in comparison of the extensive navigation of the moderns^o; which so fully verifies that hitherto uncontradicted maxim, *that whatever nation, whatever empire, whatever quarter of the globe, is distinguished by its power at sea, will be superior also on land*^p; upon which, as has been already said, the high prerogatives of the inhabitants of *Europe* are certainly founded, and upon which they must ever depend. For, after all, the arts of peace alone contribute

^k GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, P. iii. ch. 1. Holland. iii. Deel. Cap. 3.

^l GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republiek van Holland. iii. Deel. Cap. 3. ^m PAXTON's Discourse concerning the nature, advantage, and improvement of Trade, p. 39. ⁿ See PAULO PURUTA's political Discourses, translated by the Earl of Monmouth, Discourse vi.

^o *Traité sur le Commerce*, par M. DESLAUDES, P. iv. p. 59.

^p CICERO ad Attic. lib. x. ep. 7.

(K) The learned Bishop *Huet*, speaking to Mr. *Colbert*, at whose command he wrote his history of the commerce of the ancients, complains of this negligence in the following terms (14): "The very reason which you alledge, that little care has hitherto been taken to set these matters in a proper light, is precisely that which makes me apprehend the difficulty of the undertaking, and anxious as to the event, none having gone before me to clear the road, being to set out myself without a guide, and not knowing where to seek assistance or support." It is very strange, tho' at the same time very honourable for that *French* minister, that he should be the first who saw the necessity of having such a history; and it is very remarkable that he was led to this, as we shall see in another place, by his scheme of setting up an *East India* company in *France*. He directed, and in part dictated, a treatise upon that subject, shewing the advantages that would attend it, and obviating the difficulties that might be raised against it, which was received with universal applause (15). But how well soever he might satisfy others, he was very far from satisfying himself; and it was to clear up his own doubts, by obtaining an historical deduction of what had formerly been done in this trade, that he engaged this very learned person, then a young man, in this enterprize, very succint, if we consider its extent, and which, in respect to many things, gives us rather hints than explanations. There therefore it is the business of those, who are to employ their talents in illustrating any par-

ticular branch of this general system, to improve from those lights which have been supplied by subsequent inquiries.

(L) The reader will be easily convinced of the truth of what is advanced in this paragraph, if he reflects on the various fortunes of the inhabitants of *Venice*. At first, vagabonds, who had taken shelter in a few desert islands scattered in a shallow sea, subsisting partly by their fishing, partly by piracy, or at the best privateering; then betaking themselves to commerce, they became a well governed, rich, and potent people: corrupted by prosperity, they became haughty and ambitious, exhausted their strength and wealth in making conquests on the continent; and, for want of adhering steadily to what had been the source of their good fortune, in a great measure lost it (16). That country, which is now called *Crim Tartary*, was once in the possession of the *Genoese*; and, from its excellent situation, became very populous, and its inhabitants very rich: but, by ill management, the *Genoese* lost it, the trade quickly after sunk, and there is nothing now remarkable in it but the ruins of those magnificent palaces formerly raised by its opulent merchants (17). In the same condition are many of the great cities in *Italy*, in times past free and rich, thro' the industry of their inhabitants, now occupying the same space of ground, but poor, empty, decaying, and, in short, the melancholy monuments of their own departed grandeur.

(14) *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 2.

(15) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, P. iii. ch. 2. p. 87, 88.

where we are told this treatise was published by Mr. Charpentier.

sur le Commerce, p. 180, 181.

(16) *Card. Bem. Hist. Venet. lib. vi. Ess. i*

(17) *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 243. *Beauplan description de l'Ukraine*, 1. 95. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 582.

to what may be stiled true greatness; as the rules of justice, when well understood, will be found the safest and most successful maxims of policy. By the former, countries are improved, their inhabitants rendered civilized and polite, industry encouraged, and the faculties both of the body and of the mind applied to their proper uses: in consequence of the latter, men yield a willing obedience to government, from a due sense of its being their interest to be governed; exert themselves to the utmost, in order to obtain property, because the laws protect them in the full and quiet possession of the fruits of their labours; and engage with alacrity in long and dangerous voyages, from the prospect of increasing their substance, and providing, by the fatigues of their youth, for spending their advanced age in ease. These are great and rational views, and manifestly coincide with those of the great Author of nature, who certainly meant that all men should taste of happiness; and that the wisest and the best, those who bent their thoughts, and employed their strength, to honest and manly purposes, should be most happy^a.

^a EVELYN'S Treatise of Navigation and Commerce, sect. ix. Testament Politique du Cardinal DE RICHELIEU, P. ii. § 5, 6, 7. SECONDAIRE de l'esprit du Loi, liv. xx, xxi.

CHAP. II.

The methods of communication between the inhabitants of Europe and the East Indies, before the discovery of a direct passage by sea round the Cape of Good Hope.

A succinct account of the ancient commerce of the East Indies.

ACCORDING to the history which *Moses* has given us of the peopling the earth after the deluge, we might reasonably suppose that an intercourse between all the inhabitants of the east must have subsisted very early, or, to speak with greater propriety, must have continued from the beginning; and it is very remarkable, that this fact is confirmed by authors sacred and profane^a. It is most probable that the inhabitants of *Arabia* were the first that sailed thither by sea; as we know that the *Ismaelites*, who dwelt in the same country, were the first that carried spices by land into *Egypt*^b. It was, however, many ages before the *Greeks* had any distinct notions upon this head, and indeed till the time of *Alexander*; they were so corrupted by fables, or misrepresented by ignorant historians, that the wisest men amongst them could scarce distinguish between fiction and truth^c. The desire of magnifying the great action performed by that conqueror, and the *Grecians* under his command, became a new source of errors, to which additions were continually made, after his conquests were abandoned. Of all his successors, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* alone had a just sense of the importance of these countries, and took care to be perfectly well informed about them; whence came the better part of those memoirs that serve to give light to succeeding times^d. But the love of the marvellous still so much prevailed, that they also became corrupted, and that to a great degree. This was done with so much the more facility, as the figure of the earth, the disposition of countries, and the true principles of navigation, were but very indifferently understood. It is indeed said, that in very early times the *Chinese* were a very knowing, active, and enterprising people; and that they extended their conquests, or at least their influence, as far as the *Cape of good Hope*; and for this there is a small degree of evidence, yet nothing capable of giving the colour of truth to what some have fancied upon this subject.

Some have asserted, that a passage by the north was not unknown to the ancients.

ABOUT two hundred years ago, when, from the discoveries of *Vasquez de Gama* and *Christopher Columbus*, intelligent persons began to discourse of the possibility of sailing northwards into these countries; some undertook to prove that this had actually been done above a thousand years before, whether out of veneration for antiquity, or to cast a sort of reflection upon the moderns, is uncertain^e. But, upon whatever motive they proceeded, they appealed to authority in maintenance of what they said. The chief fact they relied upon is thus related by *Pliny*, about fifty-seven years before the coming of Christ: A small vessel, having several *Indians* on board, was shipwrecked on the coast of *Germany*; and all the persons who escaped that misfortune, were courteously received by the king of the *Suevi*, who presented them to

^a HUG. GROTIJ Annot. ad lib. i. de veritate Chris. Religion. ^b Genes. xxxvii. 25. MUNSTER. VATAEL. & DRUS. in loco.

^c ARRIAN. Exped. Alexand. lib. v. & Ind. c. ^d PLIN. Hist. nat. lib. vi. cap. 23. STRABON. Geog. lib. iii. ^e HUGHES Histoire du Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens, c. 46.

- a *Metellus Celer*, then the Roman proconsul in Gaul^f. The writers who defend the notions before-mentioned are very positive that these *Indians* came from *Japan*, or the land of *Jedso*, through the streights of *Weygatz*, and so into the northern ocean. It is added, that the historian, who has preserved this memorable event, could not, from his own relation, but conclude the same thing. But upon this many things have been, and may be said. As for example: that these *Indians* might be cast upon the coast of *Germany* another way; which is beyond all question practicable. For instance, they might be supposed to have embarked on the river *Oxus*, and so to have passed through the *Caspian* sea, thence up the river *Volga*, and so into the *Dwina*, which, falling into the *Baltic*, might well enough have brought them to the coast on which they are supposed to have been shipwrecked. It is however very improbable
- b that such a thing should have happened, because it supposes these *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the navigation of rivers, of which it is much more likely they never heard, and, it is very possible, are unacquainted with so much as their names, to this very day. Yet other nations there are perfectly well acquainted with them, and with their navigation; nay, were so well acquainted with it many years ago, that it was proposed to King *James* the First to open a trade this way to the *Indies*, which the statesmen of those times were wise enough to treat as a chimera^g; and perhaps it is owing to there being much the same measure of wisdom in the ministers of a certain northern power, that this passage has been hitherto traced only upon paper (A). This, however, not being our present business, let us proceed.
- c THESE, without doubt, are sufficient answers, upon the supposition that they were *Indians*. But we may also say, that it is much to be questioned whether these people were *Indians*, because it is very certain the antients frequently bestowed that appellation upon very remote nations, merely because they were remote^h. It is therefore much more probable that those people, who were thus cast on shore on the coast of *Germany*, were *Norwegians* or *Scritofinians*, the same people that we now style *Laplanders*; or it may be they were *Islanders*, if we credit the northern histories to such a degree, as to suppose that island was so early inhabited. This one may even prove, and is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indians* strictly and properly speaking, since accidents of the like nature have fallen out elsewhere; that is, some of these people have been driven on shore in their little fishing-boats; and, when
- d any accident of this sort happened in those early times, before the northern parts of the world were so well known as they are at present, it is no great wonder that such people should be taken for *Indians*, as in our times they would be unanimously called savagesⁱ. The same method of arguing may be applied to another fact of the same nature, since it is affirmed, that, under the reign of the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, A. D. 1160, certain *Indians* were again cast upon the coast of *Germany*; for there is no more proof that these were really *Indians* than the former^k. In both cases, it is acknowledged that they were a strange people, whose language was not understood; which might be true, if they were *Norwegians*; but most certainly is no kind of evidence that they came either from the *East* or from the *West Indies*, or that they made their way through the north-east or north-west passage (B).

BUT,

^f Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. lxvii.^g WINWOOD'S Memorials, or State Papers, published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; vol. iii. p. 453. ^h HUET Histoire du Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens, c. iii. ⁱ GALVANO'S Discoveries. Mr. JOHN RAY'S Account of the Trinity-house at Hull. ^k GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt, c. 1.

(A) The passage referred to in the text is very curious, and occurs in a letter from one Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, afterwards secretary of state; wherein, having mentioned *Muscovy*, he proceeds thus (1): "Indeed we have great doings in hand, and strange projects for that place, which I doubt will all prove discourses in the air, for they be grounded upon certain speeches of the nobility to an *English* merchant about two years since; but *tempora mutantur*, and the case is much altered there since that time. Yet the king apprehends the business very earnestly, and hath caused Sir Henry Newill to confer with some of the council about it several times, wherein they say he hath shewed great sufficiency, and discoursed at large what commodity might arise by bringing the whole trade of *Persia*, and the inland parts of the *East Indies*, up the river *Hydaspes*; and so, with a short cut, down the river *Oxus* into the *Caspian* sea, and then up the river *Volga* to a streight of land, that will carry

"all into the river *Davina*, that runs down to *St. Nicholas* and the town of *Archangel*, the ordinary port and station of our shipping in those parts. These are goodly specious discourses of things not so easily done as spoken." But, as light as this gentleman makes of the matter, this passage was and is very practicable; and, except the latter part of it, is the individual scheme, for carrying which into execution the *Russia* company not many years ago procured an act of parliament: and, while there was such a thing as government in *Persia*, carried on a trade thither very successfully.

(B) When one considers the learning and good sense of those great men who have urged these facts as a proof of there being actually a passage by the north to the *East Indies*, one is naturally inclined to think that they did not do it from a persuasion that the fact was really so, but because they were sensible that examples weigh much more with the generality of readers than

(1) Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 452.

Arguments by which this opinion is clearly and fully refuted.

BUT, after all, from whatever country these people came, or by whatever route they might come, it is very certain that *Pliny* had not the least notion of their arriving by any northern passage; on the contrary, he very plainly suggests their coming round the coast of *Africa*, which shews how long ago there was a suspicion that there might be a passage that way to the *Indies*¹. Yet, how reasonable soever that sentiment might be, most certainly the consequence drawn from it, that the *Indians* thrown upon the *German* coast might come this way, is very hard to conceive; or, to speak plainly, is not to be conceived at all, any more than that the *Molucca* beans, which are thrown upon the coasts of the *Shetland* islands, should make their way thither by the same passage^m. The truth certainly is, that whatever the antient historians might collect from the genuine writings of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, which they had in their hands, or whatever some learned men amongst them might conjecture, they had no knowledge of a passage by sea; for, if there ever had been such a thing known, accounts of it would at least have been preserved, even if the passage had been neglectedⁿ. The most judicious critics among the moderns are unanimously of this opinion, for which they also assign another reason; that, not having the use of the compass, it was impossible they should make any voyage of this kind, since the *Portuguese* found such difficulty, while they continued to creep along the coast of *Africa*; and were afraid of keeping far enough out to sea, in order to double the *Cape* with safety^o. We may add to these still another argument that has been hitherto omitted; which is, that none of those nations that were possessed of this commerce in antient times, had any interest in finding such a passage, but directly the contrary; and consequently we have the utmost reason to believe they did not bend their thoughts that way, for the very same reason that some have suggested a neighbouring nation to ours thought proper to suppress the passage of one of their ships from *Greenland* to *Japan*; which charge on them, if we had sufficient evidence to prove the fact, would appear highly probable^p; since such a discovery must have been by no means pleasing to those who are in possession of the best part of the commerce to the *Indies*, in the way that it is now carried on (C). But it is time to quit this discourse of passages, with which the antients could not be acquainted, in order to speak of those by which, while it was in their hands, this trade was actually pursued, though not with the like ease, or with the same advantages, as at present.

It is not impossible that the commerce between the Chinese and the northern nations is of great antiquity.

THE intercourse between the people of *Russia* and the inhabitants of *China* is a thing now commonly known to be extremely practicable, ever since the embassy sent by the Czar in the year 1659, when his minister passed to the north of the kingdom of *Boutan* or *Tibet*, through the deserts of *Great Tartary*^q. But though the assertion may seem strange, there is no reason to believe that this passage is by any means a new discovery, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the present times; for, as might be easily shewn, it was in the very early ages of the world that the *Chinese* and *Indian* empires were in their most flourishing condition, and carried on their most extensive commerce; whence we may conceive it highly probable that they made use of caravans on this side, in the same manner as they do now; and it is not impossible that it was by the passage of these caravans through the northern *Indies*, the antients came to hear of the *Seres*; since it is very certain that the country in which they placed them is not very far distant from the route these caravans must have taken, supposing such a passage to have been then used^r. But that there must have been some passage on the north, appears also from hence, that the antients were so fully persuaded that the *Indian* ocean communicated with the *Caspian* sea; a notion that could never have gained credit, if they had not been informed that there was some kind of commerce carried on between the northern

¹ *PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 67.*

^m *ELLIS's Voyage to Hudson's Bay, P. iii.*

ⁿ *Vindication*

of modern Improvements, against the fabulous Suggestions of the Idolaters of Antiquity.

^o *J. DE BARROU,*

GALVANO. MAFFÆUS, and in general all who have recorded the first Discoveries by the Portuguese.

^p *Philosophical Transactions, N° CXVIII. p. 417.*

where there is a very large and direct account of this matter; but unluckily that curious paper is anonymous.

^q *HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 352.*

^r *POMP. MELA, lib. i. c. 2. EUSTATH. in Dion. Perieg. v. 752.*

arguments; by which they expose themselves to this disadvantage, that shewing the improbability of these facts, which was easily done, made more against their opinion, that such a passage was practicable, than in reason it ought; for, in truth, what they urged of another kind was very strong and convincing; and it is now in some measure certain, by comparing the attempts of the *Dutch* with what has been actually done of late years by the *Russians*, that a north east passage is really practicable (2).

(C) There is in the *Philosophical Transactions* an account given by Mr. *Joseph Moxon*, of a *Dutch* ship employed in the *Greenland* fishery, that actually sailed two

degrees beyond the north pole (3); which relation he had from the mouth of the steersman of that very ship, who affirmed that they had an open sea, and as warm weather as at *Amsterdam*, during the summer-season; which fact, if true, as Mr. *Moxon* testifies his persuasion that it really was, is decisive as to this point; and shews that there is a short passage to the *Indies*, with which it is not easy to believe, that, after such an experiment as this, the *Dutch* should be unacquainted; but as it neither is, nor in all probability will be, their interest to make use of it, there is no wonder that they conceal it.

(2) *Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay, P. iii.*

(3) *Phil. Trans. vol. LXXV. p. 110.*

a parts and the *Indies* ¹; and it is not easy to comprehend how any commerce of that kind should be carried on, unless by the method which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no improbability in supposing formerly practised ²; which is very much strengthened by the authority of the original histories of these remote countries.

THE only plausible objection that can be made is, the fierceness and barbarity of the nations inhabiting between *China* and *Russia*; and therefore this deserves some consideration. To remove this doubt, let us in the first place observe, that the antients had no distinct account of these people at all; and therefore whatever they have advanced ought to make no impression to the disadvantage of these nations ³. In the next place, what they have told us of the *Seres* does not appear to agree in any manner with the *Chinese* history; and, though we are very far from asserting that we ought to give an implicit credit to all that is advanced in that history, yet we think there is nothing absurd in supposing that the *Indians* or the *Chinese* might be as intelligent, and as industrious in commerce, as we know with the utmost certainty the *Chaldeans* and the *Ismaelites* were in times much earlier than those in which we conceive this commerce to have been practised. Human nature is every-where the same; and it appears, even from the reports of the *Greek* historians, that the *Indians*, from the earliest accounts they had of them, were as well governed a people as any in the world ⁴; which certainly adds some credit to the *Chinese* history, whether we are inclined to believe that the *Indians* derived any part of their knowledge from the *Chinese*; or, which is a notion more probable in itself, and much better supported by authority, that the *Chinese* were indebted for the best part of their improvements to the light they received from the *Indians* ⁵. The first accounts we had of the *Tartars*, or rather *Tatars*, represented them as a race of stupid and ignorant barbarians; but their own histories shew quite the contrary; because, if they had been really such, those histories could not have been written by them with so much simplicity, perspicuity, and elegance, as we see that they actually are ⁶ (D).

We may add to all this, that it is very far from being improbable, that those people, that now inhabit the greatest part of these far-extended countries, are not the descendants of those who were possessed of them in past times; neither is this supposition altogether grounded upon the hints received from such as have studied the *Chinese* and other oriental memoirs, but upon the concurring testimonies of other writers. We are well informed, that even in those places that are now styled *steps* or *deserts*, there are evident remains not only of former inhabitants, but of inhabitants very different in their dispositions and manners from those of the adjacent nations ⁷. Tombs have been found, in which were the relics of persons well clothed, and with whom gold rings and other precious ornaments had been interred; and, which is still stronger and clearer evidence to this purpose, so lately as 1721, there was found in the midst of the great desert, on the banks of the river *Txulim*, a needle or obelisk sixteen feet in height, of very beautiful white stone, surrounded by several hundred monuments of the same kind, but of a much smaller size, upon which were inscriptions, much effaced by time, in characters that bear not the least resemblance to those that are at present in use amongst any of the nations that inhabit the north-east of *Asia* ⁸. As farther discoveries are made on this side, we may very probably receive greater lights; but, in the meantime, these are certainly sufficient to convince us, that great changes have happened in these parts; and that we should run a great hazard of deceiving ourselves, if we should form our idea of the state of things in past ages from the appearance of those countries at present. But we shall hereafter have occasion more than once to insist farther upon this subject, as it stands connected with other parts of our history; and therefore will not dwell upon it longer here, as having already set it in as clear a light as these inquiries seem to demand ⁹ (E).

THE

¹ PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 17. ² HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 371. ³ STRAB. Geograph. lib. xv. PTOL. lib. vi. c. xv. Tab. VII. Asia. ⁴ DIODORUS SICULUS, lib. xix. c. 2. ARRIAN. Indic. ⁵ See the Abbe RENAUDOT's Preface to the Travels of Two Arabians into the Indies. ⁶ ABUL-GASI BAYADUR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares. ⁷ Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. x. p. 119. ⁸ VAN STRAHLENBERG Description of the N. E. parts of Asia and Europe. ⁹ ARRIAN. de Exped. Alex. l. v. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Alex. Q. CURT. l. viii.

(D) All the *Chinese* histories refer the forming of their constitution, as rational as any, and evidently the most lasting in the world, to very early times, that is, to almost two thousand years before Christ. The same books, speaking of the succeeding ages, represent the northern and north-east countries as fully peopled, and granted as sovereignties dependent on the empire, to princes of the blood: from whence we must conclude, that the in-

habitants were as much civilized, and lived under the same laws with the *Chinese* (4). The other oriental histories accord very well with these accounts; so that it does not seem in any degree reasonable to set all these aside in favour of our own conjectures.

(E) There cannot be a fact better attested than that mentioned in the text; to which we may add, that all the accounts we have from the *Persians*, even of the most

(4) Martin, L. Geogr. De Holl. 2^e.

northern

A correspondence between the Indies and Spain practicable, without entering the ocean.

THE next communication between the *Indies* and the north was by *Samarcand*, the capital of *Transoxiana*, that is, the country beyond the river *Oxus*, or *Amu*. It was by this river, which runs at no great distance from *Samarcand*, that a trade was antiently carried on by sailing down it into the *Caspian* sea, and so to the mouth of the *Volga*^c. Bishop *Huet* very justly observed, that, by this route, there was no great difficulty in passing from the *Indies* to *Spain*, without ever entering the ocean; for, as he remarks, if, after passing the *Caspian* sea to the mouth of the *Volga*, and sailing up that river as high as the country of the *Cossacks*, the merchandize was transported by land for no greater space than six *German* leagues, they might then be conveyed down the *Tanaïs*, and so into the *Black Sea*, and, passing the streights of *Constantinople*, proceed by the *Mediterranean* to those of *Gibraltar*^d. But the learned *Strabo* has pointed out another route by the *Caspian* sea, still shorter than that of the *Volga*, which was, by turning towards *Albania*, and so entering the river *Cyrus*, and sailing up as far as that is navigable, and then proceeding by land directly to the *Black Sea*^e. Yet, notwithstanding this might be a shorter way than the former, most certainly it was not so commodious, nor at that time so practicable. However, the account he has given of it is a plain indication that all these things had been very well considered by the antients, who knew the importance of this commerce, and managed it as well as they could, making such alterations from time to time as the revolutions to which all countries are liable, rendered necessary (F).

These passages no new discoveries in the time of the Romans, but quite the contrary.

BUT *Pliny* informs us this was no new discovery, since, as he reports on the authority of *Varro*, *Pompey the Great*, during the war against *Mithridates*, had actually a design of opening such a commerce on this side. He was, says he, informed that it was but seven days journey from the frontiers of *India*, thro' the country of the *Bactrians*, to the river *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*; so that the merchandize of *India* might be transported by that river into the *Caspian* sea, and from thence carried up the river *Cyrus*, within five days journey to *Phasis* in *Pontus*; which five days journey might very easily be performed over land^f. *Solinus* indeed speaks of vessels passing this way; but that is a mistake, he must certainly have meant the merchandize. It is impossible to mention this passage to and from the *Indies* without observing, that it was the nearest and most convenient that could be to *Constantinople*; and there seems to be no reason to doubt that it was now in use, especially when the inhabitants of the coasts of *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*, were subjects to the *Greek* emperors, or in times of peace; and by this means it might probably happen that the commerce of the *Indies* was preserved after the eastern provinces of the empire were lost; because it was not till a long time after that this road was in any danger of being disturbed by the excursions of the *Arabs*, who put an end to the trade through *Persia*^g. This would have become an easier and better method of carrying on this commerce; perhaps we should not err much in saying the easiest and best of all, if the project which *Pliny* tells us on no less authority than that of the emperor *Claudius*, was formed by *Seleucus Nicator*, had been carried into execution either by him or by the *Greek* emperors, who had a much better opportunity of doing it, which was by cutting a canal from the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* to the *Caspian* sea, which would have shortened the passage extremely, and would, besides, have enabled the merchants to have conveyed their goods by water all the way^h (G).

The

^c STRAB. Geograph. lib. xi.

graph. l. xi.
p. 428, 429.

^d Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 304.

^e PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 17.

^f PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 11.

^g STRAB. Geo-

^h HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens,

northern and barbarous nations, either subject to them, or with whom they converse, agree that these people have traditions of their having been formerly in a better state, and of more civilized nations that antiently inhabited those countries, and are now extirpated; and perhaps, in process of time, we may hear of farther monuments, that may put the truth of these things out of question; for what we have yet heard are but rude hints reported by such as have accidentally conversed with, or made but a short stay among, these barbarous people (5).

(F) We ought to consider, that as the antients were but timid navigators, and unacquainted with the means of making long voyages by sea, they were under the necessity of having recourse to all possible methods for supplying this defect by the use of caravans, and an inland navigation; so that it would not be at all surprising if it should appear that they exceeded the moderns in these kinds of conveyances, since we exceed them so much in naval skill, and maritime expeditions. Besides, if we reflect on the great empires that subsisted in those times, and the vast extent of country comprehended

under them, we shall perceive that, in this respect, they had vast advantages, which there is no reason to doubt that they improved, since the facts mentioned in the text are evidences of such a disposition, and these improvements might be carried much farther than we can possibly collect from those small and imperfect records that yet remain to us.

(G) At first sight it may seem as if reviving the memory of these antient projects was not the business of a modern historian; whereas, in reality, there is nothing more so, since, while these countries remain, every great genius, sustained by superior power, will naturally have recourse to schemes of the like nature. Thus the Czar *Peter the First* had this very notion in his head, which made him so desirous of being lord of the *Black Sea* on one side, as well as of the *Baltic* on the other. The *Shah Nadir*, or *Kouli Khân*, likewise turned his thoughts this way; but the progress of his arms was checked by the vigorous opposition of the people inhabiting the country between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* seas. Neither have the *Venetians* been wanting in their endeavours to put the *Turks* upon opening some such correspon-

(5) Voyage de Mafon à la Chine, par M. Everard Isbrants Ides, c. 19, 20.

dence

a The scheme itself, which must be acknowledged truly great, was originally that of *Alexander*, who ordered the *Caspian* sea to be carefully surveyed, with this very intention of finding some communication between that and the *Pontus Euxinus*, that he might thereby open a passage from the *Indies* to his hereditary dominions of *Macedon*, which, by that means, might have been rendered the center of the commerce of *Europe*.

Some writers inform us, that the city of *Samarcand* became large, rich, populous, and a place of great trade, at the expence of that of *Bogar*, the capital of *Great Buchar*^a, which, in earlier times, served as a magazine, to which the love of gain attracted nations very far removed from each other by nature: for thither resorted merchants from all parts of *India*, from the different countries inhabited by the *Tartars*, from *Persia*, and even from the dominions of the Grand Signior, on one side; and from *Russia* and *Poland*, on the other: so that in the warehouses and markets here, might be seen a large variety of oriental and *European* merchandise^b. The strongest argument for the antiquity of this commerce, was the extent of the city, and the beauty of its buildings. A countryman of ours, one *Anthony Jenkins*, visited it about the middle of the sixteenth century; and his account of this mart has been esteemed so curious and important, that it has been translated into other languages, and copied by the best writers. But if it was injured by the neighbourhood of *Samarcand* in those days, it has since had its revenge, as it is now become the seat of the Khan of the *Usbeck Tartars*, who is master also of *Samarcand*, which he visits only in the summer-season^c. In consequence of this new change of fortune, the commerce of *Bogar* is revived; and, as it is situated in a fruitful and pleasant country, the resort of merchants is as great there as ever; which sufficiently proves, that, notwithstanding the fluctuations of commerce, when once the situation of a place is found to be extremely convenient, it is seldom ruined to such a degree, as not, some time or other, to lift up its head again. And therefore, it is always a point of consequence, to such as will understand these things to the bottom, to be well informed of the antient channels of trade, that they may not be surpris'd by new relations, and thereby led to ascribe more to the spirit and industry of the moderns, than justly belongs to them. There is a perplexed and obscure passage in the history of an antient author^d, which may be rendered intelligible by this account: for though it may not be very easy to settle the situation of the cities and rivers which he mentions, yet, upon the whole, there is good reason to believe, that the communication he describes between the eastern and western nations, must be referred either to the trade carried on at *Bogar*, or at *Samarcand* (H).

Another city, still more famous for the same commerce, is *Cabul*, or *Gaboul*, seated in the latitude of thirty-four degrees north, on the frontiers of *Great Buchar*^a, on the south side of the mountains which divide the territories of the *Mogul* from that part of *Great Tartary*. This city of *Cabul* is the capital of a little province called from thence *Cabulistan*. It is one of the finest places in that part of the world, large, rich, and very populous. As it is considered as the key of the *Great Mogul's* dominions on that side, great care is taken to keep its fortifications in constant repair, and a numerous garrison is maintained for its security^b. This city is very antient, and has been always famous, as it still is, for being the prime resort of merchants from *India*, *Persia*, and *Great Buchar*^a. The *Usbeck Tartars* drive there a great trade in slaves and horses, of which, it is said, that no fewer than sixty thousand are sold every year. It stands on a little river which falls into the *Indus*, and thereby affords a short and speedy passage for all the rich commodities in the country behind it, which when brought to *Cabul*, are there exchanged for slaves and horses, and then conveyed, by merchants of different countries, from thence into other parts of the world. The neighbourhood of this city is one of the pleasantest and most fertile regions that can be imagined, the climate temperate and wholesome, well watered, producing fruits of all kinds, in equal plenty and perfection^c. The inhabitants are most of them *Indian* pagans, though the officers of the *Mogul*, and most of the garrison, are

^a Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 396.

^b ABULGAZI BAYADÛR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, P. iii. cap. 14. JENKINS'S Travels, in Hakluyt's Collection, p. 355.

^c AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. xxiii. cap. 6. ^d ABULGAZI BAYADÛR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, P. iii. cap. 16.

^e Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. x. p. 157.

dence (G). It is true, none of these schemes have hitherto met with success; but it does not follow from hence that they never will, or that it is of no use to comprehend them.

(H) The author alluded to in the text is *Ammianus Marcellinus* (7), who, in his history, mentions a passage from the country of the *Arians*, which lies north-west from the *Seres*, quite to the *Caspian* sea. He mentions the river *Arias* as running through that country, and

navigable by boats. This also receives some light from the description that *Strabo* has given us of the same country (8). The first-mentioned historian describes another route, which was longer, and less commodious, through the country of the *Saci*. All which are pregnant proofs of the indefatigable pains heretofore taken, in order to keep up a correspondence with the *Indies*; for these reports arose not from speculation, but from practice.

(6) Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 582. graph. lib. ii. xv.

(7) Hist. lib. xxiii. cap. 6.

(8) Geo-

Mohammedans. In time of war, and public distractions, such as have long reigned in *Persia*,^a no doubt the trade here is much lessened, and often interrupted; but as things return again into their old channels, merchants resume their former methods; and from hence it is, the *Armenians* frequently bring silk, and other rich commodities, by the way of the *Caspian* sea, into *Russia*, where hitherto they have generally disposed of them to the *Dutch*, for manufactures, with which they return the next season to the same market (1).

Candahar
the greatest of
all these marts,
till the com-
merce was
lessened by the
European
settlements.

BUT the most considerable road of all lay through *Candahar*, for many ages the center of commerce between *Persia* and the *Indies*. This city is seated in thirty-three degrees ten minutes north, and by nature, as well as art, rendered one of the strongest places in the east. There are good reasons to believe, from the comparison of our modern maps with the old tables of *Ptolemy*, that this city either arose out of the ruins, or was built very near the place^b where *Alexandria* stood; which is a proof of the wisdom of *Alexander* the Great, in the choice of proper situations for the colonies he intended in this part of the world^c. This city and province have been exposed to many revolutions. It was long an independent principality, preserved in that condition not so much by the strength of the place, and the power of its princes, though both were antiently very considerable, as by its advantageous situation on the frontiers of the two great empires of *Persia* and the *Indies*, which secured it a powerful protector on one side, whenever it was attacked on the other. It has been since sometimes in the hands of the *Mogul*, sometimes in those of the *Persian*, where it now remains. It is not very large, but was, before the last wars, well built and peopled^d. The caravans from *Ispahan* and *Agra* passed constantly through it, and even continued there some time, for the conveniency of merchants of all nations, who resort thither to barter the commodities of their own countries for those of the east; and in few places of *Asia* or *Europe* trade rose higher than here. It is extremely probable, that this commerce was in a very flourishing condition under the *Persian* kings cotemporary with the first emperors of *Constantinople*; and that, by the regular returns of caravans from the *Indies*, the *Persians* were furnished with vast quantities of the commodities of those countries, which they afterwards carried into the frontier provinces, to dispose of them at the fairs in which they traded with the *Greeks*^e. The settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Indies* have very considerably lessened this commerce by *Candahar*, as well as all the inland trade of those parts. But it is, for all that, a thing of consequence still, and must always continue so, from the natural conveniency of the place, which renders it the staple^d of *Persian* as well as *Indian* commodities, for the sake of which, there is, from several countries, a great resort. It is very likely, that the long wars, and great confusions, which have for so many years reigned in this part of the world, must, in this, as well as in many other respects, have produced, for the present, great alterations; so that the relations of modern travellers will, probably, correspond but little with the foregoing account. But this ought, however, to make no impression on a judicious and considerate reader; because experience has shewn, that such temporary cessations never change a well established road, unless, during the interruption of commerce, some other is discovered, or through the prospect of gain, or from the motive of necessity, made as convenient. The very next instance will set this in the fairest and strongest point of view, and make it as apparent in point of fact, as it is in own nature^e reasonable.

Tadmor, or
Palmyra, an
antient mart
for these com-
modities,
which from
thence were
carried into
Syria.

THE city, to which oriental commodities were carried, in antient times, from any of those marts before-mentioned, was originally built by King *Solomon*, after he had conquered the king of *Hamath-zoba*, a little *Syrian* prince, within whose dominions the country lay upon which this city was afterwards erected^f. It was called by *Solomon*, *Tadmor*, and, from its situation in the midst of a sandy desert, which surrounded it on all sides, *Tadmor in the Wilderness*, of which we have spoken largely elsewhere, and shall avoid repeating it here^g. As the singularity of its situation was sufficient to charm whoever attentively considered it, so, in the decline of the *Macedonian* empire in the east, it became a free city, or rather the head of a small principality, under the name of *Palmyra*, from whence the country under its jurisdiction^f

^a TAVEENIER, CHARDIN, BERNIER, &c.
Tartares, P.iii. cap. 10.
ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

^p ABULGASI BAYADÛR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des
Tartares, p. 39—428.

^q HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 39—428.

^r 1 Kings

^s Antient History. vol. i. p. 361—370.

(1) The people of this province are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, on the very same account for which we have taken notice of them here. As there are no countries in the world so subject to revolutions as these of which we are speaking, this may be looked upon as the true cause of the frequent variation of these inland correspondencies, which are removed from one place to another, according as they become more or less safe from the tumults of war, or the oppressions of arbitrary

princes. But as the subjects of *Russia* frequent them all, and commonly vend what they purchase to the *Armenian* merchants at *Altracan* (9), these sold them again to the *Dutch*, or parted with them for the manufactures of *Europe*; but, of late years, other nations have been wise enough to vend their manufactures to these *Armenians*, and, by that means, have procured silks, and other valuable commodities, on very moderate terms.

(2) *Asia*, cap. 18. tab. 9.

- a was called *Palmyrene*. This city and country are very well described by *Pliny*¹. *Palmyra*, says he, is excellently situated, as well in regard to the pleasantness of the adjacent country, as from the great abundance of water; so that this little territory seems to be set apart by nature for a peaceful and undisturbed retreat, being surrounded on every side with dry and sandy deserts, which reach as far as the very confines of *Arabia*. This small state lay between the two mighty empires of *Rome* and *Parthia*, when the disputes between them were at the highest, having the *Parthian* on the east, and the *Roman* territory on the west². So that it seemed to be perpetually in danger; and yet, though exceeding rich, it was so wisely governed, as to escape any great loss, during all those confusions; and never ran any eminent hazard, except from *Mark Antony*, who, being distressed for money to pay his army, sent a body of horse to plunder it; but the inhabitants, having notice of his intention, removed their effects, and so prevented that desolation with which they were threatened³. The source of its great wealth, was the share it had in the commerce of the *Indies*⁴. This commerce was carried on thus: the goods were brought by sea to the mouth of the *Euphrates*, and perhaps a little higher; and thence they were sent by land, in caravans, for some hundred miles through the deserts, to *Palmyra*⁵; which stood one day's journey from the *Euphrates*, 127 miles from *Damascus*, and about 203 miles from the maritime coast of *Syria*, by the ports of which, it dispersed those goods to all the different parts of the *Roman* empire, that did not immediately correspond with the port of *Alexandria*⁶.
- c WHEN *Trajan* overturned the *Parthian* empire, the principality of *Palmyra* declared for the *Romans*; and they submitted themselves to *Adrian*, who was then marching with his army from *Syria* into *Egypt*; who was so well pleased with the situation of the place, and the behaviour of the people, that he granted them the privileges of a colony, and adorned the city with so many beautiful structures, that the inhabitants, in compliment to their benefactor, called it, for some time, *Adrianople*⁷. From the time of *Adrian* to that of *Aurelian*, which comprehended the space of 140 years, this city, and the territory under its jurisdiction, so flourished and increased, that, when *Valerian* was taken prisoner by *Sapores* king of *Persia*, *Odenathus*, who then governed *Palmyra*, was able to bring a powerful army into the field, to recover *Mesopotamia* from the *Persians*, and even to penetrate as far as the capital city *Ctesiphon*; which was so acceptable a service to the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Gallienus*, a lazy and inactive prince, that, with the consent of the senate, he took *Odenathus* into partnership with him, and gave him the title of *Augustus*; which incident, by a strange turn of affairs, proved the cause of the utter ruin and subversion of the place⁸. For his consort *Zenobia*, in right of her son *Wabalamat*, then a minor, assumed the government of the east; which she managed with so much discretion, that, after the death of *Gallienus*, she made herself mistress of *Egypt*, and held it during the short reign of *Claudius*. She might have enjoyed this prosperity longer, if she had entertained it with greater moderation; but, refusing all terms of accommodation offered by the emperor *Aurelian*, she obliged him, against his will, to employ in a manner the whole force of the *Roman* empire for her destruction, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, he very fully completed; and, having dissipated her troops, exhausted her treasures, and reduced her country, he carried her away prisoner to *Rome*, where she was led in triumph; but spent the remainder of her days in honourable privacy⁹ (K).

*Thence and
thence that
little town.
A.D. 130.*

¹ PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 24.

² PHILIP. CLUVERII Introd. ad. Geog. lib. v. cap. 22.

³ AP-

PIAN. de Bell. Civil. lib. v. DION. CASSIUS, lib. xl.

⁴ LUYT'S Introd. ad Geograph. sect. iii. cap. 3.

⁵ HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 323.

⁶ See the learned Dr. HALLEY's Account of Pal-

myra. ⁷ FLAV. VOPISC. in Vit. Aurelian. ZOSIM. ZONAR.

⁸ POLLIO in Vit. Gallien.

⁹ Idem

in trigint Tyran.

(K) There were some very peculiar and singular circumstances attending this small sovereignty, which are worthy the reader's notice. It was an inland district, and yet supported by commerce; which is very extraordinary and uncommon. Its inhabitants were equally remarkable for their industry, courage, and magnificence, all of which were produced by their manner of living. The trade by which they subsisted made persons of all ranks, some way or other, industrious. Their situation inured them to war, and obliged them to much caution and circumspection. Their wealth being great, and their territory but small, it is not at all strange, that, in a long course of prosperity, they rendered it as fruitful and pleasant as possible, and filled their capital, together with the places adjacent, as also their other cities, and their suburbs, with stately structures, and whatever might contribute to make that spot agreeable, to which, except when their commerce called them abroad, they were, in a manner, absolutely confined. And,

lastly, this wonderful display of riches, in a great measure dispensed to procure the necessities and conveniences of life, proves, that there is scarce any thing too hard for commerce; and that there can scarce be any situation so untoward, as not to be rendered flourishing, happy, and powerful, if it will admit of such a kind of correspondence, and is inhabited by those who prefer labour to want, and have a talent of applying the succours of art, to improve the blessings bestowed, and to acquire such as are denied by nature: for as idleness will introduce poverty in the best countries, so there are hardly any into which industry may not bring plenty, and even profusion. It is also observable, that science and politeness are ever the concomitants of habitual industry; and, in this respect, *Palmyra* was as remarkable as in any other; and the virtue and learning of *Zenobia* made her esteemed, admired, and celebrated, at *Rome*, in spite of the frowns of fortune, and the loss of her dominions (10).

(10) FLAV. VOPISC. in Vit. Aurelian. ZOSIM. ZONAR.

Notwithstanding which, this commerce is still carried on by the way of Aleppo.

A. D. 272.

THE sweets of a lucrative commerce, as they come to be diffused, have as strong an influence upon the minds of private people, as upon those of princes; and, in truth, the pride of riches is commonly more apparent in the former than in the latter; so that it is not at all astonishing if it proved so here. If the inhabitants of *Palmyra* could have forgot the figure they made under her reign, or, from her example, learned to bear a change of fortune with discretion, they might have escaped, without suffering much by this unlucky accident; but believing, after *Aurelian* was once returned into *Europe*, that there was no danger of his coming back, they massacred the soldiers he had left in garison; which so much incensed him, that he took an inflexible resolution of marching to chastise them; which he did; and, having made himself master of the place, caused the inhabitants to be destroyed, without mercy, and gave the pillage of the city to his soldiers^a. This destruction of *Palmyra* put an end to the principality: but it is not probable that the city was ruined to the degree which travellers see it now, because we find it mentioned in history as a very considerable place after this, though not as the seat of government, as in times past, when there were no less than sixteen cities under its jurisdiction^b. The ruins of *Palmyra* itself are allowed, by all who have visited them, to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the same kind yet subsisting in the world, and consequently still remain a proof of the wealth and magnificence of its antient masters^c. As for the course of that part of the *Indian* traffick which passed this way, it has, after some variation, been in a great measure fixed to *Aleppo*; particularly that part of it which is the consequence of an intercourse with the *Persians*, some provinces of that empire being, within this period, always regarded by the western nations as part of the *Indies*^d. Hence it is that *Aleppo* is considered as the third city in the *Turkish* empire, in point of size, *Constantinople* and *Cairo* being the two first, and the second in point of trade, being preceded only by *Smyrna*. Standing as it does, about seventy miles from the sea, and having *Alexandretta* for its port, it reaps the double advantage of serving for a magazine of oriental commodities, for the use of the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* merchants, and, in the same manner, supplying the *Indian*, *Tartar*, and *Persian* traders, with all the goods and manufactures of *Europe*. This commerce keeps up a continual hurry, and finds employment for upwards of 12,000 *Armenian* merchants, who live in the city, and are employed as brokers. So that we had sufficient reason for saying, that this old road was not intirely lost, but only altered a little, in compliance with the changes that have happened in other things^e.

The Arabians endeavour to fix this trade to their empire very early.

A. D. 636.

As the empire of the *Mohammedan Arabs*, or *Saracens*, took its rise in the peninsula of *Arabia*, so as soon as their princes had any leisure to form schemes of politics, they began to entertain a design of attracting the *Indian* trade from the country of *Persia*, where it was then carried on, as near as they could bring it, to the capital of their dominions^f. It was with this view that *Omar*, the second *Khâlif*, in the fifteenth year of the *Hegira*, caused the city of *Bassora*, or *Balsora*, to be built a little above the entrance into the *Persian* gulf. There never, perhaps, was any city more happily erected, or which sooner came to answer the end for which it was designed, than this^g. The *Khâlifs* did not, indeed, make it the place of their residence; and, if they had, it is highly probable it would have been rather disadvantageous than serviceable to it. But they always sent thither a person of distinction as governor, and made it the chief port of their extensive dominions. It became, by this means, and by the privileges allowed to all merchants that settled there, exceeding rich, as well as very populous, and that too in a surprising short space of time. It was, for several ages, a place of the greatest concourse, and of the greatest trade, in the known world. The richest commodities in the east, but more especially spices, precious stones, drugs, silk, and cotton manufactures, were brought hither, and dispersed from hence, by caravans, till the *Portuguese* became masters of the city and island of *Ormuz*, on the coast of *Persia*; which, for a long time, sunk the commerce of *Bassora*, and brought it to decay^h. But after *Shâh Abbas*, with the assistance of the *English*, made himself master of that island, and rendered it almost desert, he raised the famous emporium of *Bander Abassi*, or *Gambroon*, on the opposite coast of *Persia*; by which means the trade of *Bassora* began very speedily to revive, and has been ever since considered as beyond comparison the greatest mart of this part of the world, ingrossing all the trade of the *Persian* gulf. The situation of the place, its wealth, and importance, have made it a bone of contention between the *Turkish* and *Persian* empires, for the sake of the large revenue arising from the taxes levied there. At present it is, and has been long, in the possession of the *Turks*, who, though ruder and less polished, are, notwithstanding, allowed to be the better masters of the two. But the late famous *Achmet*, bashaw of *Bagdat*, who knew

^a ZOSIM. lib. i. VOPISC. in Vit. Aurelian.

^b See a Description of these Ruins, and an Account of the antient State of this City, in the Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 120. 160.

^c Cod. Theod. f. lib. xiii. tit. 5. leg.

^d Miscel. Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 167. 168. 169.

^e Voy- age de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, premiere partie, lib. ii. cap. 8.

^f D'HERRON'S Bibliotheque Orientale, artic. *Bassorah*.

^g See

^h DR. LEONARD RAUWOLFF'S Travels, published by Mr. Ray, P. i. chap. 8.

ⁱ ABRAHAM PERITZOL Itiner. Mundi, cap. 26.

so well how to preserve himself against the grand signor and the *Shah Nadir*, that the latter said he was the greatest prince of the three, kept always a governor in *Bassora*, where the *English* and *Dutch* have long, and the *French* have lately, had a consul, to regulate their trade, and protect their subjects^m (L.).

We might very easily find a great deal more to say upon a subject so curious, so extensive, and, in truth, so inexhaustible; but as what we have already delivered in this chapter is sufficient to answer the purposes intended by it, we shall now conclude with a few short reflections, in order more effectually to explain the uses to which these historical deductions may be applied. In the first place, they will serve to make us sensible, that, whatever has been said of the industry, enterprising disposition, and sagacity, of the moderns, it must, nevertheless, be allowed, that, considering the difficulties the antients had to struggle with, they made very extraordinary efforts to maintain a correspondence with the *Indies*, and were so successful in their endeavours, that hardly any of the routes at present practised by land were unknown to, or unexperienced by, them. In the next place, we cannot but be satisfied, that as in our times, so in theirs, this commerce with the east was the great source of wealth, the true parent of magnificence and luxury, and the great object of ambition in those princes, who were wise enough to despise the vanity of useless conquests, and chose to establish their grandeur upon the more solid basis of their subjects' affluenceⁿ.

If we look into the Sacred History, we shall find, that, in the most early ages, the *Ismaelites* carried spices into *Egypt*. From whence it is apparent, that the inhabitants of the coasts of *Arabia* had already found their way to the *Indies*. The *Edomites* next possessed themselves of this lucrative trade, of which they were deprived by the *Israelites*, in the glorious reign of *Solomon*; and, from them, it passed into the hands of their respective conquerors. If, on the other hand, we examine profane histories, the expedition of *Semiramis*, whether true or false, will bring the same thing to our view; as will also the boasted enterprise of the *Egyptian Bacchus*. When the foundations were laid of the *Persian* empire, the commerce of the *Indies* was one of its first acquisitions; and when *Alexander*, at the head of his *Greeks*, attempted and achieved the subversion of that empire, he looked upon this as nothing, in comparison of reducing the *Indies*; and those who have narrowly inquired into, and maturely considered, the plan he formed, for maintaining a general correspondence through all his dominions, esteem him as a statesman, to the full as much as those, who, from the picture drawn of him by *Curtius*, admire him as a hero^o. His companion, and his pupil, *Ptolemy*, discovered, in *Egypt*, how well he had digested lessons given him by so consummate a master. His successors prosecuted those views with such steadiness, that the wealth and trade of *Egypt* was the wonder of the world. And yet the *Tyrians*, and their colonies, found means to preserve some part of this traffick, of which, under the protection of the *Persian* government, they, in a manner, possessed the whole. When the *Romans* conquered *Egypt*, their becoming masters of this trade highly advanced the value of that conquest, which contributed not a little to sustain the majesty of *Rome*, while her sons retained virtue enough to preserve that power which their ancestors had acquired. Upon the division of the empire, *Egypt* remained to those monarchs who fixed their imperial seat at *Constantinople*. Nor was the *Indian* trade wholly lost by these princes, till they lost all; and then it came to those by whom they had been despoiled. Lastly, we may perceive how all parts of *Asia*, and some also of the northern parts of *Europe*, were, and still are, supplied with *Indian* commodities and manufactures, by

Recapitulation of the first nations possessing this commerce, and the advantages they derived from thence.

^m Voyage en Turquie, par Mons. OTTER, tom. ii. cap. 6. ciens, cap. 17, 18. 47, 48, 49. 51, 52, 53, 55, 56. ped. Alex. lib. vii. cap. 27, 28. & in Indicis.

ⁿ HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, lib. viii. c. 1. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xviii. c. 1. ARRIAN. de Ex-

(L) As we shall have often occasion to mention this place in the chapters ensuing, it may not be amiss to give the reader a short account of the time and manner in which it was reduced under the power of the *Turks*. This fell out in 1668, when *Hossein Bashaw*, the last of the *Arabian* princes, who governed there with that modest title, and paid only an acknowledgement to the *Porte*, was betrayed by his son-in-law; and, to prevent falling into the hands of the *Turks*, embarked, with his whole seraglio, and immense treasures, on board the vessels that were in the port, and retired to *Surat*, where *Aurangzebe*, who then filled the throne of the *Mogols*, granted him his protection, where he spent the remainder of his days in honour and quiet. His son-in-law *Hioja*, according to the agreement made with the *Turks*, succeeded him, repaired and restored the place, which

Hossein had, in some measure, demolished before his departure. In a short time, however, the *Turkish* garison treated the Bashaw with contempt; who, retiring secretly into the adjacent country, raised an army of 20,000 men, with which he made himself absolute master of the city. However, in a few months, the *Turks* came down upon him with so great an army, that he thought it best to retire, as his father had done, and chose for his protector *Sewa-gi*, who had revolted from the *Mogul*, in whose service he spent the remainder of his life. These Bashaws, while they governed *Bassora*, enjoyed a revenue of near one million of pieces of eight per annum, arising from the taxes laid upon their subjects, and from the customs of the port, which, in their time, were fixed at four per cent. (11).

(11) Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par M. Carre, tom. i. p. 100—130.

the help chiefly of caravans ; and we may likewise discern, from some of these passages, how ^a very possible, and even practicable, it may be for certain princes to recover old, to open new, and to improve very much the passages that continue still to be frequented ^p.

The necessity of continuing the history of this trade, when again restored to Egypt.

BUT before we can proceed with regularity and perspicuity to that discovery of a direct passage by sea, which, as we have shewn in the former chapter, has had so great an effect upon the affairs of *Europe*, it will be necessary to give a distinct view of the manner in which the commerce ^q was conducted in *Europe*, before the *Portuguese* attempted to double the *Cape of Good Hope*. This might have been dispatched in the present chapter, to which it is, in some measure, connected ; but because it is a matter of more importance than any thing we have treated therein, and requires a more punctual and precise explanation, we judged it might be ^b more expedient to comprise the matters relating to it in a chapter by themselves. We were the rather inclined to this, because, though they have been briefly touched by many writers, who, with different views, have had occasion to mention them, yet they have been hardly anywhere so fully and so clearly stated, as to answer the intention of an inquisitive reader, desirous of penetrating thoroughly into a matter of such consequence, and thereby obtaining a true light into the transitions by which this commerce has become the source of riches, grandeur, and more especially naval power, to so many different nations. The task, indeed, of displaying this effectually is embarrassed with many difficulties, and requires bringing into a narrow compass a multitude of facts not easy to be found, or, when found, to be arranged in such a manner as may adapt them perfectly to this design ; but it is our duty to attempt ; and our ^c utmost endeavours shall not be wanting, in some measure at least, to accomplish it. The subject, indeed, would supply materials for a moderate volume ; but, as we have but little room to spare, we shall contract them into as small a compass as may be, referring, at the same time, to other parts of this work, in which it will be requisite to insist upon some points more particularly ; and, by this method, we hope to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, at the same time that we provide against obscurity on one side, and prolixity on the other ; knowing well, that nothing can please which is so perplexed as hardly to be understood, or which is so diffused, as not to be without difficulty remembered.

^p SANUDO *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*. ^q See Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S *Naval Tracts*, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages. MUN'S *Discourses upon the East India Commerce*. And PURCHAS'S *Apology for the Trade to the East Indies*, inserted in his *Pilgrimage*.

C H A P. III.

The history of the commerce of the Indies, while carried on by the Venetians, and other states of Italy.

A succinct view of the correspondence between the Greek empire and the Indies.

IT appears clearly, that, under the *Greek* emperors, voyages to the *Indies* were become ^d more common than in former times ; but we could scarce have believed, that so many different kinds of *Indian* commodities, and almost from every part of *India*, were common at *Constantinople*, if it were not verified by the public laws of the empire, as they stand collected by the emperor *Justinian* ; from whence it is evident, that there were several duties imposed upon a multitude of goods brought from the *Indies*, such as spices of different kinds. For instance, cinnamon, which came from the island of *Ceylon* ; but not in any great quantity, for it was always very dear. The xilo-cinnamomum was no other than the wood of the cinnamon-tree, on which there was also a duty ^a. Cassia, described at large by several antient authors, appears to have been a sort of milder cinnamon ; this likewise came from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. Some very judicious writers, and who are well acquainted with the manner of ^e collecting spices in the *Indies*, assure us, that the cassia lignea is in truth nothing more than the thick bark of the true cinnamon-tree, which has very little flavour ; by which they mean, that this was the spice known to the antients by that name ; but for the modern cassia, it is another thing, and has a somewhat higher flavour ^b. Pepper of several kinds, such as long pepper, white pepper, and black pepper, all of them from the *Indies*. *Pliny* is very angry that this spice should be so much admired ; for, as he observes, other things are either pleasant to the sight, the smell, or the taste, whereas there is nothing in pepper agreeable to either of these senses ^c. In his time long pepper was worth about nine or ten shillings a pound of our money ; white pepper was of half that value, and black pepper about half a crown a pound ; neither does it

^a Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. iv. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 19. ^b PROSPER ALPIN. Medicin. Ægypt. lib. iv. cap. 5. ACOST. BOTIUS, &c. ^c Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. vii.

- ^a seem to have been cheaper at *Constantinople* ^d. Ginger, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his time thought it the root of the pepper-tree. It did not bear a very high price among the ancients; for, in the time of *Pliny*, it was not worth above three shillings a pound, and at *Constantinople* not so much ^e. It may not be amiss to observe, that in those days, authors affirm, they adulterated their spices very dexterously; from whence it is evident they were much in use, and, consequently, must have been brought from the *Indies* in considerable quantities. They had likewise precious stones of all kinds; but our enumerating them would signify very little, since it is very much doubted, whether the names by which jewels were then, and are now, distinguished, implied always the same; for, if not, we should be able to say little or nothing of them here to the purpose. Silk, cotton, mohair, and other manufactures, came also from thence in vast quantities; and to these other things might be added, if what has been already mentioned were not more than sufficient ^f (A).

- WHILE the *Greek* empire continued in a flourishing condition, *Constantinople* was the center ^{How the states of Italy drew to themselves such prodigious advantages from this trade.} of trade to *Europe* and *Asia*; and the inhabitants grew so immensely rich, and more especially by the gain they made of this commerce with the *Indies*, that they grew excessively insolent and ungovernable. Out of the many different ways of corresponding with the oriental nations mentioned in the foregoing chapter, there were very few, indeed hardly any, that did not benefit this great city. The caravans that proceeded from *India*, through *Candabar*, into *Persia*, supplied those factors plentifully, who managed their traffick with the *Greeks*, at the great fairs upon the frontiers of the two empires ^g. No inconsiderable part of what was carried by the northern routes and *Caspian* sea found its way to *Constantinople*, through the *Pontus Euxinus*. What was conveyed by the *Persian* coast, and afterwards by land into *Syria*, came from thence by sea to this great city. But, above all, they received from *Egypt*, while it remained under the same sovereign, prodigious quantities of valuable goods ^h. The citizens of *Constantinople* were too opulent, and too lazy, to make use of their own ships for transporting this merchandize into the different parts of *Europe*, where there was always a demand for them; so that this fell to the share of the *Italian* states. From whence we may discern, that as the *Greeks* grew rich by this commerce, so the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, the *Florentines*, and other maritime states in *Italy*, were indebted to it for their naval power ⁱ. It was this that enabled them to fit out such formidable fleets, to make themselves masters of several fruitful islands, as well as of convenient ports, in *Asia*, and in *Europe*; while the *Greeks*, pleased with the temporary assistance that from time to time they derived from squadrons which they took into their service, never considered the declension of their own maritime strength, or regretted those advantages which the subtle *Italians* drew from their negligence and inactivity. While they could raise their magnificent structures to gratify their propensity to pomp and splendor, and enjoy in any degree of quiet their excessive and expensive luxury, all went well in their opinion, and they had the vanity to conceit themselves the greatest and most potent of all nations, while every day furnished them with new instances of that imbecillity which was produced by their ill management ^k (B).

- It was by this absurd and distracted manner of acting that the *Roman*, as themselves called ^{The rise of the Saracen empire, and the ruin of that of the Greeks, by which this commerce was in a great mea-} it, or the *Greek* empire, as it was called by the rest of the world, was in the end brought to absolute ruin, as by the same errors it lost, long before, the important province of *Egypt*, to a power that never could have raised itself, if there had been the least foresight or firmness in those who administered public affairs at *Constantinople*. We are under a necessity of taking this matter a little higher, and of pursuing the thread of its history closely, though very con-

^a RAI Hist. Plant. tom. xi. 1343.

^e Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 7.

^f Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. iv.

^g HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, c. 58.

^h Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 5. leg. 14—32.

ⁱ CLAUD. BARTHOL. MORISOTI Orbis Maritimus. c. 2.

^k CEDREN. ZONAR. LUITPRAND. Ticinens. l. i.

(A) The decline of the empire of the *Greeks*, while in the full possession, and that in a more absolute degree than any other nation whatever, of this lucrative trade of the *Indies*, seems to be a strong objection to the principle laid down at the beginning, and maintained thro' the course of this chapter. But this, as the reader will see, is fully accounted for by their conduct; for, while in their hands, this commerce was really the source of vast riches, and great power; a great part of the former the *Greeks* retained; the remainder, together with the naval force, they abandoned. The objection then vanishes; for it is impossible to furnish a wanton, idle, and profligate nation with power of any kind, and least of all with a naval power.

(B) This increase of the shipping and naval force of the *Venetians*, and of the states of *Italy*, was the mere effect of their making a right use of the indolence and folly of the *Greeks*; but, trusting too much to that power, and not considering enough the sources from whence it flowed, they did not assist the *Greeks* as they ought to have done if they had been true to their own interests; and they perceived their error the less, because for a long time they were as great gainers by the *Turks* and *Saracens*, and afterwards by the *Mamelucs*, as they had been by the *Greeks*. In the end, however, they saw it sufficiently, but then it was too late; for they had it no longer in their power to give laws, or in a short time to avoid receiving them (1).

(1) P. Fournier Hydrographie, l. xi. c. 39.

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cisely, that it may the better appear how much the eastern commerce still benefited that a country; and how, notwithstanding repeated interruptions, it constantly raised its head, and forced even the most barbarous masters to discover and cherish it. The second monarch of the *Saracens* from *Mohammed*, who set up for a sovereign when he had no more than thirty subjects, found himself strong enough, after the conquest of *Persia*, to exact a vast annual tribute from *Egypt*; which country though the emperor *Heraclius* was unable to defend, yet he could not bear that such a sum as two hundred thousand crowns of gold should be paid to any prince but himself by its inhabitants¹. He commanded, therefore, the tribute to be refused; upon this, war ensued; which ended in beating his troops, breaking his heart, and losing the country (C). *Omar*, the second Khâlif, who made this conquest, reigned but ten years and a half, and in that space of time subdued *Syria*, *Chaldaea*, *Mejopotamia*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, b and part of *Africa*, that is to say, as far as *Tripoly* in *Barbary*. By this blow the *Greeks* lost all their eastern provinces, and the trade to the *Indies*, at least on that side, intirely^m. It is scarcely to be conceived how great an alteration the rise of this new empire made in the face of affairs; and what prodigious desolation ensued, before these conquerors came to be softened so far as to cultivate the arts of peace, and to endeavour, by any rules of policy, to establish and maintain the empire they had acquired; the greatest indeed that the world had ever seen, reaching westward as far as *Spain*, and eastward to the very frontiers of the *Indies*ⁿ. That impetuosity, which enabled the *Saracens* to make themselves masters in so short a time of such vast dominions, was not likely to suffer them to continue long under one head, which was undoubtedly the design of their founder. Not to enter further into their history than is absolutely c necessary, let us observe, that *Abulcassem Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in possession of part of *Africa*, set up for himself in the year of the *Hegira* 296, and took the title, not of Khâlif, but of Mahadi, which signifies director^o. He fixed the seat of his monarchy at *Cairoan*, which is the name the *Arabs* bestowed on the city of *Cyrene*, or rather a new city built on the ruins of the old one. He left the government to his son *Cajem*, who removed the seat of the empire to *Mabadi*, a new city which his father had erected; and his grandson *Abou Temim Maad*, surnamed *Moez Ledinillab*, who succeeded in the year of the *Hegira* 341, prosecuted the design which his ancestors had entertained of making himself sovereign of *Egypt*^p.

A. D. 558.
Cairo becomes
the capital of
Egypt, and
the center of
this trade in
that country.

His general *Jawhar*, a *Greek* by birth, accordingly invaded that country, of which he made himself intirely master; and, in the year of the *Hegira* 358, laid the foundation of a new city d called *Caberah*, or *Al Caberah*, that is, *the victorious*, which the *Europeans* call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*^q. As soon as *Moez Ledinillab* was informed that this city was finished, he removed from his old capital, and made his entry into *Cairo* in the year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the title of Khâlif. His successors were styled Khâlifs of *Egypt*, to distinguish them from the Khâlifs of *Bagdat*, the true successors of *Mohammed*^r. This city was very conveniently situated on the *Nile*, and became in time no less considerable for its commerce than for its being the seat of the empire: and it was by this means that the old trade by the way of the *Red Sea* was once more restored to *Egypt*, which flourished exceedingly under this new race of princes, as appears by the revenue which it produced to its Khâlif, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no less than three hundred millions of crowns of gold^s. The Khâlifs of *Egypt* e were nine in number; and the last of them was *Adbad*, who was deposed by *Saladin*, general of *Noureddin*, Sultan of *Damascus*, in the year of the *Hegira* 567. *Saladin*, entering the palace of the Khâlif, who died immediately after he was deposed, found prodigious riches; and, among the rest, a noble proof of the commerce of the *Indies*, which was, the richest ruby in the world, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an ounce and a half^t. This, and the having a great army at his devotion, tempted him to set up for himself; which he did, and afterwards extended his dominions over all the countries of *Damascus*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*. He left at his decease his kingdom of *Egypt* to his second son *Otteman*, who died in the year of the *Hegira* 595, and was succeeded by his brother, who was soon deposed by his uncle *Malek Al Adel*, whose grandson *Malek Al Salek* succeeded in the year of the *Hegira* 647. He f enlarged the city of *Cairo*, and fortified it with a strong wall, and was victorious over St.

¹ PAUL. DIACON. l. xviii. GUL. TYR. l. ix. p. 113.

ⁿ See OCKLEY'S History of the Saracens.

^p HERBELOT Bibliotheque Orientale. p. 595.

^r HERB. Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 595.

Orientale, p. 742.

^m GREGORII ABUL PHARAJII Historia Dynastiarum,

^o Epitom. Historie Saracen. lib. v. p. 91.

^q GREGORII ABUL PHARAJII Hist. Dynastiarum, p. 315.

^s ELMACIN. Histor. Saracen. p. 591.

^t HERB. Bibliotheque

(C) At that time the people of *Egypt* were so rich, that they were very well able to bear this large tribute, and to pay the revenue of the *Greek* emperor besides; which if he had caused to be expended in that country for raising fortresses, equipping a fleet, and assembling an army, he might have preserved that province, which

was the best of his dominions; but his avaricious desire of keeping all was the true cause of his losing all, and throwing that country into the hands of barbarians, from whom it neither has been, or, as far as we can foresee, ever will be recovered (2).

(2) Gregorii Abul Pharajii Historia Dynastiarum, p. 179.

a *Lewis of France*. But this prince, however, was the last of his house; for, not long after, the *Mamlouks*, or *Mamelucs*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take shelter in a wooden tower which hung over the *Nile*. To this tower the mutineers set fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate monarch to jump into the river, where he was drowned ^a.

In consequence of this surprizing revolution, these *Mamelucs* became sovereigns of *Egypt*, ^{who the} and chose their general Sultan, who thereupon took the name of *Al Malek Al Azis*. He was ^{Mamelucs, or} the first prince of the dynasty of *Mamelucs* distinguished by the name of *Babrites*, *Babarites*, ^{Mamlouks,} or marines; for these people were either young *Turks* or *Tartars*, sold to private persons by ^{were that} the merchants, from whom they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his expence, and, ^{possessed them-} when qualified, employed to defend the maritime places in the kingdom ^{self, of E}. The reason of ^{gypt} this institution was, that the native *Egyptians* were found so cowardly, treacherous, and effeminate, from a long course of slavery, that they were unfit for arms. These foundlings made excellent soldiers; for, having no friends but amongst their own corps, they turned all their thoughts to their profession, as they placed their hopes in acquiring the principal posts in their militia: for these were bestowed only as merit directed; and, upon the demise of a Sultan, his successor was taken from among the officers of the first rank ^a. One would have imagined that this military government, so well constituted, and founded upon so broad a basis, must have subsisted a long time; and yet, in about one hundred and thirty years, it sunk as suddenly as it rose, by an error in politics, the more inexcusable, since experience had read them a lecture against this solecism, in the very sedition which changed their own fortune from that of slaves to sovereigns. In few words, that error was this: As they were originally but a small part of the standing forces of the monarchs of *Egypt*, as a numerous standing army was absolutely necessary in a country where the first maxim of government was, that every native of *Egypt* must be a slave; and, as they were justly suspicious of all who had served before, they were under great difficulties how to act; but at length resolved to buy Christian children, and to bring them up in the same discipline which had been the source of so much good fortune to themselves (D). Thus far they acted sensibly; but, by a refinement upon this scheme, they rendered what had been otherwise a means of safety the sure instrument of their own destruction. By the way, these Christian children were bought in *Circassia*, from their own parents, who were d pleased to style themselves Christians, but, by that infamous practice, shewed that their faith had no influence on their morals; but, what is still stranger than this, the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople* made a treaty with the *Mamelucs*, by which they were permitted to send an annual ship into the *Black Sea*, to fetch these unhappy infants ^e. When they had gone through their military education, and were fit for service, they were disposed through all the inland fortresses, erected to bridle the inhabitants; and, because in their language such a fort was called *Borge*, this new militia was called *Borgites*. By this scheme the *Mamelucs* thought to secure the sovereignty to their own body, in which it might have been easily foreseen they were quite mistaken. In process of time the old *Mamelucs* began to grow proud, insolent, and lazy; the *Borgites* took the advantage of this, rose upon their masters, deprived them of the government, and transferred e it to themselves, in the year of the *Hegira* 784 ^a.

THESE, as well as the former, were styled *Mamelucs*; but the reader will easily perceive, ^{The manner in} that to the latter dynasty, rather than the first, must be applied what is commonly said of ^{which the} the *Mamelucs* by the Christian historians. Under both dynasties, but more especially under the last, the *Indian* commerce flourished in *Egypt*, though they had very little concern in it other- ^{Arabs, Sa-} wise than as factors; for, on the one side, it was managed intirely by the *Arabs*, and was as ^{racens, or} absolutely in the hands of the Christians on the other. This it shall be our next business to ex- ^{Moors, spread} plain, as concisely as is consistent with that clearness at which we endeavour. One would naturally imagine, from the accounts of them in general, that they were not the best disposed ^{over the east.}

^a Supplementum Historiæ Dynastiæ ab EDWARDI Pocockii, p. 8.

^w HERBELOT Bibliothecæ Ori-

entale, p. 545. ^x EDWARDI Pocockii Supplementum Historiæ Dynastiæ, p. 9.

^y HUET Histoire

du Commerce des Anciens, p. 428.

^z HERBELOT Bibliothecæ Orientale, p. 211.

(D) We must put the reader in mind, that there is nothing more intended in the text than to connect the variations of this commerce with the known history of the people in whose hands it was, which is the sole reason of our mentioning the *Mamelucs*. They were of a turbulent race, almost continually engaged either in foreign or civil wars, and jealous to the last degree of strangers; so that while they held *Egypt*, the *Indian* trade sunk much below what it produced to the last line of

princes; yet in their times it was managed in the same manner as afterwards; and those who dealt with them drew a prodigious profit to themselves by the sale of the commodities they purchased, and which they carried in their own vessels to *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Flanders*, and carried back all the native goods of those countries in return, many of which, when manufactured, were re-exported to the places from whence they came (3).

(3) *Abraham Peritfol Itiner. Mundi*, c. xxvi.

for settling themselves in different parts of the world, with a view to commerce; and yet it appears plainly, that they were at this time actually dispersed into the most distant countries in the *Indies*, nay, and through *China* itself, without the assistance of force, and whither they could not have been led by the spirit of ambition (E). We learn from their own histories, that the *Arabs* formed their settlements four several ways; by conquest, by discovery, by pursuing trade, and by missions, to establish their religion^a. By the first, they possessed themselves of all the provinces which composed their vast empire; by the second, they fixed themselves in *Africa*, down to cape *Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Cefres*, who had it not in their power to prevent them from seizing on what parts they judged most convenient. Their colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quiloa*, were somewhat in the nature of ours at this day; but not so difficult to maintain, because of the proximity of the *Red Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all sorts of assistance. By the two remaining methods they seated themselves in all other parts, but more especially by commerce^b. These voyages were not in those days so safe and so frequent; and therefore merchants were under a necessity of making a long stay at the principal marts, where they took wives, their religion allowing plurality. These new families quickly produced others in the places of their residence; and the princes being sensible it was for their advantage to draw the trade of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and at the same time of *Aegypt* and *Europe*, by the *Red Sea*, into their own ports, these merchants met every where with the kindest usage they could wish^c. The idolatrous princes, confirmed in their old superstitions, were not at all scrupulous about religion, but admitted all indifferently; so they readily allowed their subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*, which they preferred to the rest, because of the hopes these *Arabs* gave them of protection from their Sultans, whose power was known in the remotest parts of the east. Even princes themselves made profession of *Mohammedism* in troublesome times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter days, they were so multiplied, that they inhabited whole cities, and at least a part of the most considerable. Thus this religion, which, to the lovers of this world, has nothing very inconvenient in it, obtained in many places, and at length received an accession of power, when some of its professors, being raised to the highest posts in the courts of *Cambaya* and *Guzarat*, invited a great number of those *Asiatic Turks* called *Rumis*, and even seized on some posts; as for instance, at *Diu*, from whence they for a long time infested the *Portuguese*, when they came first into these parts^d.

Began to propagate their religion amongst the *Indians*, 120 years before the discovery of the *North*.

By such steps the *Arabs* seated themselves in some parts of *Malabar*; and, by the same means they came to be very considerable upon the coast of *Malacca*. They first went thither as merchants; and some of them, fixing there, gained many of the idolaters over to *Mohammedism*. From *Malacca* they sailed round to the *Moluccas*; and having prevailed on the kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with several others, to join with them in religion, they reaped immense advantages from these princes, whom the concerns of trade, and the influence of these *Moors*, gave them room to hope confirmed in the religion of *Mohammed*. According to the *Portuguese* writers, they had not been long settled in the *Moluccas* before their discovery of the *Indies*^e. Thus in a very short space of time, and without the assistance of any considerable maritime force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the course of so many ages; and it is highly probable they would have pushed matters still farther on this side, if they had not been hindered by the coming of the *Portuguese* into this part of the world, which put an immediate stop to their progress, and in process of time weakened them very much. They found, however, so long as it lasted, means to make the most of their good fortune, and to become the carriers of *Europe*, with respect to the commerce of the east; and this in such a manner,

^a See the Abbé *RENAUDOT*'s Preface prefixed to the Travels of two Arabian merchants into China. ^b ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i. ^c L'Abbé *RENAUDOT* Dissertation sur l'entrée des Mahométans dans la Chine, p. 302. 303. ^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 394. ^e ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

(E) A learned French writer has given us a large and clear account of this matter in his preface to the travels of certain Arabian merchants into China, which account does not at all depend upon the genuineness of those travels which some have suspected, because independent of them; it is supported throughout by facts, and more especially by the accounts given by the *Portuguese* at their first entrance into the *Indies*, when the *Moors* had spread their religion as far as the *Moluccas* and the adjacent islands, though their conquests had not reached near so far. Their progress into these parts appears to have been chiefly owing to a commercial spirit which prevailed strongly amongst them at that time; but that, at the same time they promoted their trade, they like-

wife propagated their religion, which was chiefly owing to the temper and understanding of the nations with whom they conversed; for, when they made a free inquiry into their doctrines, they saw sufficient cause to reject their own idolatrous and superstitious opinions, which were in many respects equally ridiculous and absurd; and there seems to be little reason to doubt that they would have converted the inhabitants of all the islands, as far as the *Philippines* (1), if the Christians had not come in at that juncture, and put a stop as well to their religion as to their influence and their commerce, which would otherwise have spread to the utmost limits of Asia.

(1) L'Abbé *RENAUDOT* Dissertation sur l'entrée des Mahométans dans la Chine.

that

- a that they shut out all others from navigating those seas, and thereby drew an immense profit to themselves. For the *Indians* brought by land to *Cabul*, and some other places, and by sea to *Bassora* and *Siraf*, all the commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were introduced into *Syria* by the provinces of *Aderbejan*, by *Curdistan*, and other parts more to the north. Great quantities of the same they also had from the *Barbary* coast, and by the way of the *Red Sea*, from whence a trade was carried on throughout *Egypt*. From the same places they had gold-dust, as also from the mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the negroes who traded into *Egypt* by the way of the desert, or from port to port quite to the *Red Sea*, from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*. They, by their trade with the *Chinese* and *Indian* merchants, had silk, rich stuffs, and many other manufactures, drugs, and spices ¹ (F).
- b WITH this stock of goods they drove an extensive commerce, by the way of *Cairo*, with *Italy*, *Alexandria*, the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was easily done by their dilating and reviving the old mart of *Alexandria*; which port, though it was far from recovering its former magnificence, grew once more famous, by becoming, what it formerly was, the centre of the commerce between the eastern parts of the world and the west. It is true that the revolutions which happened in the government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a succinct account, frequently affected this city to a very great degree; but still the excellence of her port, and the innumerable conveniencies that resulted from the commerce carried on there, to whoever were masters of *Egypt*, preserved her from total destruction, though in the hands of the most barbarous nations. Before we speak of the last fatal revolution in this country, and the great declension of its commerce, it will be proper to say a few words of another chanel by which the commodities and manufactures of the *Indies* were for a time brought into *Europe*; and this for two reasons; first, because it has been in a good measure overlooked; and next, because experience having shewn it practicable, it is not impossible that it may some time or other be revived ².

THE reader will remember, that we have already given him a description of the wretched state of the *Greek* empire for many centuries before its total dissolution, when, in its few gleams of prosperity, it had the *Italian* states for allies; and, in its frequent turns of adverse fortune, was obliged to suffer them to occupy whatever places (even to the suburbs of the imperial city) which they judged most for their conveniency. Amongst these, none served them better on some occasions, or on others treated them worse, than the *Genoese*; always esteemed a bold, plotting, and enterprising people. They had for many ages a large share in the trade of the *Greek* dominions, and were not so scrupulous as to decline profiting by their commerce with the *Mohammedans*; yet all this did not satisfy either their ambition or their avarice. They judged it possible, by securing a convenient station in the *Black Sea*, to gain for their republic a kind of exclusive trade, which might prove very beneficial. This temptation they could not resist; and the place, which they thought proper to seize with this view, was the port of *Caffa* in *Crim Tartary* ³. This country was antiently called the *Chersonesus Taurica*; and we find this city very often mentioned by old writers under the name of *Theudisia*. They found it in a tolerable condition; but they improved it exceedingly. They adorned the port, they strengthened and augmented the fortifications, and they embellished the city with many stately edifices, the ruins of which are visible even at this day. All this they were well enabled to do out of the immense riches they acquired by the dominion of the *Black Sea*, which, so long as they held *Caffa*, remained in their hands, and in those with whom they were obliged, for the sake of their correspondence with the countries beyond the *Caspian*, to share it ⁴. At last, when they had basely assisted in bringing the *Turks* into *Europe*, and in the taking of *Constantinople*, against all the rules of true policy, as well as dictates of religion, they were deprived of it, *Anno Domini* 1475, by *Mohammed the Great*; an event which ought to be a warning to all com-

¹ MARIUS SARTOR. Societa Belgica, P. i. l. i. cap. 1.

² HUNT Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, cap. 44.

³ ABULGHASANI KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares. P. vii. c. 5.

⁴ HUNT Histoire du Commerce des Anciens.

(F) It is impossible, within the narrow compass of this chapter, to give the reader an accurate history of the variations to which this trade was subject; all that we propose therein is, to point out clearly the cause of those variations; to shew who profited by them, and how that profit accrued. After the power of the *Mohammedans* was firmly established in the east, all the valuable commodities and manufactures, that passed by sea, came either into the *Arabian* gulph, and so through *Egypt*, to *Alexandria*, or else to *Ormuz*, and from thence up the *Persian* gulph to *Bassora*, *Bassora*, or *Bassora*, from whence they were carried mostly by caravans to *Alippo*. While

the power of the *Khálifs* subsisted in its full vigour, this passage had the advantage; and the best part of the *Indian* goods, that came to the several markets of *Europe*, were purchased at *Alippo* by *Italian* merchants, and chiefly by the *Venetians*; but in succeeding times, when *Egypt* threw off the yoke of the *Khálifs*, the far greater part of the trade passed that way, and came almost wholly into the hands of the *Venetians*, who took great pains to make the rest of *Europe* believe that the *Saracens* and *Mamluks* were the most barbarous and intractable people in the world; which was one means of their keeping that trade almost wholly to themselves.

mercial states, never, for the lucre of immediate advantage, to desert their ancient allies, or a
listen to the deceitful promises of a potent neighbour; princes of all religions being least apt
to pique themselves on punctuality, when both profit and impunity are on the side of infide-
lity^k. But it is now high time to return from reflections to facts; and to pursue this subject,
which we shall scarce have occasion to resume to its latest period.

In order to
which, they
make them-
selves masters
of the city and
port of Caffa.

CAFFA was then in a very flourishing condition, and was one of the best built and richest
places of its size in *Europe*. We may the more easily credit this from its excellent situation;
for it stands at the foot of a small hill upon the sea shore, the buildings extending themselves
north and south, with long walls stretching on both sides down to the sea; so that from the
port, which is large, safe, and commodious, it makes a very agreeable appearance. There
is a castle on the south side, in which the *Turkish* Bashaw resides with his garrison. The num- b
ber of houses in the place are about 4000, of which 500 b. long to Christians, the rest to *Turks*
and *Tartars*; but the former are masters here, and it is the only place the Grand Signor has
in *Tartary*; of which it is esteemed, and justly, the key, which is the reason he keeps it.
After the *Genoese* were driven from hence as masters, they still carried on, for a long time, as
merchants, a very advantageous commerce with the inhabitants, who, by the way of the *Cas-*
pian sea, found means to enter into a considerable trade in spices, drugs, cotton, silk, and
other *Indian* commodities^l. At last the *Turks*, growing jealous of the intercourse of the *Ge-*
noese in these parts, absolutely excluded them, as well as all other nations, from trading to,
or even so much as entering into, the *Black Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an end c
to the commerce between *Caffa* and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preserved so strong a sense of the
advantages derived from this commerce, that for some time they prosecuted it in their own
vessels; and carried the spices, and other *Indian* goods, which they received by caravans from
Assracan, and which had been brought thither from the opposite side of the *Caspian* sea to
Genoa^m. But the *Turks*, equally displeased with that as they had been with the former cor-
respondence, soon put an end to this intercourse likewise, and thereby secured themselves from
the fear of seeing a Christian fleet in those seas, at least from *Italy* (G).

The present
state of that
important
place, and the
probability of
its being, some
time or other
restored.

YET *Caffa* still remains a place of very great trade, and the staple of the *Black Sea*; in-
fomuch that Sir *John Chardin* tells us he saw, in the space of forty days, no less than four hun-
dred ships sail in and out of this port. The *Venetians*, in hopes perhaps of reviving in some d
measure the old trade, procured at a very large expence, in the year 1672, leave from the
Ottoman port to send annually a cargo of their manufactures, on board a small squadron of
their own, into the *Black Sea*ⁿ. But this trade did not last long; for the *Jews* intimated so
many dangers would arise from permitting this commerce, that in one year's time, notwith-
standing the money advanced, the licence was retracted; and thus ended all attempts for
retrieving the commerce of the *Indies* by this route. In process of time, however, it is not
altogether incredible that it may be restored; for, since the *Russians* are masters of *Azoff*, and
have a considerable number of trading vessels in those seas, some such revolution may happen,
as will set the navigation of the *Black Sea* intirely open, and thereby restore the *Europeans* in
general, but more especially the *Italian* states, to a commerce highly profitable in itself, and
capable of very great improvements; which, should it ever happen, would give a new turn e
to the trade of *Europe* in general^o.

The vast ad-
vantages de-

LET us now return to that great chanel of the *Indian* commerce before the passage by
the *Cape of Good Hope* was found, the port of *Alexandria*; and let us consider a little of

^k HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 615. ^l *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 582. ^m HUBERT
Histoire de Commerce des Anciens. ⁿ *Histoire de Venise*, p. 391. ^o *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol.
ii. col. 587.

(G) We shall have occasion to treat of this matter again
more fully in another place; so that what is said of it
here is purely to connect the several parts of the history of
this commerce, and to make the reader sensible of that
industry and zeal which all trading nations have ever ex-
pressed for acquiring this, as the surest means of driving
every other branch of commerce with advantage; and to
explain the several methods by which, through so long a
course of time, the *Italians* maintained themselves in the
possession of this trade; and in all probability would
have maintained themselves much longer, if the passage
to the *Cape of Good Hope* had not been discovered. In
respect to what we farther hint, that it is not absolutely
impossible this communication may be some time or
other restored, let us put the reader in mind of the
mighty projects formed and executed by *Peter the Great*

in *Russia* (6); let us farther recall to his memory, that,
in our own times, the *Russians* have been masters of the
capital, and all the open country, of *Crim Tartary* (7);
and leave it to him to decide, whether there be any
thing improbable in the supposition, that their good for-
tune in another war may put them in possession of the
fortress and port of *Caffa*; after which there will be
nothing to hinder their reviving this commerce, which,
as we say in the text, would not fail of being attended
with very extraordinary consequences. In the mean
time there is a wide difference between prophecies and
conjectures: we do not pretend to foretel that this event
ever will, we only affirm that this possibly may, happen;
and to point out, in case it should, what relation such
an event would have to the subject of which we are
treating.

(6) *Essai sur la Commerce & sur la Marine*, p. 21.

(7) *Histoire de la dernière Guerre*, p. 397.

what

- a what consequence it was to those by whom it was managed. It was indisputably the true foundation of the extensive trade, the prodigious wealth, and the formidable naval power, of the *Italian* states. It was in consequence of this that they not only drew a considerable balance to themselves from every other nation in *Europe*; but, which is much more surprising, actually sent their agents to reside in, and to manage the trade of, other countries, as if there had been some natural incapacity in the minds of their inhabitants^p. If, in time of peace, money was to be remitted from one country to another, they must have the management of it: exchanges were so intirely in their hands, that *Lombard* and *Banker* were synonymous terms. If taxes were to be imposed, they were sure to be employed; and this contributed not a little to render them odious in *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. In time of war they furnished both parties with ships, because other nations had them not; and the reason why other nations had them not, was, that these *Italian* states were in possession of all the commerce of the *Mediterranean*, and not only supplied, but carried their goods to most foreign markets^q. We say most, and not all; because the *Hanse Towns* were in those days very powerful, and had a great deal of shipping; but then it is to be considered, that the prosperity of these northern cities arose chiefly from their trade to *Italy*, and their carrying thither cargoes collected from different countries, and returning into the north with those kind of goods and manufactures which they obtained by that chanel which has been so often mentioned^r. There is therefore nothing in nature clearer, than that this commerce gave the superiority in wealth and naval power to those who enjoyed it before the *Portuguese*; to the *Portuguese*, in consequence of their supplanting them; and to every other nation that, following the lights, and improving on the example, of the *Portuguese*, has sent their fleets, and established colonies in the *Indies*.

- We need not therefore be at all surpris'd at the *Italian* states expressing not barely uneasiness and displeasure, but even passion and resentment, when, from the passage of the *Portuguese* to the *Indies* by sea directly, they saw themselves in danger of losing in a great measure that trade, which, of all others, it imported them most to keep. We must admit, that, as politicians, they were not to be blamed; tho' certainly inexcusable, as Christians, for assisting the monarch of the *Mamelucs*, or, as he is commonly styled by historians, the sultan of *Egypt*, to protect the *Arabs* and *Moors*, that were scattered throughout *Asia*, against the subjects of the crown of *Portugal*, and such of the *Indian* princes as were contented to receive them (H). The *Venetians* particularly pushed this matter so far, and offered the *Mohammedan* prince so freely, and yet so sincerely (it being for their own sakes), naval and military stores, to be employed in driving the Christians out of *India*, that, if he had pursued his own interest with any proportion of that vigour used by them in prosecuting theirs, it may be esteemed highly probable that he might have succeeded, since, at that juncture, the naval power of the *Mohammed-*

Concern for their own interest induced them to offer assistance to the Mohammedans against the Portuguese, in order to keep all Christians out of the Indies.

^p GERARD MALINUS *Lex Mercatoria*, l. xi. c. 12. Naval Tracts. Antient Treatise of Commerce in verse, printed in Hakluyt. fur le Commerce, p. 177.

^q DE WITT's Maxims. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Effai sur la Marine, &

(H) We are informed by Cardinal Bembo, that the senate of *Venice* could not help expressing the greatest sorrow and consternation, when, in the year 1499, they received advice from their ambassador at *Lisbon*, that the *Portuguese* had effected their design, and actually opened a communication by sea with the *Indies* (8). Another great historian of the same country speaks of this as one of the heaviest misfortunes that ever befel that republic (9); and indeed, to a people subsisting by trade, what blow could be greater than that which deprived her at once of a branch of commerce more valuable than all the rest, and to the possession of which she owed her wealth, her influence, and naval power? Yet, great as this loss was, it will not excuse what is mentioned in the text, viz. their exciting the sultan of *Egypt* to attack and drive the *Portuguese* out of the *Indies*, while it was yet in his power, and before they were in a capacity to prevent it, which is by some writers positively averred; and that they supplied the best part of the timber, artillery, and naval stores, with which the fleet he equipped with that design was built and furnished. It is likewise added, that he was assisted with engineers from the same quarter (10). But, on the other hand, there are not wanting some authors, who positively deny all this, and treat the several particulars of this charge as so many calumnies (11). Some circumstances

there are, however, which have not been thoroughly cleared up; such as, that the sultan should, at so critical a juncture, be in a condition to build, and that all at once, a powerful squadron in the *Red Sea*, while the materials for such an undertaking were the only commodities of which the *Egyptians* were in want; and though it be true that he had other dominions where timber was plentiful enough, yet what was employed in building these ships and gallies was transported cross the continent from *Alexandria*, as the great guns and other necessaries likewise were (12); which looks as if some of his neighbours had been exceedingly concerned for his misfortune, and equally ready at the same time to assist him in his distress; for otherwise the preparations for this expedition would have taken up more years than it did months; but, as it did not answer its purpose, it is prudent enough to disown it. About 16 years after, when the *Portuguese* were thoroughly settled, so as to send and receive annual fleets to and from the *Indies*, we are assured, that the *Venetians* sent an embassy to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, to desire they might become the sole purchasers of the spices which remained, after the wants of his own subjects were supplied (13); which negotiation came to nothing, as might well have been expected.

(8) *Histoire des Provinces-Unies* par Sallengre, p. 55. *Hist. Venet.* lib. vi.

(10) *La Clef de Hist. generale de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 168.

Portugais, vol. i. p. 527.

cap. 10.

(11) *La Clef de Hist. generale de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 168.

(12) *Hist. Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 511.

(9) *Histoire d'Ital.* lib. vi.

(11) *La Clef de Hist. generale de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 168.

(13) *E. Soufa*, lib. iv.

dans in the *Indian* seas was incomparably greater than any the crown of *Portugal* could have sent thither *. But, in events of this nature, those who have any tolerable penetration may very easily discern the interposition of an over-ruling Power, against which no human policy could provide, or force prevail.

*How the
scheme failed
them.*

THE sultan of *Egypt* found his dominions but ill provided for a war; and, though violently solicited by those of his own faith in the *Indies*, and by those who preferred gain to any faith in *Europe*, yet, frightened with the apprehensions of bringing all Christendom upon him, if he attacked the *Portuguese*, he lost that short opportunity, in which, with any probability of success, they might have been attacked. His successor *Thomam Bey* was the last monarch of the second dynasty of the *Mamelucs*; and perished, together with their principality, under the victorious arms of the first *Ottoman* emperor *Selim* †. By this means *Egypt* was annexed to the *Turkish* empire, of which it has continued a province ever since; but the confusion which naturally attends a violent revolution, prevented any interruption from being given to the *Portuguese* by that power which was most able to oppose them. Thus the commerce of *Alexandria* received its last and most fatal blow; not that the port is absolutely deserted, or that ships from *Venice* and other places do not trade thither, and even for *Indian* commodities, to this day, but not to an amount in any degree comparable to what they did 300 years ago ‡. If, therefore, the *Italian* states sustained themselves notwithstanding, kept up their power at sea, and their credit at land, for some time after this, we ought to ascribe it to the wealth they had acquired while their commerce was in a prosperous condition, which they frugally kept, and wisely managed, for a long series of years. There is no need of bringing proofs to support this, because the fact shews itself; the commerce of *Alexandria*, and the power of the *Italian* states, have been sinking ever since; not in the same proportion indeed, because the *Venetians* have been assisted by the wisest councils in *Europe*, and the *Turks* have acted without any policy, or, if with policy, such a one as none could ever yet penetrate or understand except themselves §.

*A succinct
view of the
prodigious pro-
fits accruing
from this com-
merce to the
possessors of
Egypt.*

IT will certainly be acceptable to the curious reader, if, after discoursing so long on the profits which accrued to the people of *Egypt*, by having this commerce for so many ages fixed, as it were, to their country, we should attempt to form some computation, or, to speak with greater propriety, indicate certain circumstances, which may enable us to form some notion of the different state of the affairs of this people, while this trade was in their hands. As to the immense wealth of the *Egyptians* in the earliest times, it would require more time and room than we have to spare, to give so much as a concise account of it. *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of three thousand cities in that country, where now it would be very difficult to find the tenth part of as many towns *. Under the *Romans* they were so rich, that it was a point of policy to oppress them; and, after the defeat of *Zenobia*, there was a single merchant of *Alexandria*, who undertook to raise and pay an army out of the profits of his trade †. The *Greek* emperors drew from thence prodigious tributes; and yet the *Arabian* Khalifs of *Egypt* found their subjects in so good circumstances, as to screw their revenues up to three hundred millions of crowns. Under the first dynasty of *Mamelucs*, things seem to have gone worse; but under the last, trade flourished; and, though the people became wanton and weak, yet both the subject and government were wealthy. The last sultan of *Egypt* but one gave twenty millions of ducats, as a bounty to the soldiers, upon his election ‡; and yet at this day the *Turks* levy but three millions, and are hardly ever without a civil war upon their hands, from the difficulty with which this inconsiderable sum is raised. Yet the antient fertility of *Egypt* still remains; it is still extremely populous; it enjoys to this hour the advantage of its most happy situation; what then can be the reason of this amazing alteration? Why, it is fallen under the government of *Turks*, who prefer immediate profit to every thing; and it has thereby lost the *Indian* trade, which is a convincing argument that its prodigious wealth in antient times flowed in a great measure from that commerce, and from the consequences inseparably annexed to it. If any doubt remains of this, what follows will intirely take it away. We are to shew where the *Indian* commerce went next; and, in doing this, we cannot help shewing that wealth, industry, and a superior naval power, went along with it, and were held precisely by the same tenure with that commerce. ¶

* Histoire de l'Empire Ottom. P. ii. lib. i.
de MONCONNIS, LUCAS, D'ARVIEUX, &c.

† VANNEL Histoire des Turcs, tom. ii. p. 277.

‡ Voyages

¶ Description de l'Egypte du Monsieur MAILLET, p. 131.

§ Lib. i.

⋄ ZOSIM. l. i. VOPISC. in vit. Aurelian.

² D'HARE. Biblioth. Orient. p. 1031.

CHAP. IV.

The history of the discoveries, conquests, and establishments, made by the Portuguese in the East Indies.

SECT. I.

By what means the Portuguese were induced to undertake expeditions on the coast of Africa, the series of these expeditions, and the long-wished-for discovery and doubling of the Cape of GOOD HOPE.

AFTER the riches and delicacies of the *Indies* were spread, by the luxury of the *Roman* commanders, to the utmost limits of their empire, such a relish of them prevailed through all nations, that it appears plainly enough, even from the dark and ill-written histories of those times, that these precious commodities were known to, and esteemed by, princes, prelates, and other great men, through all the intermediate ages; notwithstanding there was no direct communication between *Europe* and the *Indies*, so much as by land; neither have we any accounts, at least that can be depended upon, of private travels, from the fifth down to the twelfth century^a. It will therefore be a necessary introduction to the business of this chapter, to shew the reader how the first streaks of light broke through this gloomy obscurity, in respect to the people of *Europe* in general, so as to restore to them some imperfect acquaintance at least with countries that had been so long hidden; and, next, by what means it fell to the share of the *Portuguese* to make the earliest attempts for extending their dominions and their revenues by this new method of discovery. The design indeed is both great and difficult; the bounds prescribed us are narrow; but, notwithstanding these obstacles, we will use our utmost endeavours to treat it in a manner that may be at once succinct and satisfactory.

THE holy war, as it was called, in which most of the Christian princes of *Europe* were, by the solicitations of several popes, engaged to rescue the city of *Jerusalem*, and the country of *Palestine*, out of the hands of the infidels, gave the first opening to the renewing of a direct correspondence between the people of *Europe* and those who inhabited the remotest countries of the east^b. There is no doubt that a violent spirit of ambition, together with a great mixture of private views and political intrigue, had a great share in exciting and supporting this long and bloody war, which in some respects, no doubt, had very untoward consequences with regard to those countries in *Europe*, whose monarchs, to signalize their courage, and to acquire the then fashionable reputation of martial piety, left their dominions exposed to many inconveniencies, while, with a vast expence of blood and treasure, they were engaged in expeditions which promised little, and which produced still less^c. But, notwithstanding this, the consequences of the holy war were highly beneficial to *Christendom*; they gave a check to the *Mohammedan* power when at its height; they taught the *European* princes the value of a naval force; and, by affording them an opportunity of gaining a much truer knowledge than otherwise they could have done of the situation, produce, and state, at that time, of the great powers in *Asia*, and made way for those discoveries and conquests which have been since attended with such mighty advantages. It must be allowed that this followed at a great distance of time, and when these expeditions were all laid aside; which is the reason that very few writers have considered the thing in the light we have placed it; but this derogates not at all from the truth of it, as will hereafter fully appear^d. Besides, it was proposed and pointed out at the very time by a *Venetian*, who wrote a learned and judicious treatise upon the subject, which, though in that season it might have little or no effect, yet remains an incontestable proof that these beneficial consequences were foreseen long before they were either felt or understood^e.

ANOTHER great event contributed not a little to the same purpose. This was the amazing irruption of the great *Tartar* monarch *Jenghiz Khân*, who, in the space of twenty-five years, from being the inconsiderable and unknown head of a tribe of his own nation, became the greatest and most famous prince of his time; and, all things considered, perhaps of any time. He died in the year 1227, after overturning the antient empire of *China*, making himself master of the best part of the *Indies*, and subverting the great monarchies which the *Mohammedans* had erected in *Persia* and *Chaldea*^f. His immediate successors extended their domi-

^a PROCOPIUS Hist. ARAB. c. xvii. GERBERON Histoire des Tartares.

^c MEZERAY Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 535.

^e SANUDO in Historiâ c. Secreta fidelium crucis.

^b PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, book viii.

^d P. GERBERON Histoire des Tartares.

^f PETIT DE LA CROIX Hist. de Gengis Khân.

nions still farther ; and, having thus changed the face of affairs in the east entirely, we need not at all wonder that the Christian princes, who were then warmly engaged in the holy war, were very desirous of procuring the friendship of these new conquerors ¹. It was this disposition that produced the embassies that were soon after sent into *Great Tartary*; and as, according to the genius of those times, these were chiefly managed by monks, it was from the accounts they gave of their travels that the *Europeans* came to have any distinct knowledge of the remoter parts of *Asia*; and indeed, except this, hardly any thing resulted from their negotiations (A).

Voyages of Du Plant Carpin and Rubruquis into the heart of Grand Tartary.

THE first of these ambassadors, or rather agents, was a *Franciscan* monk, one *John Du Plant Carpin*, who, with five or six other monks, carried letters from *Pope Innocent IV.* to the Grand Khân of *Tartary*, in favour of the Christians inhabiting in his dominions. He made this journey in the year 1246; and, at his return, he wrote an account of his travels, in which he has inserted many ridiculous and absurd things upon hearsay; but what he reports of his own knowledge seems agreeable enough to truth, but contains nothing very considerable ². Seven years after this, the *French* king *St. Lewis* sent *William Rubruquis* to establish, if possible, an amicable correspondence with that monarch ³. He embarked at *Constantinople*; and, having passed the *Black Sea*, traversed the vast country of *Tartary*; and, having done as much as could be expected from him, returned by another route; and, having passed the river *Euphrates*, continued his journey to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, from whence he wrote to the king his master, and afterwards composed a large account of his whole journey, which was very faithful, very exact, and gave a just notion of the *Tartars* and their conquests. It does not appear that either of these pieces could have been of any great use towards facilitating a correspondence between the western parts of *Europe* and the interior parts of *Asia*; but the humour of travelling, and seeing strange places, and penetrating, if possible, farther than others had done, began strongly to prevail; inasmuch that several, moved partly by curiosity, and partly from the hopes of making their fortune at the court of the *Tartar* emperor, resolved to run the risque of visiting his dominions ⁴ (B). To this humour we owe the history of *Marco Paolo*, to whom the *Europeans* are indebted for the first clear and distinct account of the utmost limits of *Asia*. His discoveries were of such importance, and were attended with consequences of such a nature, as that the reader will be certainly pleased to meet with a short account of him, his family, and adventures.

The wonderful discoveries of Marco Polo, and the distant travels of Sir John Mandeville.

SIGNIOR *Nicolo Polo*, the father of *Marco*, and his brother Signior *Maffio*, began their travels from *Constantinople* in the year 1250; and, having proceeded to the court of the Grand Khân of *Tartary*, resided there for many years; and returned, as the reader will see, to *Venice*, about the year 1269, where they found the wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceased, and her son, of whom she was left big at the time of their departure, a well-accomplished youth of nineteen years of age ¹. Him they carried back to the court of the Khân; and, after having spent twenty-six years more, without any news being heard of them by their friends at *Venice*, returned safely thither in the year 1295. A short time after his return, *Marco Polo* serving his country at sea against the *Genoese*, his galley, in a great naval engagement, was sunk, and himself taken prisoner, and carried to *Genoa*. He remained there many years in confinement; and, as well to amuse his melancholy, as to gratify those who desired it from him, he sent for his notes from *Venice*, and composed the history of his travels. In this work there are, without doubt, many strange, and some false things, which he wrote from report; but what he wrote from his own knowledge are both curious and just. He not only gave better accounts of *China* than had

¹ ATULGASI BAYADUR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, Part iii. c. 1. ² HACLUTY'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 21.

³ Itinerarium Fratris WILLIELMI DE RUBRUQUIS ad Partes Orientales, 4^o.

⁴ GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, P. i. c. 9.

¹ RAMUSIO, vol. ii. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii.

(A) The reader may possibly wonder that these travels did not produce an extraordinary effect immediately; but, if he considers the countries through which these monks travelled, the least inviting perhaps in the world, and at that time in no very flourishing condition, he will easily see they were rather calculated to raise wonder and amazement, than to afford satisfaction or delight; and yet our famous Frier *Bacon* (1) collected enough from them to make him tolerably master of the geography of this part of the world, as may be easily discerned by consulting his works, or the collections, in which what he relates of the *Tartars* is contained (2).

(B) An excellent collection of these antient writers

has been published not many years ago in *Holland*, with proper maps, and their voyages and travels very distinctly marked (3). We say nothing in the text of the famous Jew traveller *Benjamin* of *Tudela* (4), because there seem to be good grounds to question whether that work be genuine; and, if it be, it is certainly in many respects inferior to those which are above-mentioned, and to which, with justice, we may ascribe the honour of traversing the deserts of *Tartary*, in order to visit the court of the Great Khân, where it appears that persons of all nations and of all religions, who had any degree of capacity, were kindly entertained, and often preferred.

(1) Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opus Majus, p. 228—235. *des diverses Voyages curieuses en Tartarie, &c. par Benjamin de Tudela, Carpin, Rubruquis, & autres, 4to, Leyde 1730. 2 vols.*

(2) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 52.

(3) Recueil

(4) See the Preface and Remarks on the French translation of that work by Paratien.

before

- a before been received, but likewise furnished a description of *Japan*, of many of the islands in the *East Indies*, of *Madagascar*, and the coasts of *Africa*; so that from his work it might be easily collected, that a direct passage by sea to the *Indies* was not only possible, but practicable. *Ayton*, or *Haiton*, king of *Armenia*^m, after he had traversed many of the most remarkable countries in the east, about the year 1303, retired to *Cyprus*, and there took the habit of a monk; after which he wrote, or caused to be written, a kind of history of the empire of the *Tartars*, to which he added the principal observations made by him in his travels, which, in respect as well to the dignity of the author, as to the many new and surprising particulars which they contain, were much esteemed, and universally read (C). Our countryman Sir *John Mandeville*, a man of a good family, liberal education, and who had applied himself to the study of physic, b being very desirous of visiting remote countries, and more especially those of which he had read such strange things in ancient authors, set out on this design in the year 1332, and spent no less than 34 years in his peregrinations through *Armenia*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, *Grand Tartary*, and other countries, of which he wrote an account, which has been very differently censured; some esteeming it an excellent piece, and others looking upon it as a heap of fables and falsehoodⁿ. The truth is, that his learning, his curiosity, and his desire to excite the wonder of his readers, have had a very bad effect upon his work, into which he has thrust every thing that he had either read or heard, as well as what he had seen, which is the reason his writings have been considered in such different lights. But, whatever may be thought of them now, they were highly valued at the time they appeared, and had a considerable effect in supporting this humour of visiting remote countries, which must have been strong enough before, since, as he tells us in the relation of his travels, the world was amused in his youth with the story of a man who had gone round the world^o; upon which he makes some remarks, which shew him plainly to have been a man of parts, and no despicable mathematician for those times (D).

THERE was yet another great event that happened towards the close of the fourteenth century, which operated powerfully towards removing those obstacles the *Europeans* would undoubtedly have met with upon their coming into the *Indies*; whereas the reader will see they found but a feeble resistance, most of the nations they had to deal with being hardly recovered from former confusions. This great event was the second irruption of the *Tartars* under *Ti-*
d *mur Bec*, or, as our histories call him, *Tamerlane*, who resolved, though perhaps his rights were not extremely well founded, to vindicate the title derived to him from *Jenghiz Khân*; which he fortunately performed, becoming in process of time master of the greater part of *Asia*, which he divided amongst his sons, leaving to his third, *Miracha*, the empire of the *Indies*, with other territories; and though parts of these were afterwards lost, yet the *Indies* remain in the possession of his posterity to this day^p. By this time the humour of travelling, and seeking adventures in the east, had prevailed so much in *Europe*, that several persons of courage, and some of good families, but for the most part *Italians*, were in *Tamerlane's* army,

^m Inserted also in the Collections of RAMUSIO, PURCHAS, and HARRIS. ⁿ His Travels, or rather extracts from them, are to be found in various collections; but the only genuine edition bears this title, The Voyage and Travaile of Sir JOHN MAUNDEVILLE, Knight, which treateth of the way to Hierusalem, and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Ilaunds and Countreyes. From an original MS. in the Cotton library; 8vo, 1727. ^o MAUNDEVILLE's Travels, p. 222. ^p D'HERB. Biblioth. Orient. au mot Timur, & autres.

(C) There are certainly, in all these treatises, abundance of strange, and, at first sight, incredible and ridiculous passages, which, after the countries they described were somewhat better known, not only lessened their credit, but brought them into absolute contempt; and yet, in succeeding times, those who have looked more closely into the history and learning, as well as geography, of these distant countries, have discovered that there was a ground of truth in many passages of these writers that were held most glaringly absurd (5). However, at the time they appeared, the wonders they contained had a very good effect; for they roused all the stirring spirits in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, which produced those inquiries and enterprizes that have furnished us with materials for this and the following sections.

(D) This story that he tells of a man who travelled round the world, he says he heard in his youth, and affirms it to be a possible thing. But that he believed it, especially with that remarkable circumstance, which he gives of his returning into this island, and hearing his own tongue spoken, and the customs he had seen in his youth still practised, without knowing it to be his own

country, does not very clearly appear. One would rather think, that he introduced it for the sake of shewing how it might be, and removing those objections which prevailed strongly in his days, that it was impossible for men to go under the earth, because then they must fall into the sky; which he very sensibly refutes, by observing, that there is not either under or over, properly speaking, but that the earth is every-where alike invested with the firmament. He takes occasion from thence to tell the reader how a figure may be drawn on paper, which will represent this to the eye, by describing a lesser and a larger circle, and drawing lines from their common center through the circumferences of both. These, says he, will shew the relation between the parts of the earth to the correspondent parts of heaven, and how a degree may be measured upon the surface of the earth; and from thence how the periphery and diameter may be determined. He was not therefore, certainly, a weak or unlearned man, though, by trusting to hearsay, and transcribing from what antient authors had written, he appears to have been very credulous (6).

(5) See the Preface to Mandeville's Voyages and Travels, in the authentic edition cited in the text.

(6) Maur-

and did him good service^a. It must be acknowledged, that, even after so very great a blow given to the *Turkish* power by this conqueror, the *Ottomans* soon recovered themselves, and made a great impression upon *Europe*, some parts of which were also invaded and subdued by the *Tartars*; yet, notwithstanding this, it may be affirmed, that about this time that spirit sprung up of opposing the *Mohammedans* by land and sea, which soon after drove them out of *Spain*, gave a check to their conquests in the north^b, and has kept their power at a stay in some places ever since; to which nothing has contributed so much as destroying that strength they were forming, and indeed had in part formed, through the maritime provinces and islands of *India*.

The Portu-
guese under
the reign of
John I. began
in earnest to
make discoveries.

As from the several means before-mentioned, as well as other lesser incidents, of which we have not room to take notice, there was a general report spread over *Europe* of the great riches of the east, so it created an inclination in several princes and states to try whether some method might not be found for corresponding with them by sea. Amongst these there was none thought so seriously of raising a naval force, and employing it for augmenting his revenues, and extending his dominions, as King *John I. of Portugal*^c. He was a prince whom his courage and conduct had placed upon the throne, being the natural son of the monarch he succeeded; but, notwithstanding this flaw in his title, and some others in his government (as what prince is there without them?) he had as many great qualities as any person in his rank at that time, which made him beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours. His assuming the crown had involved him at once in a civil and foreign war; out of which being extricated by the assistance of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, whose daughter *Philippa* he married, and by whom he had eight children, he was desirous of employing the brave men and busy spirits, naturally produced in such stirring times, in such a manner as to hinder their disturbing that tranquillity which had been so lately restored to his dominions^d. He contrived, therefore, several expeditions for discoveries; in one of which the island of *Madeira* was again found, which had long before been visited by *Edward Macham*, an *Englishman*, who had fled thither with his mistress; and she dying there, he built a little chapel over her grave, which proved at once a monument to the lady, and of his discovery, as the *Portuguese* writers unanimously allow (E). This, which happened in 1419, and the finding *Puerto Santo* two years before, encouraged Captain *Xunex* to double *Cape Bojador*, which had never been attempted before. King *John* also transported a great army into *Africa*, where he made himself master of the fortrels of *Ceuta* in a few days, and projected greater things, the execution of which, however, he left to his successor^e.

Succinct cha-
racters of the
five princes his
sons, who pro-
moted these
discoveries.

As Providence had been pleased to bless this great and wise prince with five sons, he neglected nothing that might improve this blessing in respect to their education. We have said that he had formed great designs, and he had hopes that his sons might live to execute them with as much success as he had shewn prudence in contriving them. His eldest son *Edward*, whom, after the *English* custom, he caused to be styled Prince of *Portugal*, he took the pains of instructing himself in the arts of government, and particularly in those maxims which he thought most conducive to the welfare of his dominions. His second son *Pedro* had at once very quick parts and a very solid understanding, which enabled him, under the eye of his father, to master most branches of learning while he was very young; and, for his farther im-

^a CHERFREDIN ALI Histoire de Timur-bec.

^b See the History of Spain, in the chapter ensuing.

^c EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. c. 1.

^d Histoire de Portugal, p. 391.

^e MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, lib. iv. c. 3.

(E) The time when this discovery was made is not a little uncertain. According to one writer, it must have been about 1344; but, according to others, later. The substance of the relation, than which nothing can be better attested, is this: *Edward Macham*, on board an *English* ship bound to *Spain*, with a lady he had stolen, was by a storm driven to sea, and carried to the island of *Madeira*, then desert, and overgrown with wood. He landed with his mistress, who was much indisposed, and some few other persons, providing for her with as much conveniency as he could, in which those who were with him assisted; but, while they were thus employed, the ship put to sea, and left them. How long they remained upon this island is uncertain; but, the lady dying, *Macham*, having interred her body in a homely chapel, which he had raised to the honour of the holy *Jesus*, erected a monument to her memory, on which he inscribed their names, and these particulars of their story. After this, he and his companions cut

down a large tree, which they hollowed into a kind of canoe; and, embarking on board it, reached with much difficulty the opposite coast of *Africa*, where they were seized by the natives, and presented to their king, who sent them as a present to the king of *Castile*. This affair made so great a noise, that it occasioned the fitting out of those vessels by which the *Canaries* were discovered, as some say, in 1395; but, as others relate, in 1405 (7). However, those discoverers met not with the island where *Macham* had been, which was found again, as we have mentioned in the text, in 1419, by *John Gonzales Zarco* and *Tristram Vaz Teixeira*, who, from its being overgrown with wood, gave it the name of *Madeira*, which the *Spaniards* write *Madera*; and, meeting with the chapel and tomb before mentioned, they bestowed upon the bay, on the side of which it stood, the name of *Machico*, in honour of the original discoverer of this island (8).

(-) *Galvano's Discoveries translated by Hakluyt*, p. 2.

(?) *J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. 3.*

a provement, the king sent him with an equipage, suitable to his quality, to visit several parts of *Europe*; after which, he made a tour into *Asia* and *Africa*^w. It may be inferred from hence, that his father relied chiefly upon him in reference to the discoveries and foreign conquests he had projected; but that young prince, being obliged to turn his thoughts early to civil affairs, contented himself with giving all the lights derived from experience and learning to his younger brother Don *Henry*, of whom we shall speak more at large hereafter; and shall here therefore only observe, that, from his very infancy, he was addicted to the study of the mathematics, took great delight in conversing with men of letters, but more especially such as understood cosmography and astronomy, which were his favourite studies^x. He had a penetrating genius; and, with that, a temper calm and sedate; an extreme passion for the glory of his country, without any mixture of ambition, unless we bestow that name upon his earnest desire to do good, agreeable to the *French* motto he took, *Talent de bienfaire*, which he caused to be inscribed under the arms of *Portugal*, on the crosses and forts erected in the places discovered at his expence. He was master of the order of Christ; and kept his court at *Sagres*, at a small distance from Cape *St. Vincent*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*^y. Don *John*, the fourth son, was master of the order of *St. James*. Don *Ferdinand*, the youngest, was master of the order of *Avis*, which had been his father's first title; and, after his decease, was styled the *Martyr*, upon account of his dying a prisoner among the *Moors*.

PRINCE *Edward* succeeded his father in the throne of *Portugal*. In the year 1443, he undertook, in the second year of his reign, an expedition against *Tangier*, which proved unsuccessful, and where his brother Don *Ferdinand* was taken prisoner, for whose ransom the *Moors* demanded the fortress of *Ceuta*; which the king being unwilling to part with, that unfortunate prince spent the remainder of his days in captivity. King *Edward* did not reign long, deceasing *September* the ninth 1438, leaving behind two sons, both very young^z. The eldest of these, Don *Alonzo*, succeeding to the crown, his uncle Don *Pedro* was declared regent, yet not without great opposition; which obliged him, though naturally inclined to study, and the love of discoveries, to devolve all cares of this sort upon his brother Don *Henry* Duke of *Viseo*; to whom, however, while in power, he gave all the assistance he could^b. It is the more necessary to make this observation, because, in the former reign, the enterprises of that worthy person were looked upon with a jealous, or at least an envious eye. It was suggested to king *Edward*, that the affairs of the *Portuguese* nation did not by any means admit the hazarding ships and men in expeditions of a very uncertain nature, and the very success of which would be naturally productive of new and greater enterprises, altogether improper, since the country was already exhausted by the unfortunate attempt upon *Africa*; for advising of which this prince was also blamed^c. But, after the accession of his nephew Don *Alonzo*, he was freed from these restraints, and suffered to employ his own revenues according to his own mind. Yet the domestic troubles which ensued very much impeded his progress; for, when Don *Alonzo* came to take the reins of government into his own hands, he in a very short time quarrelled with his uncle Don *Pedro*; and, upon this, a civil war broke out, in which that great and gallant prince, who had distinguished himself both by his sword and by his pen, was killed in the field^d, to the great regret of those who sincerely wished the welfare of *Portugal*, and who now discerned that it was much better to employ high and restless spirits in expeditions for the service of their country, than to afford them opportunities of disturbing its peace. This leads us to the proper business of the chapter, which requires us to recapitulate, in their natural and chronological order, the several discoveries by his order within this period, and the progress made after these quarrels were composed^e (F).

^w Histoire du Portugal, p. 413.

^x LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde, vol. i. p. 8, 9. MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, lib. iv. c. 3.

^y Histoire de Portugal, p. 419.

^z MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 4.

^b LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 27.

^c MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 5.

^d LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 35.

^e Histoire de Portugal, p. 431.

(F) As we have mentioned in the text, that the Infant Don *Pedro* was a great traveller, and that he willingly gave his brother all the assistance in his power towards furthering his discoveries, it may not be amiss to mention here a very remarkable instance of it. That prince, after passing through *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, went to the Holy Land; and, on his return to *Europe*, visited *Rome*, and made a tour to *Venice*, where he is said to have procured a very extraordinary map of the world, in which not only the Cape de *Buena Esperanza* was particularly delineated under the name of the

Front of Africa, but also the straits of *Magellan*, called therein *the Dragon's Tail*, which, though very positively asserted, and that by some who pretend to have seen it (9), seems to be a fact very doubtful, or, to speak plainly, very improbable. Yet it is not at all impossible that the Infant Don *Pedro* might meet with some very useful informations at *Venice*, and better charts too than were common in *Portugal*, of which his brother the Duke of *Viseo* might make use, and from whence it is very likely this story might take rise.

Discoveries of
the Infant Don
Henry recapit-
ulated for
forty years.

THIS worthy and excellent prince, the duke of *Viseo*, was endowed with all the qualities that distinguish heroes. He had shewn his courage in the wars against the *Moors*; but he thought the proper object of valour was, the facing those dangers that hinder such designs as may be beneficial to the human species. He resolved, therefore, in order to gratify his passion for discoveries, to make himself master of the *Canaries*, then in the hands of *Maciot de Bethancourt*, who held them from the king of *Castile*; and who, for a consideration, made them over to prince *Henry* about the year 1406^f. He sent *Ferdinand de Castro* to take possession of them; and, conceiving that they might be of use in the discovery of the coasts of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the year 1410 to fit out ships, admitting *Spaniards*, and others who were skilled in navigation, into his service for that purpose. The limits of the south-west part of *Africa*, at that time known to the *Portuguese*, was a cape running out from the foot of mount *Atlas*, the proper name of which was *Cbaunor*, but called by the seamen *Cape Non*, situated in the latitude (as it was then esteemed) of 28° 10' north; and these vessels proceeded beyond that, along the coast, to *Cape Bojadore*, in twenty-six degrees north latitude, but they had not the courage to double it. In 1418 *Tristan Vaz* discovered the island of *Porto Santo*; and gave it that name, because he first saw it on the feast of *All Saints*. The next year the *Portuguese* discovered the island of *Madeira*, which, as we have observed, received its name from its being covered with wood. In 1439 a *Portuguese* captain doubled *Cape Bojadore*, which some think *Ptolemy* called *Cape Canarea*. The next year they sailed as high as *Cape Blanco*, in the latitude of twenty degrees, so that they discovered about eight degrees in the first forty years^g.

An account of
the discoveries
made by the
Portuguese in
the next forty
years.

IN 1446 *Nuno Tristan* doubled *Cape Verd* in the latitude of 14° 40'. In 1448, in the spring, *Don Gonzalo Vallo* sailed to the *Açores*, or *The Hawk Islands*, from the word *Açor*, which in the *Spanish* language signifies a hawk. They were at that time uninhabited, and were settled by this commander, who did not however visit the islands of *Florez* and *Corvo*, which, being discovered and planted by *Flemings*, were from thence called the *Flemish Islands*^h. In the year 1449 the islands of *Cape Verd* were discovered for the infant *Don Henry*. The first of these was called the island of *May*, because they came thither on *May-day*; and at the same time they bestowed the names of *St. James* and *St. Philip* on two of those islands, the rest not being visited till the year 1460ⁱ. The progress made by the Infant *Don Henry* gave great satisfaction to the princes that possessed the crown of *Portugal*, insomuch that king *Alphonso* the fourth, or rather the Infant *Don Pedro*, who governed the kingdom during his minority, granted him the islands of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, according to the custom of those times, was desirous to obtain the sanction of the holy see; and, for that reason, sent *Don Ferdinand Lopes d'Azvedo*, his ambassador, to Pope *Martin* the fifth; who, as the concession was honourable to the chair of *St. Peter*, bestowed on the crown of *Portugal* all that should be discovered on that side, as far as the *Indies*. This bull was dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his successors *Eugenius IV.* *Nicholas V.* and *Sixtus IV.* Prince *Henry*, who began as well as laid the plan of these discoveries, lived to see them pushed as far as *Cape Sierra Leona*, within eight degrees of the line; and, being far advanced in years, deceased *A. D.* 1463^k. In 1471 *Pedro d'Escover* discovered the island of *St. Thomas*, and *Princes Island*; and, on the first day of the next year, another island on the same coast, which he called *Anno Bueno*, now called corruptly *Annobon*. In 1484 *Diego Cam* discovered the kingdom of *Congo*; and, having heard of a Christian monarch who reigned in *Ethiopia*, he magnified his power so much on his return, that *John* the second took a resolution to send by land two persons he could trust, to gain certain intelligence of this prince, whom he judged to be *Presbyter John*, and to acquire at the same time the most satisfactory knowledge they could of the state of the *Indies*; but they returned without performing much, and the king found himself obliged to make a new choice^l (G).

Covillan and
Payva's tra-
vels by land
into the Indies
and Ethiopia.

THE persons charged with this commission, *May 7, 1487*, were *Pedro de Covillan* and *Alphonso de Payva*, who had strict orders to reduce into writing whatever they judged worthy of notice, more especially the situation of places, and the navigation of the coast of *Ethiopia*, which it was hoped might be made the means of passing by a new route to the *Indies*^m.

^f GALVANO'S Discoveries.

^g MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 3.

^h EMANUEL DE FARIA

x SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. vi.

ⁱ GALVANO'S Discoveries.

^k SPOND.

Ann. Ecc. ad ann. 1420. n. 12.

^l MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 5.

^m J. DE BARROS,

Decad. i. l. iii. c. 5.

(G) Some *Portuguese* writers say, that these two gentlemen went no farther than *Jerusalem*, being assured there, that it would prove a thing impracticable for them to travel through the eastern countries without be-

ing perfectly well acquainted with the *Arabic* tongue; and that this was the true reason of their return, that the king might lose no time in finding others properly qualified in that respect (10).

(10) P. Laftan Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 62.

- a These gentlemen, who spoke *Arabic* perfectly, went together to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Cairo*, from which city they proceeded to the famous port of *Aden* in *Arabia*, where, by conversing with traders of all nations, and from all parts of the *Indies*, they learned many things of great consequence, towards yielding the king a just report of their commission. Here they resolved, while one made a tour through the *Indies*, the other should go to the emperor of *Ethiopia*. Accordingly *Pedro de Covillan* went to the *Indies*; and, having made a very exact map of the coasts of that country, he crossed the *Arabian* sea to *Africa*, and, after having visited most of the principal ports there, came to *Sofala*, fully persuaded, as well from the reason of the thing, as from the concurring opinions of the seamen he conversed with, that a short and easy passage might be found round the continent of *Africa* into the *Indies* ^a.
- b He made the best of his way to *Cairo*, very well pleased with what he had already learned, as expecting there to meet his companion; but being informed, on his arrival, that the unfortunate *Alphonso de Payva* had been murdered on the road to *Ethiopia*, he was somewhat at a loss; but, after mature consideration, he resolved to acquaint the king by letter with the discoveries he had made, and to continue his journey into *Ethiopia*, that, at his return to *Portugal*, he might be able to satisfy the king in every respect ^b. He executed this journey at the beginning with the same good fortune that he did the former; and was perfectly well received by *Alexander*, at that time emperor of *Abyssinia*, who was extremely well pleased with the offers made him, and promised to send *Pedro de Covillan* back again with letters to the king his master; but, the emperor dying suddenly, his successor *Nabu* treated our *Portuguese* not only with coldness and disrespect, but with the greatest cruelty, refusing him leave to return home, and keeping him at his court as a prisoner for many years, so that in *Portugal* they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his liberty ^c (H).

But, while this new method of inquiring by travels over land was pursued, the other plainer method of pushing gradually, though slowly, the discoveries made along the coast, was not neglected. For the same *John* the second employed *Bartolomew Diaz*, a person remarkable for prudence, and skill in navigation, as well as for invincible courage, to proceed along the south coast of *Africa*; which accordingly he did in the year 1486, when, arriving in sight of a high cape, he met with very bad weather, and lost the company of his victualling-bark; upon which his crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at once the hardships of the sea and of famine. But Captain *Diaz*, representing to them that the former was not to be escaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was, to proceed till they came to some place where they could get refreshments, he prevailed upon them to double this cape, and to sail a good way beyond it, to a place where he erected a pillar of stone; and, having obtained a small supply, he returned, and in his passage homewards met with his bark, in which, of nine men that he left, three only survived, and, of these, *Ferdinand Colazzo* died with joy at the first sight of his captain ^d. He continued his voyage safely to *Lisbon*, where he arrived in *December* 1487, sixteen months and seven days after his setting out, having discovered in that time above 1000 miles along the coast. He gave the king his master a full account of all that had happened; and insisted particularly on the difficulty with which he had doubled that stupendous promontory, which he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormentoso*, that is, *The Tempestuous Cape*: but the king, who, from the lights he had received from *Covillan*'s letters, was enabled to form a right judgment of the importance of this discovery, styled it *CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA*, or, *The Cape of Good Hope*, which name it hath ever since retained; for he saw clearly, from the agreement between these accounts, that the passage was open, and that there wanted but one voyage more to finish what they had so much desired, viz. the finding a direct passage by sea to the *East Indies* ^e. But, while king *John* meditated this great design, and busied himself in contriving the means of executing it in such a manner, as might be most honourable to himself, and advantageous for

Captain Diaz
doublet Cabo
del Bueno Es-
peranza, and
shows the pas-
sage opening to
Asia.

^a MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 19. ^b P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 63. ^c MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 20. ^d PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 7. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 20. ^e OSOR. de reb. Eman. lib. i. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 17. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 68.

(H) While these gentlemen were thus employed, the king sent two *Jews* into the *Indies*, from whom he received a distinct account of the prodigious commerce carried on in the island of *Ormuz*; of the route of the caravans that went from *Balsora* to *Alppo*, with the nature, the quantity, and the value, of the merchandize, that one year with another was this way conveyed; which account was very pleasing to the king, who sent

them back with orders to meet Don *Pedro de Covillan*, who received from them the king's direction to repair to *Ethiopia*. He is reported to have been the first *Portuguese* that entered the *Indies*; and it was from his journal, sent by the *Jews*, that the king his master was fully persuaded his endeavours would be attended with success. This Don *Pedro* remained a kind of prisoner in *Ethiopia* to the year 1520 (11).

(11) *Maffæi Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. i. c. 11.

his subjects, the great Ruler of all things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this life* (I).

* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 8. MARRAS Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 20. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 95.

(I) As this monarch made the discovery of the *Indies* the great business of his life, so we may easily conceive, that he must have been chagrined to the last degree by the arrival of *Columbus*, March the 4th, 1493, in the port of *Lisbon*, after having discovered *America*, which discovery he had proposed to this prince, and, through the ill offices of some who envied him, had his offers refused. He was so piqued at this, that when the king sent for him, and desired a relation of his voyage, he intermixed such severe reflections on the usage he had

received, as provoked some of the courtiers to tell the king, he deserved to be assassinated; which proposition he not only rejected with horror, but treated *Columbus* with great civility, and ordered all the *Indians* he had on board to be cloathed in scarlet, at his expence (12). At the time of his demise, the discovery, upon which he had so much set his heart, was considered as a thing certain and practicable; but was not, however, accomplished till the succeeding reign (13).

(12) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 87. tome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 8.

(13) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epi-

S E C T. II.

The voyage of Vasques de Gama to the coast of Malabar; the disputes and wars with the Samorin; and the progress of the Portuguese affairs, to the sending over the first viceroy.

Arguments to persuade king Emanuel to persist in prosecuting discoveries.

THIS wise and good king, *John* the second, who, for his virtues, was surnamed the *Perfect Prince*, dying October 25, 1495, without lawful issue, left the crown to Don *Emanuel*, the son of Don *Ferdinand*, duke of *Viseo*, to whom of right it belonged. This prince succeeded in the flower of his age, being about twenty-seven, and possessed most of those qualities worthy of a monarch. He had great parts, much penetration, and an excellent judgment; yet so diffident of his own abilities, that, foreseeing the execution of his predecessor's projects would be attended with larger expences than hitherto they had been, he declined prosecuting them, without the advice of his council, before whom he laid all the informations that either himself or king *John* had received. The *Portuguese* statesmen were divided in their opinions; for some pressed the king to tread in the footsteps of his ancestors, and to complete with glory what they had begun; while others as vehemently opposed his pursuit of this design; neither did each party fail of advancing very plausible arguments in maintenance of their proposal. Such as were desirous that this new navigation might be attempted, observed, "That the trade to the *Indies* had been the source of power and riches to every empire that had been possessed of it: that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the hands of their nation in such a manner, that it would not only be disadvantageous, but dishonourable, to refuse it: that all difficulties were in a manner already overcome; so that there remained scarce any thing, but going to take possession of those fine countries, and that vast wealth, which, though all the world thirsted after, none but themselves knew how to reach: that the engrossing so rich a trade to *Portugal* would balance their small extent of territory, and enable the king's subjects to make as great a figure as the inhabitants of kingdoms much more potent in appearance: that, in fine, there were as many dangers to be apprehended from abandoning this design, as benefits to be expected by pursuing it; since, in all probability, their ambitious neighbours the *Spaniards* would undertake, and accomplish this great work, the wealth derived from which would enable them to execute with ease whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless ambition."

Other reasons for discontinuing them, as prejudicial to Portugal.

On the other side, it was alleged, "That there were many things more apparently necessary to the kingdom, than such long, such expensive, and such uncertain expeditions; since there were several large tracts of land, and particularly that spacious plain between the *Ebro* and the *Tagus*, not properly cultivated, the improvement of which would free them from the necessity of depending for their daily bread upon strangers: that their country was but thinly peopled; at least in proportion to the numbers it might be able to maintain, if, instead of maritime expeditions, they turned their thoughts towards making the most of what was in their power; so that it was very unreasonable to consume numbers of men, that might be immediately useful to their country, for the sake of distant, and perhaps fallacious, expectations: that all discoveries and conquests hitherto had furnished only a few

* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9.

"negroes,

- a “ negroes, elephants teeth, strange birds, and other curiosities ; in procuring which, they had
 “ suffered many shipwrecks, and run the hazard of many more : that, for a century together,
 “ they had been amused with these golden dreams, and therefore it was high time to awake from
 “ this delusion ; that the kings his predecessors had been at vast expences, to very little purpose,
 “ in pursuit of the like designs ; and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in
 “ following their example, but oblige him also to consider the dangerous consequences of run-
 “ ning an exhausted nation into disbursements she was unable to bear : that besides, the success
 “ of the undertaking might bring such demands upon the crown of *Portugal*, as would greatly
 “ exceed her force ; so that, perhaps, her interests at home might come to be sacrificed to those
 “ abroad.” Don *Emanuel*, having maturely considered what had been offered on both sides,
 b resolved to select to much of either opinion, as might conduce most to his own reputation, the
 completing his predecessor's scheme, and the welfare of his subjects (K).

- It was in consequence of this resolution, that, in the spring of the second year, he ordered A. D. 1494
 four ships to be equipped ; three of which were armed vessels, with some pieces of cannon on board, and the fourth a small store-ship. We may be sure that these vessels were not very great, ^{Valques de}
 since, in the whole, there were on board but 160 soldiers and seamen. The person chosen to ^{Gama pre-}
 command was Don *Vasquez*, or *Vasca da Gama*, a man of very high quality, who possessed ^{ceeds, by the}
 all the talents necessary for such an employment *. On the 9th of *July* he embarked on board ^{Cape of Good}
 the *Gabriel*, which was the admiral, of the burthen of 120 tons, and the same day put to sea. ^{Hope, to the}
 On the 3d of *August* he left the island of *St. Augustine*. On the 20th of *November* he doubled ^{Indies.}
 c the *Cape of Good Hope*. In the beginning of the month of *January* he put into a port of
Ethiopia. And on the 1st of *March* he entered that of *Mozambique* ; where the scurvy de-
 stroyed many of his people, and where they were in great danger of being put to death as
 soon as it was known they were Christians. His artillery, however, preserved him ; and from
 thence he continued his voyage to *Mombaza* ; and there he met likewise with perfidious deal-
 ing. He sailed from thence to *Melinda* ; the king of which country received him with civility,
 and promised to send an ambassador to king *Emanuel*, when they returned into *Portugal*. Don
Vasquez, in obedience to his instructions, sailed from thence for the coast of *Malabar* ; and,
 arriving at *Calicut*, first heard of a puissant monarch in those parts, styled the *Samorin*. There
 he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary act of friendship ; for, on his officers first
 d going on shore, they were met by a moor of *Tunis*, whose name was *Monzaida*, who knew them
 by their dress to be *Portuguese* ; and tho', as well on the score of his country as his religion, it was
 natural for him to hate them, yet he very kindly offered them his service, and sincerely ful-
 filled all that he had promised. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a powerful and warlike na-
 tion were come from the farthest parts of the earth to seek his friendship, and to trade with
 his subjects. This representation had its effects ; *Gama* was allowed to anchor in that port,
 and also admitted to an audience (L), in which he was treated with kindness and respect †.

- But things did not remain long in this posture ; for the *Mohammedans*, who were settled in ^{Difference}
 the dominions of this prince, foreseeing their own commerce must be destroyed by the coming ^{with the Sa-}
 of the *Portuguese*, took incredible pains to misrepresent them as an ambitious and cruel people, ^{morin, which}
 who meant nothing less than to depose the *Samorin*, and to conquer his country ; which stories ^{obliges Don}
 e had such an effect on the *Indian* monarch, that he began to lay snares for the destruction of ^{Valques to}
Gama and his people. Don *Vasquez* had very early intelligence of his designs, and therefore
 hastened on board his ships, and quitted the coast. He wrote, however, a letter to the *Sa-*

* P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 92, 95. † J. DE BARROS, Decad. i.
 lib. iv. cap. 2—11. Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 21. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de
 las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9. OSOR. de Reb. Eman. lib. i. * P. LAFITAU Histoire des
 Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 112.

(K) There are three very remarkable particulars mentioned with regard to this prince's coming to the throne, and accomplishing happily what had been so ardently wished by his predecessor. In the first place, he was bred up and adopted by the Infant Don *Henry*, who seemed to consider him as the heir of whatever should result from his endeavours and inquiries. The second, that king *John* commanded him, while a boy, to add a globe to his arms, which was afterwards looked upon as a preface of the *Indies* being found under his auspice. And lastly, he came to the throne very unexpectedly, Don *Alphonso*, son to king *John* the second, being killed by a fall from his horse, in the flower of his age, *Joze* 12, 14, 1 (14).

(L) The *Portuguese*, not without good reason, were very suspicious of this monarch's faith, and therefore unanimously dissuaded their general from trusting his person in his hands. Don *Vasquez* gave, upon this occasion, a noble testimony of true courage, and, at the same time, of public spirit. He made his brother *Paul* general in his absence, with this express direction, that if any mischief befel him, he should not either attempt to deliver or revenge him, but immediately put to sea, and return to *Portugal* ; charging him to tell the king, that he died his faithful servant, happy in having performed his orders, and discovered the *Indies* for *Portugal* (15). But Providence protecting him, he lived to carry that news himself.

(14) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9. Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 21. P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 93. (15) J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 7.

morin; in which he complained of this breach of faith, justified himself from the imputations a before-mentioned, and advised the *Samorin* to return to his former sentiments. The *Samorin* wrote him a polite answer; in which he laid the blame on his ministers, and the *Mohammedans*, promising to punish the guilty, assuring him, his nation should meet with no reason to complain; and, to these compliments, added a respectful letter to the king of *Portugal*^b, in which he accepted the propositions made him on his majesty's behalf, and promised a free trade to his subjects, without prejudice, however, to his former allies (M). Don *Vasquez*, having received the letters, proceeded to the island of *Angediva*, at the distance of fifty leagues from *Calicut*; where having repaired his vessels, and refreshed his people, he sailed thence for *Europe*. In his passage, he took care to put into *Melinda*, where he was received, as before, with great friendship; and the king, according to his promise, sent with him an ambassador to *Portugal*^c. He proceeded then to the island of *Zanguebar*; but, finding by the way his crew much diminished, he burnt the *Saint Raphael*, which was commanded by his brother *Paul Gama*, and took the men on board his own ship. From *Zanguebar* he sailed to *Mozambique*, where he took in a supply of fresh provisions. On the 20th of *March* following he doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*; proceeded from thence to the *Terceras*; and, in the month of *September* 1499, arrived safe at *Belem*; having spent two years and ten months in his voyage, and having lost, by sickness and fatigue, 100 men, and amongst them his brother^d. The success of this voyage put an end to all disputes; all ranks of people were loud in their commendations of the noble person who had achieved this enterprise; but it was observed, those were loudest in their applause, who, before his departure, had treated this discovery as a vision; and the plain reason was, that, considering it as a thing of expence, their love of money made them against it, and now, on its succeeding, the hopes of profit carried them with greater violence the other way^e (N).

The second fleet sent to the Indies, under the command of Don Pedro de Capral.

THE council of *Portugal* being unanimous, the king was solicited not to lose time, or spare expence, in seconding his good fortune, and reaping the benefits of that discovery, of which his royal predecessors had only a prospect. The fleet for this second expedition was composed of thirteen sail, some of which were large ships^f. Don *Pedro Alvarez de Capral* was appointed general and commander in chief, and carried with him 1500 regular troops. In the month of *March*, experience having shewn That was the properest season of the year for visiting the *Indies*, he sailed from *Lisbon*. In his passage, keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the storms that had been met with in doubling the cape, he found himself near an unknown continent, opposite to that of *Africa*, and, as it made a very pleasant appearance, he judged it requisite to go on shore, and take possession, on the behalf of the king his master, which country he called *The Land of the Holy Cross*, but it has been since known by the name of *Brazil*; and thus the *Portuguese* first set foot on the continent of *America*^g. This discovery seemed of such consequence to Don *Pedro*, that he thought fit to send *Gaspar Lamidos* back to *Portugal* with the good news, putting one of the natives of the new-found country on board; and having left likewise twenty condemned persons, who were sent with him for such

^f MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 29. ^g GALVANO's Discoveries. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 29. EDEN's Hist. of Travel. ^h J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 11. ⁱ MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 29. ^j J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 2. ^k MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. ii.

(M) It was to this *Moor* that Don *Vasquez* owed his own safety, and the *Portuguese* the possession of the *Indies*; for the *Mohammedans* laid before the *Samorin* all the consequences that would attend the coming of the Christians into the *Indies*; and shewed him, that the only method to prevent it was to cut off these strangers to a man, and burn their ships: to which, if a fair opportunity had offered, it is thought he was well enough inclined; but the *Moor* gave Don *Vasquez* intelligence of all, from a spirit of honour and generosity, taking, at the same time, a resolution of sharing his fortune, and accordingly returned with him to *Portugal*; where he became a Christian, lived with honour, and died in peace (16).

(N) Don *Vasquez da Gama*, as soon as he arrived at *Lisbon*, went to spend a week in devotion at the hermitage of our Lady, built by the Infant Don *Henry*, and where he had offered up his prayers to God, for the success of his voyage, at the time of his departure. Thither the king sent several persons of distinction, to compliment him in his name; after which, he made his public entry into *Lisbon*, with all the pomp and cere-

mony of a sovereign prince, illuminations, bonfires, and every other testimony of public joy, being expressed, on his return. Besides these honourable marks of favour, the king granted him more solid evidences of his gratitude and esteem, by augmenting his coat of arms with part of those of *Portugal*, declared him admiral of the *Indies*, added to that a perpetual rent charge of a thousand crowns out of his exchequer, with a permission to invest 200,000 cruzadoes in every cargo sent to the *Indies*; which produced upwards of 200,000 pounds of our money in return; and some time afterwards he created him Count *de Vidigal* (17). To perpetuate the memory of this great event, and to do honour to the original promoter of it, the king converted the little hermitage of the Infant Don *Henry* into a most magnificent church, to which he added a convent of *Jeronymites*, endowed with great revenues, and gave it the title of *Estrella m.*, or, as the *Portuguese* pronounce it, *Belem*, which has been since the burial place of the kings of *Portugal*, placing a most noble statue of the Infant Don *Henry* over the great gate of the church (18).

(16) Maffæi Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 29. (17) Id. m. lib. ii. cap. 11. (18) P. Leffau Hist. toire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 154.

- ^a desperate services, in *Brazil*, prosecuted his voyage^c. In a short time after he left *Brazil* he was surprised by a most dreadful storm, in which he lost many of his people, and one of his ships, on board which was *Bartholomew Diaz*, who first doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and who, by this accident, perished with the rest. The general, notwithstanding, continued his voyage to *Mozambique*, where he arrived, with no more than six sail, and those but in a poor condition. The inhabitants, remembering the disputes they had with his predecessor, received him with respect, and furnished him with whatever he demanded. He proceeded from thence to *Quiloa*, and then continued his route to *Melinda*, where he set on shore the ambassador of that prince, whom *Vasques da Gama* brought over. He proceeded from thence, with a fair gale of wind, to the *Angedive Islands*, where he refreshed, and refitted^f.
- ^b THE *Samorin*, having intelligence of his arrival, sent to compliment him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*; which he accepted, provided he had hostages for security. Those he demanded were the *Catual*, or commissioner of the customs, and some other of the *Samorin's* ministers; at which that prince hesitated at first, but at length consented. On his landing, he was admitted to an audience of the emperor; at which *Capral*, who was naturally vain, made a display of his magnificence. The *Samorin*, to demonstrate the sincerity of his professions, made him a present of a house, by a deed of gift, ingrossed in letters of gold; he permitted him also to set up the standard of *Portugal*, to appoint a factor, or consul, for his nation, and to open magazines for commerce; but all this fair shew of reciprocal friendship soon came to nothing. The *Portuguese* historians acknowledge, that it happened through the imprudence of their factor *Correa*, who, on some slight information, acquainted *Capral*, that the *Samorin* intended somewhat foul. The *Portuguese* general, upon this, began to seize ships, and to commit other acts of hostility. Upon which the inhabitants, as might be expected, attacked the *Portuguese* factory; forced the gates, pillaged and burnt the house, and, of sixty people that were in it, murdered fifty, the rest saving themselves, with great difficulty, on board their ships^g (O). The *Portuguese* general took a severe revenge, by burning ten vessels, richly laden, in the port, making slaves of their crews, and beating down a great many houses. After which, he sailed for *Cochin*, which lies thirty leagues from *Calicut*. On the throne of *Cochin*, at that time, sat a prince worthy of renown, *Trimumpara*, who, having reasons to be offended with the *Samorin*, received Don *Pedro* very kindly, and concluded a treaty with him, into which the kings of *Coulam* and *Cananor* were afterwards admitted^h. For *Capral*, taking great state upon him, did not immediately listen to this proposal, but offered to carry their ambassadors into *Portugal*; assuring them, that his majesty would send them speedy and powerful assistance against the *Samorin*. They accepted this offer; and the general, having taken on board a rich cargo, paid a visit to the king of *Cananor*; and, having received the ambassadors of all the three princes on board, in the month of *January* sailed for *Europe*. In his passage home, one of his ships ran ashore on the coast of *Melinda*, when, to prevent the *Mohammedans* from making any advantage, he first nailed his cannon, and then set the ship on fire; notwithstanding which, the king of *Monbaza* found means to weigh the artillery, and to render them serviceable, to the great prejudice of the Christians. The *Portuguese* general, continuing his voyage, doubled the cape, without any great difficulty, and arrived safely at *Lisbon* on the 23d of *July* 1501. He brought home with him a large cargo, the ambassadors of three princes, and a pompous account of the great exploits he had performed against the *Samorin*ⁱ. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable reception, from the great loss he had sustained in this voyage, and the number of gallant men who had perished in it, not to be replaced by all the wealth of the *Indies*, at least in the sentiments of the king his master, to whom his subjects gave the title of *Great*; and, indeed, no monarch of theirs deserved it so well, or, perhaps, any monarch of any other nation better (P).

THE

^c P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 160.

Ancho-dive, that is, five islands.

^g MAFFEI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 4.

Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 3.

^h MAFFEI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 5.

ⁱ In the language of that coun-

^j J. DE BARROS,

(O) The *Moors* were at this time masters of the best part of the commerce in the dominions of the *Samorin*; for the management of which, they had two officers residing in his capital, called *Shaubanders*, one of which had the inspection of the caravans, and all the trade carried on by land, as the other had of the marine. The *Portuguese* general appointed *Anar de Correa* to be the consul, or merchant general, of his nation, to whom both the *Shaubanders* addressed themselves, the former with the fairest, and the latter with the foulest intentions

possible. As bad men make the best flatterers, so he soon wrought himself so much into *Correa's* favour, that, by filling his head with groundless suspicions, he induced him to commit various acts of insolence and violence, and at the same time privately irritated the people, and put them upon attacking and plundering the *Portuguese* warehouses, where they murdered *Correa* and fifty more; which produced those flagrant acts of revenge that are mentioned in the text (19).

(P) What is said in the text regards the personal qua-

(19) J. de Barros, *Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 5.*

A third squadron sent thither under Don Juan Calleca, who does remarkable service.

THE foresight of this fortunate king was so great, that, before the return of *Capral*, he had sent a small squadron to the *Indies*, of four sail, under the command of Don *Juan Calleca*, who very happily repaired the mischiefs that had been done by the *Samorin*, and prevented his attempting greater, by defeating a fleet of eighty sail, of which he destroyed ten; and, by giving the king of *Cochin* such assurances of continual protection, as kept him firm to his alliance^k. This vigilance and moderation procured him the universal esteem and affection of such of the *Indian* princes as had already negotiated with the *Portuguese*; and enabled him to provide, in a short time, a valuable cargo, with which he returned to *Portugal*. In his homeward passage, he touched at the island of *St. Helena*, and was so much pleased with it, that he procured an order from the king, that his fleets, for the future, should likewise touch there for refreshment^l. It cannot be supposed, that the returns he brought from the *Indies* were of greater value in themselves than those of the former fleets; but, in proportion to the force of his squadron, and to the expence with which his expedition was attended, they made a much superior figure. To this we may attribute that wonderful ardour with which all ranks and degrees of people embraced the *Indian* commerce, that began now to draw a vast number of foreign vessels to *Lisbon*, and to excite such a desire in strangers, as well as natives, to embark in this lucrative trade, that, when king *Emanuel* declared his resolution of sending a fleet of twenty sail of large ships^m, he found himself in a condition to accomplish it, as soon as the season would permit. Which is so clear a proof of the amazing consequences that attend new discoveries, and that opinion which it is at all times natural for mankind to have of difficult enterprizes, when they are once attended with success, that it ought to make a strong impression upon all statesmen, and more especially upon such as direct the affairs of maritime powers, where the very reputation of opening any new passage is capable of producing advantages, of which no conception could have been formed, before the event which produced them. But our business is history, and not reflections; yet sometimes they rise so strongly, that an author, who has any attention to what he writes, or affection for those to whom he writes, can hardly forbear them.

The second voyage of Don Vasquez da Gama, and his exploits in the Indies.

THE two last expeditions shewed plainly, that the choice of a commander in chief was a point of more importance than even the strength of a fleet: when therefore this formidable armament was ready, the king desired *Vasquez da Gama* to undertake a second voyage to the *Indies*, which, believing the service of the public ought to take place of that satisfaction which, as a private man, he tasted in repose, that true hero, without any difficulty, accepted. At the proper season of the year the Count *de Videguara* sailed from *Lisbon*; and, arriving at *Guiloa*, he forced the king to become tributary to his master, and to promise an annual tribute of 2000 crowns of gold. He sailed from thence to *Cananor*, where he landed the ambassador, made rich presents to the king, renewed the alliance, and then sailed for *Cochin*. Soon after his arrival there he received a deputation from the Christians of *India*, or, as they are generally called, Christians of *St. Thomas*, to whom he promised assistance, and that he would leave, as he did, a squadron behind him to protect themⁿ. The *Samorin* all this time neglected nothing that could be contrived or executed to destroy his enemies. He laboured to engage *Trimumpara* to betray Don *Vasquez*; but that prince answered, that the *Portuguese* had behaved towards him with great generosity; and that, while they continued to do so, he would never abandon them. The *Samorin*, finding these measures ineffectual, declared, by assembling a fleet of 29 sail, that he was resolved to attack Don *Vasquez*, when ready to return with his fleet laden, and in a condition least able to oppose him; which he accordingly did. Don *Vasquez* suffered them to come as near as they pleased; and then engaging two of their largest ships, the seamen and soldiers, after a short resistance, in which they lost 300 men, jumped overboard; which struck such a terror into their companions, that they bore away in the utmost confusion. In the two ships taken were found immense riches, besides gold and silver plate, to a great value; all which being brought on board the admiral, the ships were set on fire^o. Don *Vas-*

^k J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 10. ^l MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 6. ^m EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 6. ⁿ MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, ibid. cap. 7. ^o P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 184.

lities and royal endowments of the *Portuguese* monarch; but it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, that these were not the only motives which procured him that title; for, in reality, he had a very fair prospect of having the most extensive dominions of any prince of his time. He had espoused the Infanta of *Spain*, and had by her a son; so that he was considered as the presumptive heir of their Catholic Majesties *Ferdinand* and

Isabella; which fair hopes, though afterwards they were disappointed, set him very high in the sentiments of strangers, as well as his own people; so that none accused him of vanity, when he added to the plain and modest titles of his predecessors, lord (20) of the navigation, conquest, and commerce, of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*.

(20) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 10.

a *quez* proceeded, after his victory, to *Cananor*, conferred with the king on the measures necessary to be taken in his absence ; and then, leaving six large ships, under the command of *Vincent Sodrez*, sailed for *Mozambique* ; where having taken in necessary refreshments, he continued his voyage, without any unlucky accident, to *Lisbon* ; where he was received with the utmost joy, and the tribute of the king of *Guiloa*, in a silver basin, was carried in triumph before him, at his public entry ^p (Q).

THE *Samorin* did not suffer this opportunity to be lost ; but, as soon as the *Portuguese* fleet left the *Indies*, marched, at the head of 50,000 men, against the king of *Cochin*, whose subjects were unwilling to fight in this quarrel, and therefore besought their sovereign to make his peace, by giving up the strangers ; but *Trimumpara* acted on other principles, and acted with the utmost firmness and dignity. At this critical season *Vincent Sodrez* arrived ; to whom the king of *Cochin* applied himself for relief, and desired he would land a part of his forces, to assist him in this extremity ^q. This *Portuguese* officer, if we may trust the historians of his own country, was a very brave man, and understood his business perfectly ; but he loved money ; and had found an easy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mohammedan* traders, and was loth to leave it. He therefore pretended, that, by his instructions, he was to act only by sea ; on this pretence, therefore, he would not consent to land so much as a single man ^r. This amazed the good old king, and disoblged the *Portuguese* at *Cochin* to the last degree ; but *Sodrez*, out of pain about their resentments, sailed for the *Red Sea*, in order to make prizes ; where his own ship was lost, and he and his brother drowned (R). The *Samorin*, during his absence, marched with his army into the territories of *Cochin* ; where, the king being betrayed, a pass was opened that led to his capital, by which the *Samorin* imagined he had him intirely at his mercy. As soon as *Trimumpara* was informed of this unlucky accident, his first care was for the safety of the *Portuguese* ; in order to which, he directed that they should be sent to the island of *Viapan*, over-against *Cochin*. This island was consecrated to the mysteries of the *Indian* religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted inviolable, in all the disputes between monarchs of that faith ; but it was also a place of strength, not only in some measure inaccessible by nature, but from its being rendered quite so by the assistance of art ; and in this island there were considerable magazines, and a competent garison of good troops. The *Samorin* carrying all before him, a great part of *Trimumpara's* subjects deserted their master, and submitted to that tyrant ; by which the king of *Cochin* found himself at last obliged to follow the *Portuguese*, and take shelter in the same place ^s. The governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his master's interest, and thereby preserved him from the rage of his enemy ; for the *Samorin*, having burnt the town of *Cochin*, attacked the island of *Viapan* several times, but was as often repulsed with loss, and at last obliged to abandon his design, and to return into his own dominions ; the winter-season coming on, in which it is impossible for an *Indian* army to keep the field. He left, however, a considerable garison in *Cochin*, and ordered several forts to be erected, resolving to return thither again in the spring, and perfect his scheme of expelling the Christians ^t.

BUT, before that season of the year returned which would permit an *Indian* army to act, a new fleet, well manned, arrived from *Portugal*, under the command of *Don Francisco Albuquerque*, a man of a long head, and a stout heart ; and he, having very luckily joined that squadron which the commander in chief had left upon the coast, found no great difficulties in disappointing all the *Samorin's* schemes, or, after that was done, in executing his own ; for in the *Indies*, as well as every-where else, whoever is absolute master upon the sea may prescribe

The Samorin invades Cochin with a great army, and drives Trimumpara to great distress.

Don Francisco Albuquerque arrives in the Indies, and restores the king of Cochin.

^p MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 203.

^q P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, ubi supra, cap. 8.

^r P. LAFITAU, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 209, 210.

^t MAFFÆI Hist. Ind. ubi sup.

(Q) Among the precious spoils that adorned the triumph of the admirate, there was a famous idol of gold, taken on board one of the *Indian* ships. It weighed sixty pounds ; the pupils of the eyes were emeralds, perfectly fine ; and on the breast there was a ruby, of the size of a chesnut, upon which the jewellers knew not how to set a value. Besides this, there was a mantle overlaid with the finest pearls the *Persian* gulf had ever produced. In the management of this solemnity, all flowed from the king ; for the admiral of the *Indies* heightened the merit of his services by an unaffected modesty, and that generous repugnance which he shewed in receiving the rewards that were due to them, saying, upon all occasions, that the success of his endeavours was to be ascribed wholly to God, and that all the honours he had received flowed from the bounty of his prince (21).

(R) There is no character more rudely treated than that of this officer, by all the *Portuguese* writers, by which it plainly appears, that avarice is not the vice of their nation, but it was the ruling passion of this man in the highest degree. He was driven ashore upon the islands of *Curia* and *Muria*, from which danger the *Arabians* on the neighbouring coast rescued him, but took care to be well paid for it ; they told him, at the same time, that he would do well to quit those seas, in which ships were often exposed to such violent gusts from the north, as were absolutely irresistible. Four of his captains quitted him upon this, and retired to the island of *Angedive* : himself and his brother perished, through their obstinacy, with those immense treasures they had acquired by rapine, while their good ally was left in so great distress (22).

(21) P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 196, 197. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(22) MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i.

laws on land also, as we shall see this *Portuguese* general did. He drove out the garrison which the *Samorin* had left in *Cochin*, and, having demolished their forts, brought the king back to his capital^a. As this gave the *Portuguese* admiral an irresistible interest over the monarch of *Cochin*, he took occasion, from thence, to desire liberty of erecting a place of strength, for the security of his countrymen, that they might not be exposed to such dangers as they had gone through for the future. The proposal was, without difficulty, accepted; and the king of *Cochin* not only gave him leave to build a fort, but to build it where he thought fit^b. In consequence of this, *Francisco Albuquerque* made choice of an eminence, commanding both the town and the royal fort; and as the king, to facilitate it, allowed him to cut down the fine palm-trees that were planted round his palace, he quickly finished the fortresses, in the best manner such materials would permit. He likewise built a chapel for the performance of divine service. And thus, as the *Portuguese* writers themselves express it, their nation^c became possessed of the dominion, as well in spirituals as temporals, of the *Indies* (S). Don *Francisco* pushed these ambitious projects, and, under pretence of reducing such as had rebelled against the king of *Cochin*, made himself master of their countries, pillaged all their towns and villages at pleasure, and committed even greater devastations than the *Samorin*, during the last invasion^d.

Upon which the *Samorin* concludes a treaty of peace with him and the *Portuguese*.

THE poor *Indians* were amazed; it was impossible for them not to abhor these strangers, who treated them with such insolence and barbarity; but, at the same time, they knew not where to fly for refuge, except to the clemency of their sovereign, who, like the true father of his people, forgot their disobedience to him, and, by his intercession, procured them some indulgence from the *Portuguese*. The *Samorin* entered, about this time, into a private negotiation for peace, which was quickly concluded, but with great secrecy^e. All the articles of it were highly favourable to the crown of *Portugal*, and the consequences might have been highly advantageous to its subjects; but they were now become so insolent, that they broke the peace as soon as it was concluded; and when the *Samorin* complained, *Francisco Albuquerque* heard his ambassador very coldly, and, to shew his contempt for his master, did not so much as vouchsafe to give him an answer. It was impossible for so great a monarch to sit down tamely under such usage; and therefore he began to make, though with as much secrecy as possible, all the preparations in his power, to take revenge. *Trimumpara* had intelligence of this, with which he acquainted the *Portuguese* general, and desired him to delay his return to *Europe*; to which *Alphonso Albuquerque*, the nephew, would have consented, but Don *Francisco* absolutely refused. All he could be brought to was, to leave *Edward Pacheco*, with three ships and 150 men, to assist the king of *Cochin*^f. The reason of this stubbornness, was his having made a vast fortune in the *Indies*; which, however, proved fatal to him, and those about him; for, in their passage home, meeting with bad weather, and the ship being crowded with rich goods, they went all together to the bottom^g (T).

Trimumpara's kingdom gallantly defended by *Edward Pacheco*, and a handful of *Portuguese*.

THE war broke out in the kingdom of *Cochin*, as soon as the *Portuguese* failed; the people of the country behaved as they had done before, that is, they either ran away, or deserted; but *Pacheco* defended the king with great courage and generosity, till, by the arrival of fresh forces from *Europe*, and repeated victories gained over *Samorin*, the peace of that part of the world was intirely restored. After seeing this fully established, *Pacheco* returned home, with a very moderate fortune, but with ample testimonials, not only of his courage and con-

^a P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 211.

^b MARRAS Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.

^c P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 217.

^d MARRAS Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.

^e P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 222.

^f GUYON Histoire des Indes

^g P. LAFITAU Histoire

^h PERCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. i.

(S) It is very remarkable, that *Vasques de Gama* endeavoured to fix the *Portuguese* dominion in *Asia* on the voluntary attachment of the natives; and that it was owing to his modesty and uprightness, that *Trimumpara* conceived so high an opinion of that nation, which he had afterwards occasion enough to repent (23). It is, however, very doubtful, whether this humour of building forts, and making themselves lords of all the places where they came, was so advantageous to the *Portuguese*, as the other method would have been, as the reader will see in the sequel of this chapter.

(T) It is necessary to observe, that *Francisco* and *Alphonso Albuquerque* were cousins; that the former was the elder, and had the command at this time; so that the latter, with whom he rarely advised, could not pre-

vent those acts of haughtiness and violence which had so bad an effect. Yet it is, on all hands, agreed, that this *Francisco Albuquerque* was, in other respects, a very gallant man, and a good officer; and it is recorded, as a singular stroke of his policy, that when he found the good old king of *Cochin* shut up in an island, and in the lowest condition imaginable, he not only paid him the highest respect, but took 10,000 pieces of gold out of the cash intrusted to his care, and made that monarch believe it was a present sent him by his brother of *Portugal*; which made such an impression, as nothing could remove; and some have remarked thereupon, that, with this small sum, well timed, and given with a good grace, he purchased the *Indies* (24).

(23) GUYON Hist. des Indes Orientales, P. i. cap. 10.

^h P. i. lib. iii. p. 212.

(24) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais.

duct,

- a dust, of his zeal for the honour of his country, and of the ample services rendered to its allies, but also of his equity and justice, which procured him a very extraordinary reception in *Portugal*; where the king ordered one of the most eloquent prelates of that age to write the history of this war, and to do justice to that disinterestedness with which *Pacheco* had behaved. The king drew from him many lights towards carrying into execution a very great design which he had been for some time meditating, the driving the *Mohammedans* entirely out of the *Indies*. This, without doubt, was very noble and heroic, very consistent with his character as a Christian hero, and like to be attended with beneficial consequences to his people; but at the same time it did not seem in any degree so practicable as it was glorious. After much deliberation, however, it appeared to him in another light.
- b *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great ports in the east, in which the *Mohammedans* were established, and from whence they carried on all their commerce to the most distant parts of the *Indies*. These ports were, *Aden*, in *Arabia*; *Ormuz*, in an island of the same name; and *Malacca*, near the straits of *Sincapour*. As their strength was by this means divided, *Don Emanuel* judged it not impossible to make himself master of all these places in their turns; and, with this view, he began to fit out a stronger fleet than hitherto he had sent to the *Indies*^d. His notions were well founded; and we shall see, that by degrees, and more especially by a due distribution of his designs, this wise and fortunate prince actually accomplished all the vast things that he desired.

^c EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 9.
Indica, P. i. l. iii. c. 5.

^d MAFFEI Hist.

S E C T. III.

Various fortunes of the Portuguese, from the regular foundation of their empire in the Indies, to the death of their successful statesman and renowned captain, the Great ALBUQUERQUE.

- c **T**HERE happened in the mean time a new scene of affairs in the east, where the Bra-
mins, who were about the *Samorin*, shewed themselves able politicians, by giving him the very best advice his affairs would admit. They observed that the Christians and *Mohammedans* were equally his enemies; and therefore the wisest thing he could do, was, to call in one to combat the other; that, thus wasting their forces, they might be so reduced, and he become a match for both. He, in pursuance of their advice, demanded succours from the Sultan of the *Mamelucs*, who were at that time in possession of *Egypt*; the news of which alarmed all the Christians in the *Indies*, and occasioned their sending immediate advice to *Portugal*. This obliged king *Emanuel* to dispatch his fleet sooner than he intended, and with smaller force, though even then very considerable, consisting of thirteen large ships and six carvels, with a large body of soldiers on board^e. He made choice of *Don Francis Almeyda* Count d'*Abrantes* to command it, who had served king *Ferdinand* of *Castile* with great reputation, and gave him first the title of vice-king and governor-general of the *Indies*; assigned him guards for his person, a certain number of chaplains, and whatever else could be thought necessary to give an air of grandeur to his office. On the 25th of *March* 1505 the fleet sailed from the river of *Lisbon*, and on the 11th of *April* following reached the islands of *Cape Verd*; from whence stretching too far to the south, in hopes of doubling the cape with greater ease, the fleet ran so far south, that the seamen had many of them their fingers frozen; but, varying their course a point or two to the east, they at length arrived safely at *Guiloa*, where *Aurabam*, the tyrant of that country, refusing any longer to pay tribute, the viceroy drove him out, and settled *Mohammed Anconin* in his place, raising a fort there, to keep the people in subjection^f.
- d
- e

By the advice of the Bramins the Samorin resolves to call in the aid of the Mamelucs against the Christians.

THENCE he proceeded to *Mombaza*, a small city in an island, well fortified with two citadels, furnished with some small pieces of cannon, which encouraged the king to refuse *Almeyda* entrance; which he soon forced, by beating their forts to the ground, and afterwards took the city by storm, and made slaves of a great part of the inhabitants. He next continued his voyage to the *Angedive Islands*, which are five in number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his instructions, he built a fort; proceeding then to *Cananor*, where, with the consent of the king, he likewise built a fort, and put a strong garrison into it^g. On his arrival at *Kochin*, he found *Trimumpara*, worn out with years, had resigned the crown to his sister's

The proceedings of Don Francis Almeyda, the first Portuguese viceroy in the Indies.

^e EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 9.
Indica, P. i. l. iii. c. 5.

^f MAFFEI Hist. In-

^g P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 277.

younger son *Noubeador*, rejecting the elder because he had deserted him on the last invasion. This occasioned great troubles; but the viceroy put an end to them, and, as a vassal to *Portugal*, fixed *Noubeador* firmly on his uncle's throne. He was a vain and a proud man; but understood the interests of his country, and pursued them. While the Count *d'Abrantes* was in possession of the government, the great island of *Madagascar* was discovered; which received the name of *St. Lawrence*, because first seen on the day consecrated to that saint. Don *Lorenzo Almeyda*, the son of the viceroy, first surveyed the *Mallice Islands*, and then discovered the great island of *Ceylon*, the chief monarch of which he compelled to submit to the protection of *Portugal*. After his return from this expedition, he joined the *Portuguese* fleet, which was to be employed against *Calicut*, the viceroy being determined to fix the security of the *Portuguese* empire in the destruction of that power. Don *Lorenzo d'Almeyda* behaved very gallantly in a great fight at sea, which gave a mortal blow to the naval strength of the *Samorin*; but in that action this gallant young officer lost his life, nor could his body be found. The viceroy gave upon this occasion a very extraordinary testimony of his heroic courage; for, when he was informed of the victory, and of the loss of his son, he contented himself with saying, *All men must die, and Lorenzo could not die better than in the service of his country*^b.

His unfortunate death, in his return from the Indies to the port of Lisbon.

A DESIRE of revenging his son's death, and reducing the whole coast of *Malabar* under the power of the *Portuguese*, were the designs that intirely occupied the mind of the viceroy, in which he might have been greatly assisted by Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*, who was now returned into the *Indies*, and had performed some great exploits; but the jealousy of the viceroy was such, that he not only declined his assistance, but even carried his resentment so high as to confine him in the citadel of *Cananor*, because he knew the time of his government was nearly expired, and the king intended Don *Alphonso* should succeed him (V). But, before he quitted his command, he had the satisfaction of engaging the whole power of the *Mohamedans* at sea, and of gaining a complete victory; by which in a great measure the force of that formidable league was broken, from which the *Samorin* was in hopes of compelling the *Portuguese* to abandon the conquests they had made in the *Indies*. The arrival of the marshal of *Portugal* with a great fleet, and three thousand land-forces on board, put an end to the disputes between the viceroy and Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*; the marshal acquainting the former, that it was the king's express pleasure he should resign his charge, and return home; and that the latter should succeed him, tho' with the title only of general and commander in chief of the *Portuguese* forces in the *Indies*^k. The viceroy accordingly, having resigned the administration, embarked the great riches he had acquired; and, leaving *Cochin*, continued his voyage to *Europe*, which however was fatal to him, through his own imprudence. For, landing upon the coast of *Africa*

^b Maffæi Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 429.

^k P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 32. GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, P. i. c. 10.

(V) In the text we have endeavoured to represent, as briefly as possible, the capital exploits by which the *Portuguese* founded their empire in the *East Indies*; and, in the notes, we propose to add such explanatory circumstances as may render them perfectly clear to the reader; but as to the history at large, and the gallant exploits of particular officers, they are not to be expected, as not falling within the compass of our design. At present it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* sailed from *Lisbon* in 1506 with *Tristan d'Acugna*, having private instructions to take upon him the government of the *Indies*, when the time of the viceroy should expire. He seems to have been intrusted with his master's great secret in its full extent; and with great bravery and diligence assisted his general in destroying the fortresses which the *Moors* had erected on the coasts of *Africa*, to facilitate and protect their commerce in the *Indies*; neither was he less active in the taking their ships; after which services he proceeded with the general to the coast of *Malabar*, and joined the viceroy (25). He then sailed again for the coasts of *Arabia*, in order to ruin the trade of the *Moors*, in which he was very successful; but, disdaining an employment that had so much the air of a pirate, and knowing how desirous the king his master was to add *Ormuz* to his conquests, he came before that island *September* the 25th, 1507; where, meeting with very indifferent usage from the young king's guardian, he attacked, defeated, and burnt, a numerous fleet that was in the port, destroyed

all the ships and small vessels that were built or building, and forced the king of *Ormuz* to become tributary to Don *Emanuel*, and to consent that he should erect a fort. His guardian and prime minister, however, found means, by distributing money, to corrupt some of the officers, and to excite numbers of the soldiers and seamen to mutiny, under pretence that they were employed as labourers at a fort, when they might be making themselves rich by cruising upon the *Moors*. While things were in this disorder, the war was renewed; and the *Portuguese* obliged to abandon their half-built fort, and the island; yet Don *Alphonso* persisted in his design, and resolved to famish the people of *Ormuz*, if they did not renew the treaty, and perform what they had promised; and this he had certainly effected, if three discontented captains had not basely quitted their posts, and sailed for the coast of *Malabar* (26). To justify themselves, they took all the pains they could to irritate the viceroy against Don *Alphonso*; in which they succeeded so well, that he wrote to the governor of *Ormuz*, desiring his friendship, and, disapproving all that had been done against him, promised to procure him ample satisfaction from the court of *Portugal*. In this ill humour he was when Don *Alphonso* arrived, whom he treated with great coldness, refused his company in the expedition he was about to undertake; and, at his return, caused him to be arrested, and sent prisoner to *Cananor*, where he remained for three months, and in that space was very indifferently treated (27).

(25) Maffæi Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iii. c. 5.

(26) J. de Barros, Decad. 2. l. v, vi, vii.

(27) P. La-

fitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 418, 419.

a with an intent to procure some fresh provisions, his attendants some-way provoked the barbarous inhabitants, so that a fray ensued; and the viceroy, rashly interposing sword in hand in support of his domestics, was unfortunately run through the body by one of the natives with a lance, the end of which had been hardened by burning it in the fire^l. A strange and deplorable death for so great a man; though it must be confessed, that this whole transaction is otherwise reported by some writers, either from better memoirs, or out of tenderness for his memory, in respect to which one circumstance is very remarkable, that, when the news of his death reached the court of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* went into mourning for him^m (X).

As soon as *Alphonso de Albuquerque* was invested with the government, the marshal of *Portugal* represented to him, that it was impossible to execute the schemes formed by himself, or the court of *Portugal*, without previously reducing *Calicut*, and thereby putting an end to a power which had already given them so much, and was continually threatening fresh troubles. Don *Alphonso* entered readily into this advice; and made the necessary dispositions for the service immediately, attacking the place by land and sea with such fury, that he quickly made himself master of the town, which he burnt; and of the fortrefs, which he demolished. The marshal in the mean time attacked the royal palace, which he likewise carried, after an obstinate resistance; but, finding an immense booty therein, his soldiers fell to plundering, of which the *Indians* taking advantage, surrounded, and cut them all to pieces, being so embarrassed with their plunder, that they were unable to defend themselves. The general, perceiving the danger they were in, advanced, as soon as he was able, to their assistance; but, receiving two dangerous wounds in his passage, was not able to come up time enough to save them; and, in renewing the attack, was so unlucky to be crushed under a large stone that fell from an adjacent building, by which he was so terribly bruised, that his soldiers with much difficulty carried him on board his ship, and made the best retreat they could, after losing in the action four-score men killed, and three hundred wounded, besides the great marshal, who fell a martyr to his own impatience, and the ambition of becoming master of the emperor's palace without any assistanceⁿ.

As soon as *Albuquerque* was tolerably recovered, he formed a design upon *Ormuz*; and, for that purpose, assembled a fleet, and a body of troops, amongst which were two thousand veteran *Portuguese*, that had served some time in the *Indies*; but, on the point of sailing, he altered his scheme, and resolved to attack *Goa*, a large and rich city, in the island of *Ticuarin*, with one of the best ports in the *Indies*. This island, which is about nine or ten leagues in circumference, was esteemed from its situation the most important post on the coast of *Malabar*, it belonging to the king of *Decan*; and the person who commanded for him there was one *Idalcan*, a *Moor* by birth, and a man of great courage and experience. He took all imaginable care to put the place into a good posture of defence; notwithstanding which, the whole island was reduced, and the city of *Goa* taken by storm, the *Portuguese* being assisted by a fleet and army from the king of *Onor*, under the command of *Timoia* his general^o. Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* made his public entry into *Gou* on the 17th of *February* 1510, with great magnificence; and, having settled every thing there in the best order, appointed his nephew *Antonio de Norogna* governor of the city; but *Gaspar de Payva*, director of the commerce, and *Timoia*, had the charge of the revenues, which amounted to eighty-two thousand pieces of gold, or crusadoes, *per annum*. This conquest was not long maintained; for *Idalcan* returned with such a force as enabled him to recover the place; and the new governor *Antonio de Norogna* was slain in the dispute, which however served only to increase the desire of *Albuquerque* to raise the credit of his nation, by securing a country and city of such consequence^p (Y). This, after a war of long continuance,

^l Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 4.
SOLSA, CASTANEDA, &c.

des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 13.

Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 45.

^m J. DE BARROS, Decad. ii. l. x. MANUEL DE FARIA Y

ⁿ PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 32. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes

^o GUYON Hist. des Indes Orientales, vol. i. P. LAFITAU Histoire des

^p MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 7.

(X) At the time that the viceroy quitted his government to Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*, he went immediately on board his ship, as being unwilling to trust himself in the hands of a person he had used so ill; and, at his return to *Portugal*, he saw with great pleasure abundance of officers embark with him out of spite to *Albuquerque*, under whom they pretended they disdained to serve; tho' in fact, not knowing that he was intended to command after the departure of the viceroy, they had provoked him to such a degree, as, judging of his heart by their own, they conceived he could never forgive. It was these officers who gave the viceroy that fatal advice which proved his ruin; in which the standard of *Portu-*

gal was taken by the negroes, and eleven of these captains lost their lives in a dispute which would have done them no honour if they had been conquerors (28).

(Y) The history of this enterprise on *Goa* would make a small volume of itself; and demonstrate, that the high praises bestowed upon *Albuquerque*, by his countrymen, were not founded in partiality, but truth. He undertook it with the consent of his officers, which he procured by shewing many concurring circumstances that seemed to assure them of victory, all owing to precautions which himself had taken without their knowledge. He made himself master of the place with ease, though the strongest, the best garrisoned, and at that juncture the

(28) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 431, 432.

continuance, he accomplished; and this city became afterwards, viz. in 1559, the seat of the governor, and the see of an archbishop and primate, of the *Indies*, which lofty titles it still continues to bear.

Proceeds next to Malacca; and, after a vigorous resistance, becomes master of the place.

THE conquest of *Goa*, though in itself of vast importance, was far from satisfying the ambition of *Albuquerque*, whose mind was continually occupied with the desire of extending the power of his prince, and his own reputation. It was with this view that he sailed with a great fleet to the road of *Malacca*, where he demanded the *Portuguese* prisoners the king of that place had in his hands. The *Indian* monarch put him off with fair words and promises; and the general, being afraid that he might put the prisoners to death, bore with this treatment for some time; but at last was so provoked, that he made an attempt on the place, and actually set it on fire; upon which the king of *Malacca* immediately sent all the prisoners, and offered to make peace with the *Portuguese* upon their own terms. Those prescribed by *Albuquerque* were pretty high; for he demanded leave to build a fort where he thought fit, reparation of all damages done to the *Portuguese*, and a sum of money equivalent for the expence of this expedition. The *Indian* monarch absolutely refused to yield them; and thereupon hostilities recommenced on both sides, which ended in *Albuquerque's* attacking the city of *Malacca* by sea and land with great fury; and, after an obstinate resistance, it was taken by storm, and given to the pillage of the *Portuguese* soldiers; and we may judge of the riches of the place by the clear fifth which was reserved for the king, and which was bought on the spot by the merchants for two hundred thousand pieces of gold^a.

Obliged to take extraordinary precautions for the preservation of the city.

THE general immediately caused a fort to be erected for the security of the place; and, putting a good garrison into it, he gave the command thereof to *Rodriguez Patalino*: he raised one *Utikut*, an *Indian* lord, who, by deserting the king of *Malacca*, had been very useful to him, to the post of supreme magistrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the compliments of several *Indian* princes upon his victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the place, a conspiracy was discovered, in which *Utikut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himself master of the place. As his letters were intercepted, the proof against him was clear; and the general ordered him and his son to be executed, notwithstanding his great age, and an offer made him of an hundred thousand pieces of gold to spare their lives^c (Z). After this, and staying there near a year, he left an experienced officer com-

^a P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 109.
MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 1, 2.

^c Purchas Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 33.

most important, place in the *Indies*. He was driven out of it as much by the seditious practices of his own officers, as the superior force of the enemy. He wintered in the port in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary, and when only those on board his own ship could be depended upon. He gave an instance of his firmness, even in that situation, of which there is scarce an example in history: A *Portuguese* gentleman of distinction debauched one of the *Moorish* ladies under the general's protection, for which he was condemned to be hanged. The whole fleet mutinied to preserve him; and deputed two of the most seditious captains to know by what authority he proceeded to such an act of severity. Don *Alphonso* civilly invited them on board his ship; and told them, he would convince them that he had not exceeded his power. As soon as they quitted their boat, and came to him on the deck, he said, *I do it by the same authority that I do this*; and ordered them to be put in irons till they had seen the execution performed; which frightened the whole fleet into obedience. Disliked by many, deserted by some, and obeyed thro' fear by most, he persisted in his design; and, when he attacked *Goa*, told his officers it was for the king's service, for the honour of the nation, and for the security of themselves; adding, *I desire to be followed only by those who have a just sense of these motives* (29). The soldiers and seamen giving a shout of applause, the officers found themselves obliged to do their duty; and, to efface the memory of past transactions, did it effectually, and made themselves masters of the place. The prodigious importance of *Goa* was not discerned by the *Portuguese* till after it was in their possession; and then they readily confessed, that *Albuquerque* acted from very wise principles in pushing things so far as he did, to obtain a settle-

ment the most advantageous by its situation in the midst of the *Malabar* coast, the most defensible from its natural strength, and the most commodious from its safe and capacious port. Besides, this conquest was so much the more valuable, as it was obtained chiefly at the expence of the *Moors*, who intended to have made it a place of arms for facilitating their great design of driving the Christians out of the *Indies* (30).

(Z) The first attempt to fix a settlement at *Malacca* was made by *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, who, by orders of the viceroy *Almeida*, sailed thither, towards the close of the year 1509, with a squadron of five sail. At that time *Malacca* was one of the richest places in the *Indies*, having in it several merchants able to fit out three or four ships with cargoes at their own expence; and was the centre of the commerce between the spice islands, and also between *China* and the rest of the *Indies*. At first *Sequeira* was well received by the king, whose name was *Mahmut*; but at length, thro' the insinuations of the *Moors*, he attempted a general massacre of the *Portuguese*, and was very near completing it. A great many he killed, some prisoners he took, and forced *Sequeira* to retire in so weak a condition, that he was obliged to sink one of his ships, that he might have men enough to navigate the other four, two of which he sent with the news of his misfortune to the general, and with the other two he sailed for *Portugal*. It was to revenge this insult, and to recover the *Portuguese*, that Don *Alphonso* sailed thither in the month of April 1511; and, finding no greater reason to rely upon the king than *Sequeira* had done, he boldly attacked, and with infinite difficulty achieved the conquest of, that important place, which opened a correspondence with the islands of *Sonda*, and with the empire of *China* (31).

(29) J. de Barros, Decad. 2. l. x.
(31) Purchas Pilgrims, vol. 1. p. 32.

(30) Guyon Histoire de l'Inde Orientale, vol. i. p. 385, 386.

a mander at *Malacca*, with a sufficient number of ships and men, and sailed for the coast of *Malabar*; but, in his passage, met with such a storm as destroyed the greatest part of his fleet, with all the riches on board; and it was with very great difficulty that the general himself escaped, and with his shattered vessels returned to the port of *Cochin* ¹.

AFTER remaining a small space of time there, and putting things in the best order, Don *Alphonso* returned to *Goa*, where affairs were in some confusion; but he soon restored them, and humbled all the *Indians* in his neighbourhood to such a degree, that the *Samorin* himself sent embassadors to desire peace; and to offer his consent to build a fort at *Calicut*, in what place he thought fit. The emperor of *Ethiopia* also sent an ambassador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and so strong was the terror of the *Portuguese* arms now become, that *Idalcán*, and

b the princes that had given the greatest opposition to their settlement, were glad to atone for their indiscretion by offering to accept such terms as Don *Alphonso* thought fit to prescribe. Such a splendid scene of prosperity would certainly have turned the head of a man of less abilities than the great *Albuquerque*, to whose capacity the *Portuguese* were more indebted for their conquests than to the armies and fleets which he commanded ². He loved the antient frugality of his country, and did not suffer himself to be at all corrupted by the power or wealth that he possessed; and indeed he made no use of either, but for the service of the crown.

WHEN he observed it was the disposition of the *Indians* to measure every thing by outward pomp, he seemed to give into their notions; and affected upon public days prodigious magnificence in even the minutest things; yet, in the midst of all this, he relaxed nothing of his former severity, but lived, in the midst of public splendor, as coarsely, in respect to his person, as any private man. In exacting the dues of the crown he was somewhat severe; but with regard to his private fortune, he took so little care of it, that, except his public appointments, he had scarce any thing he could call his own. His officers were his children; and he took as much pains in teaching them their duty, as an affectionate parent does in the education of his sons. He overlooked miscarriages; but punished treachery, or neglect of duty, with inexorable severity. He was extremely ready to reward; and all his discourse at his table, was of the great actions performed by his officers; while he was not barely silent as to his own; but would not even permit others to commend them. It was a saying frequent in his mouth, that he was afraid of nothing but flattery; and it was observed, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour that way. This we may consider as very singular in his character, for we rarely find great men inaccessible on this side; but at the same time we may regard it as a principal cause of his being so well served, since merit was the sole means of gaining his good graces; and flatterers, who are always false and unworthy creatures, stood excluded during his administration. It has been well observed by some of the *Portuguese* historians, that the vanity of *Almeyda* made him affect the state of a prince, when the power of the *Portuguese* was but indifferently established; whereas the modesty of *Albuquerque* was most conspicuous when his victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greatest princes of the east sent their embassadors to intreat his friendship ³. Yet, with all these shining qualities, this hero wanted not his faults: his ambition was boundless; and, carried away by an extravagant desire of extending the dominions of the crown of *Portugal*, he little regarded whether the measures he took for that purpose were just, or not. In his private life, he was a man of the strictest honour; in his public character, truth will not permit us to say so much. The remaining part of his history will sufficiently demonstrate the impartiality of this remark (A).

HE made himself master of *Goa* without any other pretence, than that it was necessary to the crown. He seized *Malacca* for the same reason; and meditated the conquest of *Ormuz* from the like motive, which he accomplished in the following manner. He had formerly,

¹ P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 160. l. v. c. 3.

² J. DE BARROS, Decad. ii. l. x. c. 5.

³ MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i.

(A) It has been alleged, in defence of this great man's character, that he found the scheme of *Vasquez de Gama* absolutely impracticable; and that there was no possibility of preserving the trade, but by becoming master of the *Indies*. Allowing this to be true, it will justify him as a politician beyond question; but the point is, to know how far either he, or the king his master, had any right to impose a yoke upon the necks of those nations, with whom having had formerly no correspondence, they could not pretend to have been injured; and who, in fighting against them in their present circumstances, acted only in their own defence. Be this as it will, his

justice and equity, independent of his ambition, were such as those who envied him, amongst his countrymen, could not deny; and all the inhabitants of the *Indies*, tho' of different religions, freely acknowledged while living, and gave a most extravagant proof of the sense they had of it after his decease; for, whenever they were oppressed or ill treated by his successors, they went and made prayers, and left offerings, upon his tomb, invoking the spirit of the great *Albuquerque* to protect them from those injuries, to which they were never exposed while it dwelt in his body (32).

(32) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 253.

that is, before he was declared general of the *Indies*, as we have shewn, attempted to raise a citadel there, without being able to effect his design; but the power of the *Portuguese* being so much increased, that all the commerce of the east depended upon them, the king of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, because his city and subjects depended upon trade. The name of the king of *Ormuz* at this time was *Torun Shâh*, a young prince of no great abilities, and of a weak and timorous spirit. In the beginning of his reign he was entirely governed by an old minister whose name was *Noradin*, a man of immense cunning, but of no enterprising genius; and who, to support himself, and secure the administration to his family, brought three of his nephews to court, and gave them great posts in the government and in the army. *Hamed*, the youngest of these, in a short time, by his intrigues, gained such a share of power, that neither the king nor his uncle had any more than a shadow of authority left.

His last enter-
prise on Or-
muz.

Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*, being informed of this, assembled an army; and gave out, that his design was to attack *Aden*; but, when at sea, he sailed directly to the coasts of *Persia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was least expected. He demanded that the citadel should be immediately put into his hands, *Portuguese* factories settled in the place, and that the king should acknowledge himself dependent on the crown of *Portugal*. *Torun Shâh* judging it better to be the vassal of a sovereign prince than the slave of his own minister, exerted his authority to lessen his own dignity, admitted the general into the citadel, assigned the *Portuguese* some of the best houses in the town for their factory, and ordered their flag to be displayed upon the palace. *Hamed* could not help discovering his impatience at a change so sudden and unexpected; to prevent the effects of which, he formed some designs against the general's life; of which Don *Alphonso* was no sooner informed, than he gave orders to some of his soldiers to dispatch him; which they without ceremony performed. If the general had stopped here, it had been well enough; but his projects were not of a nature to be bounded by any thing but the absolute possession of what he aimed at; and therefore under a pretence that a fleet was coming from *Egypt* to make a descent upon the island, he demanded all the artillery of the place, which he said was necessary for preserving it from the enemy. *Torun Shâh* assembled his council; who declared they knew nothing of any such design, and that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the general's desire. The cowardice of the king got the better of the good sense of his ministers; the artillery was put on board, which the general would never restore; but, having made *Pedro d' Albuquerque* governor of the citadel, seized fifteen of the princes of the blood, with their wives and children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have hostages for their good behaviour. And thus, for the present, *Ormuz* was subjected to the *Portuguese*; by which another part of Don *Emanuel's* great scheme was happily effected, if indeed that can be said with propriety where justice and success are not united * (B).

Complimented
by the Shâh of
Persia, and
other Indian
princes, on this
conquest.

THE *Portuguese* general had the satisfaction, soon after this, of receiving an ambassador from the Shâh of *Persia*. That monarch could not but see with apprehensions so powerful a nation established so close to his own coast; but necessity taught him to dissemble; and, besides, he thought it better became a prince to put on an appearance of friendship than of fear. Don *Alphonso* penetrated the true motive of this embassy; and with very great sagacity managed it so, as to remove the jealousy of the *Persian*, and to convert a suspicious compliment into real confidence. He received the ambassadors very respectfully in public; in private very graciously: he expressed a great esteem for the person of the Shâh; and, in return for his presents, sent him a train of field-pieces, with some good engineers to manage them. The Shâh was equally surprised and pleased with this polite behaviour in the Christian general, who very wisely contrived by this measure to put it in the power of the *Persians* to act successfully against the *Turks*, who were the common enemies both of them and of the *Portuguese*. It is certain that Don *Alphonso d' Albuquerque* was one of the most formidable, as well as one of the most determined, enemies that nation ever had: he foresaw that they would be one day masters of *Egypt*; and he knew, that when they became so, they might, by wise management, secure the trade of the *Indies*. This he resolved to prevent; and, with that view, formed two

* MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 7.

* GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 388, 389.

(B) In a former expedition, in the year 1513, Don *Alphonso* made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, then in the power of an *Arabian* prince, well fortified, and with a garrison of nine thousand men under the command of an emir; in which design the general failed, not without considerable loss. It is generally acknowledged, that he might, notwithstanding, have reduced the city, if he had persisted with the same firmness that

he was wont to do; but he began to discover, that his own system was as impracticable as that of *Gama*; and that, if he had taken *Aden*, it would have required a greater garrison than his whole army; and therefore he chose to bend his forces against *Ormuz*, where he took such precautions as enabled him to keep it with a very small body of forces; which expedition happened in 1515, and was the last of his conquests (33).

^a schemes that he did not live to execute, but which, notwithstanding, will for ever do honour to his memory, and shew that his genius was as extensive as his ambition ^y.

THE first of these projects regarded the reviving the trade by the way of *Alexandria*, in ^{which he knew the} *Venetians* would have assisted the *Turks*, or any other barbarians whatever, ^{for their own sakes.} To prevent this, he insinuated to the emperor of *Ethiopia*, that, for his ^{own security against such bad neighbours,} the best step he could take would be to divert the ^{chanel of the Nile,} by cutting a passage for it into the *Arabian* sea before it reached *Egypt*. ^{If this design had been practicable,} it would have rendered the greatest part of *Egypt* uninhabitable, and made it at the same time impracticable to renew the old method of transporting *East India* commodities from the *Red Sea* to *Alexandria*, which was the principal point he had ^{in view.} His second project was, to transport three hundred horse from the island of *Ormuz*, to the opposite coast of *Arabia*, which is but seventeen leagues distant; and this party he thought sufficient to plunder the tomb of *Mohammed* at *Mecca*, which he conceived must have been attended with advantageous consequences, and more especially must have struck the *Mohammedans* in the east with terror and amazement, and so have diverted that concourse of people thither, which in some measure supports the commerce of *Arabia*, and consequently would have promoted in a great degree his other design of rescuing the trade of the east out of the hands of the *Turks*, and other *Mohammedan* nations ^z. In a very little time after the ^{return of Don Alphonso to Goa,} he was seized with a distemper which in a few days brought him to his end, at the age of sixty-three. He was called by the *Mohammedans*, *Albuquerque* ^c *Malandy*, because he was born at *Melinda* in *Africa*, which in all the eastern tongues is called *Malanda*; by the *Portuguese* he was styled, and that very justly, *Albuquerque the G R E A T*. He was the ablest statesman, and by far the most consummate general, they ever had in the *Indies*, and left their affairs in the best situation; and yet he performed all the great actions of his life with a very inconsiderable force. For, with thirty ships he took *Calicut*; with twenty-one he became master of *Goa*; with twenty-three he surprised *Malacca*; and had no more than twenty-two in his expedition against *Ormuz*. The death of this excellent commander, though at so great an age, proved a considerable disadvantage to the *Portuguese* affairs; and would have been a much greater, if his successor had not been at that time at *Cochin* with a squadron of ten sail, with which he was just arrived from *Portugal* ^a. This general *Albuquerque* left all the settlements in the *Indies* in perfect peace, and in admirable order, with such a body of regular troops, as were capable, not only of maintaining what was acquired, but also of adding such conquests as the king or his successors should judge necessary. His funeral was performed with great solemnity; and his body interred in a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, he had built at *Goa*, and which was much enlarged by his son *Alphonso Albuquerque*, who lived to the age of fourscore, and wrote a large book of memoirs, in which he recorded his father's actions ^b (C).

Decemb. 16,
1515.

^y OSOR. de reb. Eman. l. 10.

^z MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 7. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 250, 251.

^a MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vii. c. 1.

^b P. LAFITAU Hist. des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 252.

(C) This truly great man, who had done such wonders for the crown of *Portugal*, and who had the honour to serve one of the wisest and best princes that ever sat upon a throne, had notwithstanding the misfortune to die in disgrace. His ambition, his austerity, and his strict regard to justice, raised him abundance of enemies. Most of these were returned into *Portugal*, where they were continually filling the king's ears with insinuations to his prejudice, as if he had his own interest more at heart than the king's; to which, however, no credit was given, till unluckily Don *Alphonso*, suspecting that *Goa* might be less carefully preserved than the importance of the place merited, demanded it, with the title of a duchy, as a reward for his services; and this did what his enemies could never have done, viz. inspired

the king with jealousy, and a resolution of putting his affairs into other hands. Don *Alphonso* received the news when he lay upon his death-bed; and is said to have expressed himself in these words: "How! *Suarez* governor of the *Indies*! *Vasconcellos*, and *Diego Pereira*, whom I transmitted to *Portugal* as criminals, preferred! I incurred the hatred of men by my love for the king, and am disgraced by him through his prepossession for other men. To the grave, unhappy old man, it is time thou wert there: to the grave!" He wrote a letter to the king, in favour of his son, who was a natural child; very short, and concluding with these words: "I say nothing of the *Indies*; they will speak for themselves, and for me." He died December 16th, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age (34).

(34) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 248, 249. Gayon Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 391.

S E C T. IV.

The succession of the Portuguese viceroys; and a succinct view of their respective administrations, to the government of Don Constantine Bragança, under whom their empire arrived at the summit of its grandeur.

Lopez Suarez de Albergaria succeeds in the government, not to the fortune of Albuquerque. **T**HE successor of Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* was *Lopez Suarez de Albergaria*, who without delay entered upon the administration of affairs. He was a person of great candour and integrity; and those virtues are said to have rendered him but little qualified for his office. He made the necessary dispositions for preserving and supporting his countrymen in the posts of which he found them possessed. He likewise dispatched a fleet to *China*, which was in truth the wisest act of his government^c; but he was not over-forward in seizing new countries, or in forming designs to the prejudice of his neighbours. Upon receiving intelligence that the sultan of *Egypt* had fitted out a great fleet in the *Red Sea*, he sailed thither with the whole *Portuguese* naval force, which was very far superior to any thing that had been seen in those parts. Fortune seemed to favour him extremely at his entrance upon his government; for the people of *Aden*, finding their forces much diminished, and the fortifications of their city in a great measure ruined, were so apprehensive of being attacked by him, that they sent deputies to offer their submission. He received them kindly, accepted of refreshments; and, relying upon the professions they made, took no care either to erect a fort, or send a garrison, to secure the place: of which neglect the people soon took advantage; fell to repairing their walls with great diligence; and in a little time put themselves into such a posture of defence, as enabled them to make him sensible of his oversight, by despising the orders he afterwards sent them; which made him repent of his credulity, and discern the bad effects of his want of diligence when it was too late^d. He shewed the same want of spirit in opposing the progress of the *Turks*, who in a short space of time made themselves masters of *Egypt*, and began to make themselves formidable as well in the *Persian* as in the *Arabian* gulf; so that it became daily more and more visible, that, notwithstanding his great virtue, and strict regard to justice, he was by no means fit for the dignity to which he was raised; and in all probability the affairs of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* had suffered still more through his ill conduct, if *Diego Sequeria* had not arrived from *Portugal*, and taken upon him the command^e.

Don Diego Sequeira enters on the administration with better success.

Dec. 15, 1521.

THE new viceroy landed at *Malacca*, and settled every thing in those parts to the benefit and satisfaction of the *Portuguese*. He afterwards turned his arms against the *Mohammedans*; and reduced the king of *Baharen*, an island in the *Persian* gulf, who had revolted from the king of *Ormuz*, who was a vassal to the crown of *Portugal*; which, as it was a very wise and well conducted enterprise, contributed not a little to spread the reputation, and extend the power, of the *Portuguese*. He miscarried, however, in some attempts upon *Diu*; and began to be sensible, that the carrying on of continual wars, in order to prosecute the great design of driving the *Mohammedans* out of *India*, had much weakened the force of his countrymen, and thereby rendered it very difficult for them to support that vast empire which they had obtained. His three years being expired, he was succeeded by Don *Duart Menezes*; who quickly found himself involved in a variety of contests, against which he struggled with great patience and fortitude, and with some diversity of fortune^f. In the first year of his government died *Emanuel the Great*, king of *Portugal*, who had happily acquired, prudently kept, and by dint of his admirable policy extended, the influence of his crown over a great part of *Asia* and *Africa*. His great secret in government, by which, through his whole reign, he was continually acquiring victories, without any remarkable check or reverse of fortune, was this: he never trusted to chance or expedients. His revenues were very large, which he managed with great frugality: he wasted nothing upon favourites or pleasures; he rewarded merit to the full, and commonly beyond the expectation of its possessor; he sent out new fleets every season, and never suffered the least relaxation in his naval or military discipline: he very easily pardoned mistakes, but never fraud; and punished treachery with the utmost severity^g.

John III. sends forces into the Indies.

He was succeeded by his son *John* the third, who, being desirous to pursue his father's maxims, immediately sent a reinforcement of ships and men into the *East Indies*, by which *Menezes* was enabled to prosecute his designs in all parts of the *Indies*, which, so long as the government remained in his hands, he successfully performed. The next year *Vasquez de Gama* Count *de Videguira* was appointed viceroy of the *Indies*; but, as he was in a very advanced age, it being improbable he should live so long as the usual term of three years, a com-

^c MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vi. p. 271, 277.

^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. c. 1, 2, 3.

^e MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vii. c. 1, 2, 3.

^f P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. iii. p. 3.

^g EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 10. OSOR. de reb. Eman. l. xii. p. 306.

The commission, by which he was to succeed, was sealed up with this superscription, *Discovered at the death of*
 " Not to be opened till (which God forbid!) Don Vaquez de Gama, viceroy and high admiral
 " of the Indies, shall have departed this life." This being opened by the commanding offi- *on Vaquez*
 cers in the great church at Cochín. *Meneses*, who was then absent from the city, *Gama.*

A. D. 1526.

*Two strings
at a time.*

I did not know
 where this letter
 got to until I
 found it.

¹ P. L. 111.100 Hist. des Conquêtes de l'Inde.

and ordered that the present viceroy *Lopez* should pay to Don *Pedro* twenty thousand crowns, as the profits of his two years government; and made a regulation for the future, that, on the opening of these billets of substitution, absence should not prejudice in any degree, provided the person named was between *Cape Cori* and *Diu*, which, taking in the best part of the *Indian*, rendered it impossible that any such accident should fall out, as that which had occasioned all this confusion. But, as Don *Lopez Vaz de Sampayo* had, in other respects, behaved well, it was judged expedient to leave him in the possession of the government, more especially since he was obliged to part with all the money he had hitherto acquired in it.^a

Don Lopez
Sampayo con-
firmed in the
government
by the king
his majesty.

As soon as the king's orders arrived in the *Indies*, Don *Lopez* executed them with all imaginable punctuality, reconciled himself to the friends of Don *Pedro Mascarenhas*, and behaved in every other circumstance as became a worthy man and a good subject. He had a strong desire to blot out, by his great services, all memory of former mistakes; and therefore, having intelligence of a great fleet of one hundred and thirty sail, bound to *Mecca*, with spices, he attacked them in their passage, dispersed and destroyed a great part, and took the rest. He likewise reduced a formidable pirate, who had taken possession of a place called *Perca*; and had amassed so much wealth, that, when the booty came to be divided amongst the *Portuguese* soldiers, every private man had a thousand dollars for his share.^b He gained not long after another victory over the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and then returned to *Goa*, where, knowing that his term was near expiring, he made all the preparations requisite for the reception of his successor, and omitted nothing that was in his power towards putting all things into the best posture possible. His success in this respect was equal to his zeal; so that the best historians agree, that, at the time he delivered up his charge, their affairs in the *Indies* were, in all respects, in the most flourishing condition that they had ever been from the time of the first expedition of *Vasquez de Gama*; for the royal palace, the cathedral, the convent, and the great hospital at *Goa*, were completed; all the fortresses upon the coasts and in the islands in thorough repair; every governor at his post; every garrison complete, the magazines well furnished; and, to crown all, the fleet the most numerous, and in the best order, that had been ever seen, consisting, in the whole, of one hundred and thirty sail, of which fourteen were large men of war, six royal frigates, eight light armed vessels, six brigantines, and one hundred and two feluccas; and, before he laid down his command, he issued from the royal treasury three hundred thousand crowns in gold, by which all the arrears to the fleet and army were intirely discharged. Such was the situation of things when Don *Lopez* quitted his office.^c (D).

Nunho da
Cunha, gen-
eral of the In-
dies, and his
successors, to
the death of
Don Juan de
Castro.

His successor was *Nunho da Cunha*, who, setting out from *Portugal* with a commission to be general, accompanied by his brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was constituted admiral of the *Indies*; and in his way thither, attempting to put in at *Mombaza*, in order to pass the winter there, was refused entrance by the king, but forced a passage into the port; and, making himself master of the town, gave the plunder to the mariners, and set it on fire. Sailing from thence early in the spring, he proceeded to *India*; where he was no sooner arrived, in 1529, than he resolved to make himself master of the town and fortress of *Diu*, situate in an island of the same name, near the entrance of the gulph of *Cambaya*; to which purpose, repairing thither with the fleet, upon his appearance off the place, he received an ambassador from *Badur* king of *Cambaya*, with offers of yielding the fortress into his hands; which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the custody of *Anthony Silveira*, to the great satisfaction of the *Portuguese*, who had long desired it.^d Not long after, the king of *Cambaya*, at the instigation of the *Turks*, who were very desirous of getting *Diu* into their hands, made an attempt to dispossess the *Portuguese*, and recover the place; but was unfortunate in the undertaking; he with his *Turkish* auxiliaries being intirely routed, most of his fleet sunk, and himself mortally wounded in the engagement.

^a MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. ix. c. 4. vol. iii. p. 194.

^b MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. ix. c. 7.

^c P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iii. p. 284. EMANUEL DE L'ARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 12.

^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais.

(D) This governor was certainly a man of great parts, and one who had the interest of the crown and nation of *Portugal* very much at heart; but the manner in which he arrived at the dignity of general of the *Indies* had created him abundance of enemies, who, under various pretences, traversed his designs, and hindered him from acquiring that reputation which otherwise would have attended his indefatigable endeavours. He was more cautious of engaging in wars than most of his predecessors; but, when he found himself attacked, or under an absolute necessity of attacking, he

did his duty with courage and spirit, and would have pushed his success farther, if the officers who served under him had not, out of envy, restrained him. In reference to the civil government, which was more in his power, he did remarkable service to his nation, by regulating the functions of inferior officers in such a manner as to prevent disputes; and, by employing such as were most capable, and had served longest in the *Indies* (35); and yet he was imprisoned by his successor, and suffered very much after he returned to *Portugal*.

(35) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iii. p. 207.

- a Soon after this, *Solyman*, Bashaw of *Cairo*, came to besiege it with a fleet of sixty-two galleys, six galleons, and other smaller vessels, having on board four thousand janissaries, sixteen thousand other soldiers, besides gunners, seamen, and pilots; and, immediately on their arrival before the town, were joined by eighty sail of ships of *Cambaya*, and some land troops belonging to the young king *Mohammed*. The *Turkish* bashaw, landing his forces, battered the fortresses with sixty pieces of cannon; but the governor, with great bravery, sustained this attack till the arrival of *Garcias de Noronha*, the new viceroy, from *Goa*, to his assistance; who, by a stratagem, which was no more than putting out four large lanterns from every ship in his fleet, so terrified the *Turks*, that they raised the siege in the utmost confusion, leaving behind them their tents, ammunition, artillery, and above a thousand wounded men, besides the like number that were foraging; all which fell into the hands of the *Portuguese*.^a Afterwards *Mohammed* submitted to the crown of *Portugal*; and *Johi da Castro*, who succeeded *Alphonso de Sosa*, who followed *Stephen Gama*, the successor of *Noronha*, as viceroy, in whose time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another attempt on *Diu*, but with the like success, Don *Johi da Castro* routing them both by sea and land with a very great slaughter; after which, he added several works to the place, and raised a new citadel in a more advantageous situation, and composed of much better materials, than the former; which secured it for a considerable time. This worthy person did not, however, long survive; though he had the satisfaction, a little before his death, of receiving a very kind letter from the king his master, together with a commission which continued him in his office three years more, an augmentation of his salary, and a present of ten thousand pieces of gold.^b (E).

A. D. 1542.

- c Upon consulting the billets relative to the order of succession, the first name that appeared was that of Don *Pedro de Mascarenhas*; but, he being already sailed for the coast of *Portugal*, there was a necessity of opening the next billet, in which was found the name of Don *Garcias de Sa*, an old officer of the crown, universally esteemed and admired. He entered upon his administration by completing whatever remained unfinished of the wise and great plan formed by his predecessor; and, though he lived but a single year, he added fourteen stout ships to the fleet of *Portugal*, and performed many other services that were very useful to succeeding governors. Don *George Caprol* was next called to the command; and, soon after, found himself engaged in a war with the *Samorin*, whom he quickly reduced to the necessity of demanding peace; and had performed greater things, if Don *Alphonso Norognes* had not arrived with the title of general of the *Indies* from *Portugal*, which put an end to his commission.^c It was during the government of this general that the *Turks* attacked *Ormuz*, and were very near becoming masters of that fortress; but at length the siege was raised. Some other disasters happened during his administration, which lasted about four years; and, at the end of this space, he was succeeded by Don *Pedro de Mascarenhas*, who died in a year after he was settled in his new dignity. His place was supplied by Don *Pedro Barreto*, who found himself engaged in perpetual wars with the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*, against whom he acted with courage and success, till he was relieved by Don *Constantine de Braganza*, brother to the duke of the same name, the first viceroy of the *Indies*, appointed by the regency after the death of King *John*, and one of the wisest and worthiest men intrusted with that great office; and under his government, every thing prospered in such a manner, that the *Portuguese* persuaded themselves their empire would be as lasting in the *Indies* as it was glorious and extensive; but they were quickly convinced of their mistake, and that there is nothing so fleeting and transitory as human prosperity.

The government devolved on Don *Garcias de Sa*, who discharged it with honour.

^a MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. ii. c. 15, 16.

tom. iv. p. 31. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 12.

^c MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. xvi. c. 5.

(E) It is a point of justice due to these viceroys and governors, to acknowledge, that, by their courage and vigilance, they defeated all the attempts of the *Turkish* emperors to establish a naval power in the *Indies*, notwithstanding the measures they took for that purpose were well contrived, the fleets they employed powerful, and the forces on board them numerous, it was by their conduct in this respect that not only the *Portuguese* were maintained in their empire, but that the power of the Christians was established in these parts; for if the *Turks* had ever prevailed so far as to have made them-

selves masters of *Diu*, and a few fortresses on the coast of *Malabar*, they must have carried all before them; for the *Moors* would have every-where revolted in their favour; and zeal for religion concurring with their temporal interests, they would never have desisted till they had brought things into their former situation, or, it may be, would have invaded *Europe* in their turns with that naval force which they had raised in the *Indies* (36). But the wise dispositions of Providence prevented this, by granting these repeated victories of the *Portuguese*.

(36) *Baldæus History of Malabar*, c. 12.

S E C T. V.

A concise representation of the nature of the Portuguese dominion in India, and a more particular account of their great governments of Mozambique and Ormuz.

The great empire erected by the Portuguese in the space of sixty years.

IN the space of about threescore years they had raised such an empire in the east, as to those who are competent judges will appear truly wonderful; their power extended on one side as far as the utmost limits of the coast of *Persia*, and their influence over all the *Persian* gulph; some of the smaller princes in *Arabia* were their tributaries, some their allies, and all lived under the greatest awe and apprehension of them. On the other side of *Arabia* they had an intercourse with, and an influence over, the emperor of *Ethiopia*, or of the *Abyssines*; so that they might be truly said to command from sea to sea. Along the coast of *India* and the frontiers of *Persia* they were in possession of almost all the ports and islands that were of any consequence, such as *Diu*, *Daman*, *Chaul*, &c. They possessed the whole coast of *Malabar*, from *Cape Ramoz* to *Cape Commorin*; they were masters also of the coast of *Coromandel*, of the gulph of *Bengal*, of the city, fortress, and peninsula, of *Malacca*; the potent island of *Ceylon* was tributary to them, so were the islands of *Sonda*; the *Moluccas* also held intirely under their obedience; and, which were points of felicity in some measure peculiar to the selves, they obtained a settlement in the empire of *China*, and a free trade with the inhabitants of *Japan* (F).

A scheme of the adventures and successes which gave the Portuguese empire its raising, its extent, and its fall.

WE have shewn from what small beginnings this vast empire was raised; we have given a succinct account of those brave men, by whose conduct and courage such mighty things were achieved; and though we have studied conciseness as much as possible, yet we have stated in a clear and chronological order the principal events that happened till the *Portuguese* empire in the *Indies* rose to its greatest height. Should we continue this method down to our own times, it would draw this history into a vast extent^a, without contributing much to that end which is the object of our labours; we will therefore vary a little from the plan hitherto pursued, and endeavour to represent to the reader, with as much brevity and perspicuity as is possible, the nature of the *Portuguese* dominion in the *Indies* while in its vigour, the consequences of it to the crown of *Portugal* within that period, the true causes of its gradual and almost total total declension; add to which, that no part of this subject, which can be of real utility, may remain untouched, we will mention in their natural order the principal fortresses and colonies erected or established by that nation in these parts, and point out the time and means by which they have fallen into other hands; lastly, we will describe the city of *Goa*, and the district round it; and give the reader a competent view of the poor remains of that prodigious power, the rise and progress of which has been hitherto our subject.

Account of the various attempts made by the Portuguese to extend their empire, and of the various nations they conquered.

WE hope, by this manner of digesting the copious materials that are in our power, we shall effectually avoid all tedious and unnecessary repetitions; since, with respect to the *Portuguese*, what chiefly requires our notice, is, the real sources of their decay, and the precise times in which they were dispossessed of their settlements; for, as to the more interesting particulars of such transactions, they belong properly to the succeeding sections, in which we are to relate the progress of other nations in the *East Indies*; which being in a great measure at the expence of the *Portuguese*, it was a thing incumbent upon us to prevent relating the same facts over and over. But, as impartiality is also a point of the highest consequence, we shall carefully consult the *Portuguese* historians in that part of our work likewise, that the reader may see things in a fair and true light, and not as they are commonly represented by those who have the honour of some particular nation at heart, and therefore study to give a fair colour to all their enterprises, as if the progress of power was the progress likewise of virtue and justice; whereas in reality it will be frequently found the very reverse, except in regard to the dispo-

^a GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 393.
Portugais, vol. iv. p. 350.

^w P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des

(F) It was this prodigious extent of their dominions, the absolute command they had over the natives, and the distribution they made of the different kinds of commerce through *India*, that enabled the *Portuguese* to accumulate such immense wealth, and to make such prodigious returns to *Portugal*. But in their extensive dominions, and in the dispositions for maintaining them, the seeds of their dissolution lay hidden: for, by acquiring estates in the *Indies*, which descended to their

posterity, the *Portuguese* grew effeminate, and, with none of the virtues, and very little of the courage, of their ancestors, behaved with a degree of arrogance unknown to better times. In *Portugal*, again, they measured the prosperity of the *Indies* by the profits they produced; and troubled not themselves what character any officer bore, but what fortune he brought home with him from thence (37).

a fitions of Providence, that frequently makes use of the same vices and passions in one set of men, to punish those acts of violence and rapine that have been committed by others *.

The supreme power, while the *Portuguese* remained masters of the *Indies*, was vested in a single person, assisted by a council; though, as we have already seen, that person was honoured with different titles, being sometimes styled general, sometimes governor, but usually viceroy, of the *Indies*; an honour seldom conferred but upon persons of the highest rank for birth and quality, as well as abilities; and to the honour of this nation it must be acknowledged, that braver, wiser, or better men, are seldom to be met with in history, than amongst those who have enjoyed this high station. The power of the viceroy was in a great measure unlimited; but, to balance this, the time of his administration was but short, rarely exceeding the term of three years. The military affairs were in his hands without restriction; and though there was frequently an admiral of the *Indies*, yet he acted altogether under the viceroy's orders. In civil concerns, the tribunal of the viceroy established at *Goa* judged in the last instance, and without appeal; but, in matters criminal, the viceroy could not put any gentleman of *Portugal* to death (and every person in the king's service is so esteemed) without the king's knowledge †.

For the support of his dignity, the viceroy had large appointments, which enabled him to live in the utmost magnificence and splendor; so much the more requisite, as he really commanded many kings, who, as vassals to the crown of *Portugal*, paid him a ready and strict obedience; it was in order to secure this, that in many of their capitals, and in other the most convenient places in their dominions, forts were erected, and garrisons maintained; by which, to speak plainly, their power was so much limited, that they could do nothing prejudicial to the interests of the *Portuguese*, or to what they were pleased to consider and call their interest. In their ports the *Portuguese* had their factories, and the intire management of the trade, setting the price at their pleasure upon the goods and manufactures of the country, and claiming a right of pre-emption; by which not the *Mohammedans* only, but even the native *Indians*, were in a great measure excluded from commerce. By this means immense and inexpressible riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, rare woods, drugs, and all kind of piece goods, were carried in annual fleets from their establishments on the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, in the gulph of *Bengal*, in the kingdoms of *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Malacca*, *Patana*, *Siam*, &c. the islands of *Ceylon*, *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, the *Moluccas*, *China*, and *Japan*, into *Portugal*, whither all the nations of *Europe* resorted, to purchase them in such quantities, and upon such terms, as they were pleased to afford them. We need not therefore at all wonder how so small a kingdom should be able to furnish such prodigious navies, or send such numbers of people into these distant countries, since the desire of sharing in their wealth and prosperity drew continual accessions of people into their territories, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies* ‡ (G).

It was a high point of policy to establish an universal liberty of conscience at *Goa*, and this notwithstanding the inquisition was also established there, but without any power over those who had not entered into the bosom of the catholic church. This drew thither merchants and traders of all nations and religions, and kept up for many years a prodigious circulation from all parts; so that private persons became immensely rich, and consequently could afford to pay liberally for the protection they received from their governors. It was in those early days, when all the riches of the *Indies* were in a great measure at the disposal of this single nation, that the vast importance of this commerce appeared in its full light; and it is from the particulars set down by authors who lived within this period, and who delivered no more than what fell within the compass of their own observation, that we discern how such incredible fortunes were amassed in those times, when, beyond all question, there were much larger

* GUYON Hist. des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 395.
laws, customs, revenues, &c. by the Viceroy DON DUART DE MENEZES.
Orientales, vol. i. p. 393.

† Treatise of the Portugal Indies, containing the
GUYON Histoire des Indes

(G) The *Portuguese* did not imitate the *Venetians* in their management of this commerce, by transporting the produce of the *Indies* into different parts of *Europe*; but, on the contrary, sold them to such as resorted to the port of *Lisbon*, as the great market of the *Indian* commodities. By this means many traders settled, in quality of agents or factors, amongst them; numbers of seamen entered in their outward-bound *India* fleets; shipcarpenters, and other artificers, finding money more plenty there than in their own countries, settled, and followed

their respective trades (38). The children of all these people became natural *Portuguese*; and, tempted by the advantages promised them in the *Indies*, sailed thither every year; and, finding it no difficult matter to meet with a wife and a settlement, most of them remained there; and by these canals, while in a flourishing condition, their garrisons were maintained, and the squadrons they fitted out supplied with mariners and soldiers.

(38) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in the third volume of Churchill's Voyages.

quantities of intrinsic riches brought into *Europe* than there have been at any time since^a. For it is a point extremely worthy our consideration, that the trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*, while in the possession of the *Portuguese*, was managed in quite another way than it now is; and though we cannot enter very distinctly into the nature of their exports, yet of this we are very sure, that they did not send thither large quantities of silver; but that the gold, jewels, and spices, they brought home, were in part the revenues arising from countries under their subjection, and in some measure the produce of the goods and manufactures they transported; but with this great circumstance of advantage, that they set the price upon the goods they sold, as well as upon the goods they bought; and we may be sure, that, in doing this, they considered their own profit sufficiently; so that whatever the balance might be between *Portugal* and other countries, we may rest satisfied, that at this time it was highly in favour of *Europe*, whatever it has been since^b.

The concerns of the Portuguese in the Indies decline from the death of John III.

A. D. 1572.

THE minority which followed on the death of King *John* the Third of *Portugal* was very detrimental to the affairs of that kingdom in *Europe*, and still more so in the *East Indies*, where the viceroys were no longer obeyed with the usual cheerfulness and punctuality; but, on the contrary, every governor began in some measure to set up for himself, and to endeavour to raise a vast fortune within the short space of time allotted to his administration. This occasioned plots, insurrections, and wars, with many of the *Indian* princes; in consequence of which, *Goa* and *Chaul* were besieged, one six months, and the other nine, by almost the whole force of the *Indies*^c. Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, being informed of this, was very desirous of going in person to the relief of those places, and was with great difficulty dissuaded. It might, perhaps, have been as well, if he had been suffered to take that step, since, to divert him from it, it was found necessary to engage him in that fatal expedition to *Africa*, which produced the destruction of himself, and of his subjects. The *Portuguese* in the *Indies* defended themselves, however, with so much bravery and resolution, that they preserved both those fortresses, and forced their enemies to rise from before them, with very great loss. But this was the last great effort of their strength, by which also it was exceedingly weakened, and from thence the declension of their power has been generally and very justly dated. But, as their empire rose by degrees; as the foundations of it had been laid very deep; as their establishments were numerous, and some of them very strong; and as a long course of prosperity had drawn multitudes of people into those parts of the world, and consequently into their service; so it may be well supposed, that such a structure could not fall at once, but must sink and crumble by degrees; and that as there were many fortunate circumstances which contributed to the happy progress of their power, so there must have been likewise a strong concurrence of different causes, to bring on a total declension of their affairs, the principal of which, we shall endeavour, by the assistance of the best authors, to discover, and describe^d.

occasioned by the relaxation of discipline, corruption of manners, and grasping beyond their power

THE misfortune of *Portugal* being united to the kingdom of *Spain*, after the death of Cardinal *Henry*, uncle to King *Sebastian*, gave a terrible blow to their force in the *Indies*, by the introduction of those changes which naturally follow such a revolution in government, by the neglect which quickly ensued, of sending the usual supplies, and keeping up the royal fleet at *Goa*, and the several squadrons stationed upon the coasts of the different countries in their possession; and, above all, by that general relaxation of discipline, which quickly ensued (H)^e. Another cause was, the general corruption of manners, which immense wealth, absolute power, and excessive luxury, introduced amongst all ranks and degrees of people in the *Indies*; so that the sincere piety, the generous courage, and indefatigable spirit and diligence, which made the original conquerors appear more than men, evaporated intirely; insomuch that their successors became indolent, debauched, and effeminate, to a degree which we should rather the reader would conceive, than expect us to describe. We may add to this, that their boundless thirst of dominion prompted them to make so many settlements, and some of these at so great

^a EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 10. 12.

^b GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 35.

^c EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. v. cap. 1.

^d Les États, Empires, et Principautés, du Monde, p. 329.

^e GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 36—39.

(H) This great change happened in the *Indies* in 1581, where Don *Louis d'Ataïda* was viceroy, but worn out with age, infirmities, and care, breathed his last, before any step was taken for acknowledging a new prince, by which the government devolved upon Don *Ferdinand Teles de Menezes*, who, in hopes of making his court to his new master, caused *Philip* the second to be proclaimed and acknowledged through the whole extent of his government. As it was impossible for King *Philip* to foresee this, he had taken care to send Don

Francisco Mascarenhas with the title of viceroy, supposing that he would have found Don *Louis d'Ataïda* alive, and in possession of the government, whom he created count of *Santarem*, that he might the more readily yield his place to the new viceroy. But Don *Francisco*, finding the old man dead, and all things previously settled, as well as the king could desire, dispossessed the nobleman, who had taken all this pains, with the prospect of a reward, which he never received (39).

(39) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 383, 384.

a a distance, that their force, though great in itself, if it could have been, as occasion required, collected together, was, by this ill management, so extenuated, as to become incapable of making a vigorous defence, more especially when attacked in several places at the same time^f.

By the ill usage they gave the natives, by that restless impetuosity with which they laboured to find an entrance into every country, and by that obstinacy with which they persisted in driving out the *Moors*, *Arabs*, and *Negroes*, where-ever they were able, they raised a general and implacable spirit of hatred against them, throughout the whole *Indies*; which causes, taken together, without doubt would have been strong enough to have weakened and reduced them in time, if the last and more immediate source of their destruction had not broke out as it did. This was the coming of the *Dutch* into the *Indies*, after *Philip* the second had, by an edict^g, forbid their trading in the ports of *Portugal*; by which he flattered himself, that he should have reduced the *United Provinces*, and by which, on the contrary, he gave them the empire of the *Indies*: for, being themselves hardy and necessitous, having all things to hope, and nothing to lose, and having to do with a people divided in their councils, depraved in their manners, and detested by their subjects and neighbours, they soon found means of fixing themselves in some distant islands; from whence, by continual accession of new comers from the *Low Countries*, partly by force of arms, partly by their intrigues, but chiefly by taking advantage of the errors committed by the *Portuguese*, they supplanted them every-where, and effectually stripped them of their dominions, in far less time than they acquired them.

We are now to speak more particularly of the places heretofore possessed by the *Portuguese*, when their empire was at its height in the *Indies*; in order to shew precisely the true extent of their power, the real value of their possessions, the nature of the commerce they carried on, the length of time they remained in possession; and the period in which, as well as the nation to whom, most of these places have been lost: in reading which account, if the reader will take to his assistance the map, and consider the nature of the places as he goes along, we may promise him, without fear of disappointing his expectations, a more distinct, clearer, and fuller view of the *Portuguese Indies*, than is to be met with in any single treatise, notwithstanding that there have been many large volumes published upon this subject. It will, however, be requisite to inform him previously, that, during the flourishing state of the *Portuguese* dominion in *Asia*, the viceroy had five governments in his disposition, which, with respect to their value and importance, were ranged in the following order (I). First, that of *Mozambique*, on the coast of *Africa*; next, that of *Malacca*, upon the peninsula of the same name; the third was that of the citadel and island of *Ormuz*, in the *Persian* gulf; the town and fortress of *Muscat*, on the opposite coast of *Arabia*, was the fourth government; and that of the island of *Ceylon* the fifth. Besides these, there were many others of less consequence, and yet very considerable, of which we shall speak in their proper places^h. It is true, that as *Mozambique* lies on the coast of *Africa*, we might dispense with it here, and refer the description to another part of this work; but, inasmuch as it was always reputed a part of the *Indies*, as the commerce of it was, and still is, of the highest consequence to the *Portuguese*, and as it yet remains in their possession, we think it necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to begin there-with, and then to proceed to the *Persian* gulf, and the coast of *Arabia*; and from thence regularly, in the order in which places lie, we pass quite through to the *Moluccas*, the town and fortress of *Macao* in *China*, and the possessions which the *Portuguese* formerly had in *Japan*.

The island of *Mozambique*, in the latitude of fifteen degrees south, half a mile from the continent, contains about three quarters of a league in length, a quarter in breadth, the whole compass not exceeding a league and a half, with a white shore. It extends south and north, along the main land; between which, and this isle and fort, appears the bay, serving for a convenient haven, land-locked from all winds, being very large, and carrying eight or ten fathom water; within a stone's-throw of which, the ships ride at anchor. The fortress which the *Portuguese* erected here is a regular square, well fortified with four strong bastions, and by much the most defensible place that ever was in their possession on the coast of *Africa*. It is very certain that the whole island is well inhabited, but it is not easy to say how those habitations are disposed; for some writers speak of cities, as if there had been two; others reduce

^f EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. v. c. vi. ^g Conquista de las Islas Malucas, por el Licenciado BARTOLOME LEON DE ARGENSOLA, lib. vii. ^h Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 234.

(I) This division is to be understood of the better part of the time during which these great dominions were in the possession of the crown of *Portugal*, since they were sometimes thrown into another form, and the whole *Indies* divided into three provinces, with a little dependence upon each other. The crown being frequently apprehensive of the viceroy's having too great a power (40); which apprehensions never ceased, till

experience taught them, that he had too little; and that the great *Albuquerque* formed a true notion of the proper government of the *Indies*, who advised, that every governor should be called to a strict account, when his term expired, and be allowed to act as he thought proper so long as his authority remained; since otherwise he could do but little, and ought not therefore to be accountable for much.

(40) *Voyages des Indes Orientales*, par M. Carre, vol. ii. p. 92, 93, 94.

these to villages ; but the best accounts say, that houses are very thick over the whole island, a of which some are strong and well-built, others mean and contemptible¹. The inhabitants are of different nations and religions, some forty or fifty families of *Portuguese*, without the fort, a much larger number of *Mestizes*, some hundreds of *Arabian* families that are *Mohammedans*, and a great many natives of the continent, of whose religion we have no distinct account, in all, to the number of between three and four thousand². This island was reduced to the obedience of the crown of *Portugal* at the entrance of the sixteenth century, and belongs to it still (K).

Attempts by the
Dutch unsuccessful.

1604.
1605.

THE *Dutch* have made several attempts upon it, particularly two ; the last time they attempted it they besieged the fortress thirty-two days, and were at length forced to retire, but carried off a prodigious booty³. The climate is very hot and moist, consequently very un- b wholesome, except to the natives, or such as have been long settled there. The jurisdiction of the governor extends very far along the coasts, to *Sofala* on one side, and to *Melinda* on the other. The islands of *Querimba* belong likewise to the *Portuguese*, in which the houses are built with stone, and so well secured, that they may pass for forts. There is also a *Portuguese* town upon the river, which falls into the port from the continent, at the distance of ten days rowing and sailing, though they come from thence in five ; and to this town the *European* and *Indian* merchandize is carried, and from thence distributed through the countries that lie behind it, some at the distance of three or four months journey⁴. In former times it was a common thing for the *Portuguese* governor to raise a fortune, in three years, of half a million of crowns. A very sensible and very ingenious writer assures us, that, when he was c at *Goa*, the governor of *Mozambique*, who was just returned thither, brought with him to the value of two hundred thousand crowns in ambergris, besides many other rich and valuable commodities. The *Portuguese* fleet sails from *Mozambique* for *Goa* annually, in the month of *August*, and returns thither in *April*⁵.

Of the nature
of the com-
merce of *Mozambique*, its
amount, and
importance.

THE commerce carried on here consists in gold of two sorts, that dug out of the mines, and dust gathered out of the rivers ; in silver, brought from the mines ; in the finest ebony, of which they have whole forests ; in ivory, which is excellent, and of which they have great quantities ; in slaves, that are esteemed the best in the *East Indies* ; in cattle, fowl, palm wine, fruits, and roots. The *European* and *Indian* commodities sent hither are *Spanish* and *Canary* d wines, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, shells, and toys ; these, as we before observed, are transported up the river *Senna*, and from thence through the continent. The bulk of their riches comes from the mines of *Sofala*, which are esteemed to hold more gold than any in the world, since, if the accounts of the negroes may be depended upon, they have produced, for a long series of years past, to the value of a million and a half sterling annually, of which the *Portuguese* had formerly by far the greatest part, and in which they have still a very considerable share ; so that, without the support of this commerce, that of *Goa* would have long ago come to nothing. We have therefore no reason to doubt, that, in times of their greatest prosperity, when the *Portuguese* were masters of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza*, and other places, and had a very great force upon all these coasts, they must have drawn from thence prodigious advantages ; and even now they are in possession of all the *European* trade driven thither, which cannot but be e of very great value, though much inferior to what it was⁶.

The situation,
produce, and
high consequence,
of the
island of
Ormuz.

THE island of *Ormuz*, together with the city and fortress erected thereon, had been long famous in the east, and not altogether unknown to the *Europeans*, before the *Portuguese* penetrated the *Indies*. This island lies in the mouth of the *Persian* gulf, at the distance of five miles, or thereabouts, from the opposite continent. It is of no great extent, those who have described it most accurately allowing it not more than seven miles in circumference. It is, strictly speaking, no better than a rock of salt, the very dust of the country within land being very white and pure, as well as very pungent to the taste. Springs there are none ; and when

¹ DAPPER Description de l'Afrique, p. 398. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. i. p. 110. ² PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 278. ³ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vi. p. 335. ⁴ DAPPER Description de l'Afrique, p. 401. ⁵ Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208. ⁶ Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 675, 676, 677.

(K) At the time the *Portuguese* came into the *Indies*, this was one of the principal posts in the possession of the *Moors*, who were likewise masters of *Quiloa*, and some other places, by which they flattered themselves they should be able to secure the trade of the *Indies* ; which was the true cause why they left no method untried to betray and destroy *Vasquez da Gama* in his first

voyage. On the other hand, experience having convinced the *Portuguese*, that it was impossible to depend upon these people ; and that the possession of these places was of great consequence to them, they attempted, and accomplished, the reduction of them, and have kept them ever since (41).

(41) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 110—165. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207. Ramusio, vol. ii. f. 107.

- a some writers mention small lakes of fresh water therein, we are to understand no more than cavities filled with rain, which, however, falls but seldom in that climate, and, when it does, in great quantities, accompanied also with violent tempests. This island was not only inhabited, but had also a good city, and a strong fortress, in which the sultans, or kings of *Ormuz*, resided, who had likewise some dominions, though not of any large extent, upon the continent of *Persia*. It was from its commodious situation that it became the greatest mart in the east, to which shipping repaired from all parts of the *Indies*, from the coasts of *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, besides a regular trade carried on by caravans cross the country. This made the sultans of *Ormuz* rich and respected, if not great and potent monarchs; and, at proper seasons of the year, there was a prodigious resort of merchants from all countries, besides factors, that resided constantly there; particularly the *Venetians*, who drove a great trade in jewels transported from thence to *Bassora*, and so by caravans to *Aleppo*, or to *Suez* by sea; then over land by the *Nile*, to *Alexandria*, where they were delivered to the merchants to whom they were consigned (L).

- It was the known wealth, and prodigious commerce, of this place, which excited the ambitious *Portuguese* to attempt the conquest of it, which, how they achieved, we have already shewn. As it was not for their interest, they did not deprive the sultan either of his title or of his dominions, but were content he should retain the one, and pay a tribute for the other. They were, however, the absolute masters of the town and citadel. The former stood upon the sea-coast, and consisted of about three thousand houses. The settled inhabitants were, for the most part, *Arabians*, *Mohammedans*, and subjects to the sultan; a few *Indians*, who were pagans; and about one hundred families of *Jews*; so that, in all, they were computed at forty thousand souls¹. The *Portuguese* residing there built very stately houses, gilding all the bars of their doors and windows, and often boasting, that, instead of lead and iron, they would substitute silver and gold. The materials with which they were built were no other than the solid salt, which makes, if the expression may be allowed, the soil of the island very durable in that climate, and not unpleasant to the eye. The streets were strait and narrow, and the houses lofty, the better to shade them from the sun. On the roofs they had flight apartments of wood, where they lay in the summer-time, and a kind of ventilators, built of pumice-stone, for the sake of lightness, by the help of which they admitted fresh air into all the apartments below. Their best rooms were beneath the surface of the street, in which they had baths and fresh water, for themselves, their wives and children, to lie in during the summer heats, more excessive here than in any other part of the known world, the opposite continent only excepted. The *Portuguese* built also a most stately church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which served not only for devotion, but for their recreation likewise, of which walking in the cool and shady cloisters was the chief².

- The fortress, or citadel, built on a point of land extending towards the *Persian* coast, was regular, beautiful, and very strong, furnished, by degrees, with no less than three hundred pieces of cannon. The sultan had his palace in a fine plain, with some pavilions and pleasure-houses near it, and among them a small tuft of palm-trees. The island has two harbours, one on the east, the other on the west side, but neither of them very commodious; so that all ships of a larger burden than six hundred ton were obliged to lie in the bay, at the distance of half a mile from the shore. Between the harbours, and, as it were, in the center of the island, there rises a mountain, and, on the summit of that, another smaller and steeper; the lower is composed of salt and sulphur, the upper of salt alone, so pure, that, at a distance, it looks like a great hill covered with snow. Upon this mountain there are still discernible the ruins of certain towers, in one of which the sultans of *Ormuz* kept their brethren, after they had deprived them of their sight, where they were well attended, and sumptuously entertained³. The *Portuguese* had likewise a fortress upon the opposite coast, for the sake of protecting their barks, and other small vessels, the sea being so shallow between the

¹ HAKLUYT'S Voyages, p. 215. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 209. ² HAKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 47. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c. ³ Travels of FERDINAND MENDIZ PINTO, cap. 4. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c. ⁴ RAMUSIO, tom. i. fol. 187. 292. 338. 388. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c.

(L) We have a chronicle of these kings of *Ormuz*, by which it appears, that their dominions were seated originally upon the continent; and that when the island, for the sake of trade, became inhabited, and, in process of time, grew rich, these princes made it the seat of their residence, bringing also part of the *Arabian* coast under their obedience. Thus they grew powerful and rich, but, at the same time much envied.

However, if they had been monarchs of great abilities, or had been well served, they might certainly have maintained themselves in a state of independency; but luxury, civil dissensions, and breach of faith, brought them so low, that, at the very same time that they paid tribute to the king of *Persia*, they were subjects and vassals to the crown of *Portugal* (42).

(42) Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, premiere partie, cap. 23.

continent and island, as not to admit of ships. The shore all round is covered with a black shining sand, very heavy, and of a surprising lustre. The natives, in the summer-time more especially, in the mornings and evenings, run into the sea, up to their necks; but this the *Europeans* could not do, because it made their skin peel, which obliged them to have recourse to the baths in their vaults, which have been before-mentioned¹.

The wealth, magnificence, and luxury, of the natives, and of the Portuguese, in Ormuz. It has been very justly observed, that the wealth, the splendour, and concourse of people, not only rendered *Ormuz* the wonder of the world, while in its flourishing condition, but afforded a perpetual memorial of the almost omnipotent power of commerce, in respect to sublunary things; for here, at the trading seasons, which lasted from *January* to *March*, and during the months of *September* and *October*, there was not barely an intercourse between multitudes of busy people, some of whom came, as it were, from the very ends of the earth, to reap the benefit of these conferences, but mirth and pleasure also entertained their votaries here. The salt dust of the streets was concealed and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; the beams of the noon-day sun were excluded by canvas awnings raised over the tops of the houses. The rooms next the streets were adorned with *Indian* cabinets, and piles of the finest porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf-trees and shrubs set in gilded vases, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water were at the corners of every street; the richest wines of *Persia*, the most costly perfumes, and the greatest delicacies of the east, were here poured forth with profusion. And so long as it lasted, which was sometimes for six weeks, it looked like a magic scene, diversified with the most opposite appearances; cunning and gravity having the dominion in the exchange; an air of officious politeness appearing every-where in the shops; a kind of haughty and supercilious decorum amongst the *Portuguese* officers, civil and military; an air of wonder and delight amongst the common spectators, and that of transport and joy in the public places; where rope-dancers, mountebanks, jugglers, dancers, and fortune-tellers, displayed their several talents for delusion and deceit. Such, in spite of the frowns of nature, could human industry, directed by art, and supported by trade, render this despicable rock of salt, which remains now as desert and uninviting, as it was then captivating in the eyes of those multitudes who came in the train of avarice, luxury, and curiosity².

What prodigious sums were raised by the governors of this place, in their short period of power. It is easy to conceive, from this description, that the post of governor of *Ormuz* must have been exceedingly lucrative, more especially in later times, when the governors laid it down as a capital maxim, that the principal business they had to do there, was to enrich themselves. To answer this purpose, they took large sums out of the customs paid by all the shipping that entered the port or road of *Ormuz*; they imposed likewise high duties upon the pearl fishery at the island of *Babaren*; the barks from the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, though freighted only with necessaries, paid mighty sums every year, from the great consumption of all things made, as well by strangers as inhabitants. The governor claimed a privilege of sending his own vessels to *Goa*, *Cbaul*, *Bengala*, and *Muscat*; and, that his profit upon their cargoes might be the more considerable, the market was not open to private merchants, till the governor had purchased a lading for his ships³. It is said, there was no such article as this in the governor's instructions; but it was one of those precedents which, being once boldly set, was ever after faithfully copied. Add to all this, the exclusive power of selling horses throughout the bounds of his jurisdiction, which must have come to a great sum, since they were generally valued at four or five thousand crowns a-piece. The caravans from *Aleppo* set out twice a year, in the months of *April* and *September*, for *Bassora*, with a vast number of camels, escorted by janisaries, and from thence themselves and their merchandize were easily transported by sea to *Ormuz*. These caravans consisted of from two or three to five or six thousand persons, and the wealth they brought was prodigious. On the other hand, the regular trade from *Malacca*, private ships from all parts of the *Indies*, and the caravans that passed through the provinces of *Persia*, brought likewise the richest and most valuable commodities, in vast quantities; neither could any of these be bought or sold, but the governor of *Ormuz*, and his dependents, would be gainers by them, more or less, as well as their owners. One would have thought, that the value of this place being so thoroughly understood, and the security of it being so well provided for, there should have been but little fear of its being lost; more especially at a time when their own power was so very great; and that of their enemies, reckoned singly, very inconsiderable⁴ (M).

BUT

¹ PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 414. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, c. 23.
² RAMUSIO, tom. i. fol. 388. Essai sur le Marine, et sur le Commerce, p. 184, 185, 186. ³ HAKLUYT'S Voyages, p. 215. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208. ⁴ Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, c. 23. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

(M) The last king of *Ormuz*, whose name was *Mah-Spain*, not long before the destruction of the island, in which he gave him a very full and fair account of those errors

- a But the insolence of prosperity made all the precautions taken in those times, when prudence and public spirit prevailed, altogether fruitless. The famous *Persian* monarch Shâh *Abbas* had long meditated the conquest of this important place; but, for want of a naval force, found it altogether impracticable. The *Portuguese*, now under the dominion of *Spain*, supplied him with a fleet, by their indiscretion, which all the power of his monarchy could not have raised, or his policy obtained. In short, they quarrelled with, and insulted, the *English*, who were become lately considerable in the *Indies*. They entered into a treaty with the *Persian*, from certain motives, and upon certain terms, of which an account will be given in a subsequent section, furnished a squadron of nine sail, with which they blocked up, and battered, the city and castle, and landed an army of three thousand *Persians* on the island.
- b The besieged had a great strength, and a good fleet, but all was very ill managed. The city surrendered soon, some writers suggest, through treachery, but it seems to have been rather through indiscretion and folly. The fleet was, for the most part, burnt and destroyed. After all, the citadel made a good defence, and might have been preserved, if the governor had not been obstinate, in refusing to let the sea through the peninsula which joined the point of land upon which the fortrefs stood, to the island, because it was an expedient that did not occur first to himself. In fine, after about two months dispute, the garrison of that important place capitulated with the *English*. And thus, after remaining in their hands almost one hundred and twenty years, *Ormuz* was lost by the *Portuguese* ^(N).
- c It was computed, that, exclusive of jewels and rich merchandize, the plunder and ready money amounted to above two millions. The articles of the capitulation were but ill observed, the *Persian* executing his treaty but indifferently; so that the *English* were far from having their full share of the booty; and what they had did them very little good, most, if not all of it, perishing at sea. The *Portuguese* made an attempt for the recovery of *Ormuz*, in which they might have been successful, if the viceroy at *Goa* had not, through want of capacity, indolence, or a pique to the officer who commanded in that expedition, failed as much in his duty as the governor of *Ormuz* had done. After it once fell into the hands of the *Persians*, the place was quickly ruined, and the trade transferred to *Bander Abassi*, or *Gambron*. In process of time, the *Dutch*, coming into these seas, carried off the materials of the city, under pretence of taking in ballast, which turned to very good account, till at length it was forbid by the *Persians*, when it was too late. A garrison was kept in the citadel for some time; but, by degrees, that is likewise fallen into ruin, the island utterly deserted; and scarce the smallest remains are now left, to vindicate the records of history, or to prove, that this was once a place of such mighty consequence, and the capital magazine of the whole east ^a.

The Persians, in conjunction with the English, attacked the island by sea and land.

A. D. 1622. What immense riches were acquired by the plunder of this celebrated emporium.

^a PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1787. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, c. 23.
^b Travels of PETER DELLA VALLE into the East Indies, p. 5. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1793. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, cap. 23.

errors in government, which were like to bring upon his subjects, as well as those of the king of *Spain*, total destruction. In that epistle, he observes, that the pride of his officers increased in proportion as they lost their power: that, in former times, a governor was very well content, if he carried away thirty thousand crusadoes at the conclusion of his term; whereas two hundred thousand would scarce satisfy them at that time; and, to obtain this money, they made use of the king's ships and men to carry on their commerce as merchants, by which the island was left without defence (43). This letter, when *Ormuz* was taken by the *Persians*, fell into the hands of the *English*, and plainly shews, that this unfortunate prince deserved a better fate.

(N) It appears from their own relations, that it was

partly fear, and partly a desire of sharing in the plunder, that induced the *English* to engage themselves in this business; and though the *Persians* could have done nothing without them, yet they were but very indifferently treated, while they did every thing for them: and were at last no great gainers, by an enterprise that changed the whole face of affairs in those parts, and put the *Persian* monarchs in possession of all they could desire, at the same time that it gave such a blow to the power of the *Portuguese*, as they could never recover, distressing them as much on this side, as they were distressed on the other by the *Dutch*; with this difference, that the latter kept what they got, whereas the former gave all to the *Persians*, and remained themselves at their mercy (44).

(43) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1802. in the second volume of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(44) See Mr. Monsieux's large Account of the taking of *Ormuz*.

S E C T. VI.

The same subject continued, with an account of their settlements at Mascat, Diu, Damman, Chaoul, Onor, Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, and Choulan; their disappointment at the Maldives; their lucrative fishery at Tutocorin; and their establishments at Negapatan, Meliapour, and Malacca.

An account of the Portuguese establishment at Mascat; and in what manner it fell into their power.

THE next government in the *Portuguese Indies*, was that of *Mascat*, as some write it, ^a but as we generally spell it, *Muskat*, a very famous town in *Arabia the Happy*. It is situated between the capes of *Raz-al-Gate* and *Moccaton*, in twenty-three degrees thirty minutes north latitude, exactly under the tropic of *Capricorn*, about three miles in its circumference, built at the bottom of a small bay, encompassed with high rocky mountains, and guarded with a strong wall. Besides, it is fortified with five or six castles and batteries, and lies very convenient for trade, on account of its excellent harbour. Before the *Portuguese* arrived in the *Indies*, there was a great resort of merchants hither; and the town, though not so large and well-built, was one of the most considerable upon the coast, and was subject, or at least tributary, to the kings of *Ormuz*, who had a custom-house and proper officers there, who had the charge of receiving the duties arising from the pearl-fishery on the coast ^b of the island of *Babaran*, which were estimated at half a million of ducats. The great *Albuquerque* summoned, and obliged this place to submit, in the year 1507; but a body of two thousand *Arabs*, getting into the town, immediately raised an insurrection, in spite of all the care the governor could take to keep them quiet; upon which a bloody and obstinate action ensued, ending in a complete victory gained by the *Portuguese* ^c. The governor lost his life in this dispute; but *Albuquerque* did all imaginable justice to his innocence, and protected his family in their possessions. The grandeur of *Ormuz* caused some decay in the trade of this place; for which ample amends was made, after the destruction of that city, when the port of *Muskat* became the prime mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of *Portugal*, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by the governors ^c, and other officers, while they remained in possession (O).

Improvements made by them; and how they were dispossessed by the natives.

It is very certain, that, during that space, the city of *Muskat* was very much improved; for, besides regular fortifications, they erected a stately church, a noble college, and many other public structures, as well as very fine stone houses, in which the principal merchants resided, and those who, by the management of public affairs, had acquired wherewithal to live at their ease. In process of time, however, they began to treat the natives so ill, and to put their commerce under so many difficulties, that at length, despairing of redress any other way, they had recourse to arms; and though it is on all hands allowed, that the subjects of *Portugal* defended themselves very gallantly, yet in the end they were reduced to such extremities, as to be glad to embark themselves and their best effects on board their ships in the port, with which ^d they retired to their other settlements. This was about the year 1648: but the war did not end here; they made frequent attempts to recover a place of such importance, sometimes by force, sometimes by negotiation, but without effect. It is true, that for many years they disturbed the trade of this place: but that too became disadvantageous in the end; for by degrees it made the *Arabians* expert seamen, excellent in the use of fire-arms, and raised them a considerable maritime force. The sovereign of this country is at present master of all the coast from *Raz-al-Gate* to *Al-katiff*, which is an extent of five hundred miles. His capital is *Nazura*, and *Muskat* is intrusted to the care of a governor, who has very extensive powers ^d.

As this is at present by much the most considerable port for trade in this part of the world, it may not be amiss to dwell upon some farther particulars. The climate is excessive hot in summer, which was formerly held not a little strange, on account of its lying at the ex-

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^b Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. iii. cap. 8. p. 252.

^c Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 420.

^d Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés, du Monde,

(O) As the disinterestedness and public spirit of the first *Portuguese* conquerors had raised their empire to a surprising height, in a short space of time; so, when once their governors came to have no regard for the public, but to be entirely influenced by their private views, every thing fell into confusion; and those who were before terrified at the thoughts of offending them,

began to contrive and accomplish their ruin with equal facility; and as their governors rarely thought it incumbent upon them to hazard any thing in support of each other, their places fell by degrees, till at last they became detpicable, even in the eyes of those nations to whom they had been once so terrible (45).

a tremity of the torrid zone; but modern philosophers are no longer at a loss for the true causes of this excessive heat, or under any difficulty in conceiving that it may, and indeed must, be hotter under the tropics than under the line itself. The mountains, that lie at the back of the city, are bare and barren; but the vallies are fresh and fruitful, notwithstanding that it does not rain above twice or thrice in as many years; but the dew, which falls in the night, supplies the herbs with moisture, and the fruits with the richest juices. They have oranges, lemons, grapes, apricots, and peaches, in abundance; but what they value much more than any of these, and therefore cultivate vast orchards of them, are dates, exquisite in taste, and of which they have such plenty, that they export many cargoes every year. Roots they have and herbs in great quantities, and in the highest perfection: neither do they want cattle, fowl, b or fish. In a word, it is a fine and fertile country, considered distinctly; but, in comparison of the rest of *Arabia*, it is a perfect paradise; and, if we were to give intire credit to modern travellers, we should go near to add, that it is inhabited by angels^c

THE people indeed have embraced the religion of *Mohammed*; but have not only cancelled whatever seems to favour of sensuality in the *Khoran*, but have also refined upon the morality contained therein to such a degree, that Christian writers, and those too of different nations, describe them as the most uncorrupt, and at the same time the most polite, people in the east. They not only refrain from wine and spirits, but from coffee and tea, as liquors drank to delight the palate rather than to answer the necessities of nature, for which plain water or sherbet is, in their opinions, sufficient. The same temperance is observed in eating, and in c every thing else; and, with respect to lewdness and debauchery, they are not punished, because they are not known. Robberies are never heard of; and their policy is so exact, that never any necessity is felt capable of exciting men to steal. Their heads are always so cool, that strangers deal with them without trouble. They do strict justice, without severity; and, where men's misfortunes make charity a virtue, it has no other measure than that of their need. These are qualities that attract reverence and affection, and at the same time establish confidence, which is the very soul of trade. All mercantile transactions are carried on in the day-time; no bargain can be made, no boat can go on shore, after sun-set. These circumstances may appear incredible; but they are supported by good authorities, neither have they been contradicted^f.

d THE island of *Diu* lies at the entrance of the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees twenty minutes, and at the distance of two hundred leagues from *Cape Commorin*. We shall, in this place, give only a short description of the country, the city, and the fortress; for, as it is still in the hands of the *Portuguese*, it will be more particularly insisted upon at the end of the chapter. The island, or rather peninsula, upon which the city stands, is about a league in length, and about a quarter of a league in breadth^e. The city is but small, yet well-built, and thoroughly fortified, exclusive of the three forts raised for its defence, two of which are very strong, and the third is held impregnable. When the *Portuguese* empire was in its prosperity, and before *Cambaya* and *Surat* were grown into reputation, it was a place of very great trade, and the port always full of ships; and, notwithstanding it has been long in a state e of gradual decay, it still holds up its head; and tho' the merchants that reside there are fewer in number, and do not make quite so great a figure as they did, yet they are still in a tolerable condition, and, knowing how much their security depends upon the strength of the garrison, and the good condition of the works, they very chearfully contribute to the pay of the one, and to the support of the other. The narrow district that lies without, supplies them tolerably with provisions, which they are so wise as to sell very cheap to the crews of such ships as put in here for refreshments, and have by that means preserved several branches of commerce that would have been otherwise lost. They have, for the most part, likewise a good correspondence with the people of *Guzurat*; who, finding their magazines and shops well supplied with *European* goods, and lying as it were just at their doors, commonly prefer this to f more distant markets^b. For these, and for some other reasons which will appear in their proper place, *Diu* is looked upon as one of the most important fortresses yet remaining to the crown of *Portugal* in the *Indies*, at the entrance of which it lies, and of which there are some writers who styie it the key. This is certain, that some very good judges of the commerce in this part of the world have considered the place we are now describing as the fittest for a general mart, and capable, if in the hands of an enterprising power, of being raised to as high a degree of riches and magnificence as *Ormuz* was in times pastⁱ (P).

THE

^c HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 7. Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 420. ^e Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 705. HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 7. Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 420. ^b BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 7. ^f HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 140, 141. ⁱ Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 778.

(P) It appears from hence of how great consequence a and thoroughly supplied, might be towards carrying on very few fortresses, well situated, in a good condition, the commerce of the *Indies*, without the trouble, &c. Mod. Hist. Vol. IV.

Authors of all countries have highly commended the inhabitants of the city of Mascat.

A description of the island and fortress of Diu, with some account of the great importance of that post.

1559.

The fortress of
Daman de-
scribed, which
still remains to
the Portu-
guese.

THE first place on the continent of the *Indies* called the peninsula without the *Ganges*,^a belonging to the *Portuguese*, is *Daman*, situated on a peninsula at the mouth of the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees, at an equal distance between *Surat* and *Bassaim*. The *Portuguese* became masters of it early, and fortified it regularly^b. The city is large, and was formerly very populous: the port is but indifferent; but the citadel is reputed one of the best fortresses in the *Indies*. There is still some trade carried on here, more especially in corn and rice. Some old families are rich; and, the place having remained so long in the hands of the *Portuguese*, they have never wanted a sufficient force to defend it when attacked, which is the reason that it remains in their hands at this time^c. When the famous emperor of the *Indies*, *Aurengezebe*, came before it with an army of forty thousand men, he flattered himself with the hopes of driving the *Europeans* out of his dominions; but this siege made him^d intirely alter his notions. It was defended by an old officer, who had under him three of his sons, and a garrison of eight hundred men. The *Mogul*, having made some progress with his artillery, determined to make a general assault on a *Sunday* morning about break of day. The governor had intelligence of this, and resolved to save him the labour: about half an hour after midnight he made a sally, with six hundred men, upon the strongest post in the *Indian* army, where all the elephants were kept: he began with throwing in a vast quantity of different kinds of fireworks, and immediately after ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. The elephants, frightened with the noise and the light, broke loose, and turned upon their own army. The confusion this began was increased by the *Portuguese*, of whom two hundred were horse, and did great execution. In short, the *Mogul*, having lost half his men, and all his artillery, retired with much precipitation; and made it thenceforward one of his maxims not to attack *Europeans* any more^e. Not far from hence lay *Bombay*, one of the best ports they had; which being given to the *English*, as part of the marriage-portion of the infanta *Catharine*, there is no necessity of our dwelling upon it longer here.

Account of the
fortress of
Chaoul, and
its importance
to the crown
of Portugal.

THE city of *Chaoul* stands in the latitude of eighteen degrees thirty minutes: it is very well situated, and has a very spacious port or bay, the entrance of which, however, is a little difficult. The *Portuguese* took it in 1507, and improved it prodigiously. About it lies a *Moorish* town, the inhabitants of which are dependent on the *Portuguese* government^a. There are more rich merchants left here than in any place that yet owns obedience to the crown of *Portugal*. A great many, and those very excellent silk manufactures are made here, and a considerable trade carried on in spices. Some ships annually resort hither from *Cbina*; and that spirit of diligence and industry, for which the *Portuguese* were formerly remarkable, still subsists here. There are several villages under its jurisdiction; and, the adjacent country being extremely fruitful, their farms and plantations turn to a very good account, as they supply all the neighbouring settlements, and part of the *Mogul's* dominions, with horses, black cattle, grain, and fruits^b. We shall speak of *Goa* at the very close of this chapter, when we come to represent the present state of the affairs of the *Portuguese* in this part of the world.

The kingdom
and fortress of
Onor reduced,
lost, yet still
inhabited by
the Portu-
guese.

ONOR, in the latitude of thirteen degrees thirty minutes, was the capital of a kingdom when the *Portuguese* came into those parts, who first owned the prince of it for their ally, and afterwards made him their subject. They built a good fort there to maintain their power, and to secure the pepper-trade, what is found there being reputed the best in the *Indies*^c. This fortress being very strong, made the *Portuguese* more careless about it than they ought to have been, which induced the natives of the country, at the persuasion and with the assistance of the *Dutch*, to attack and make themselves masters of it, by which they were enabled to shake off the yoke, and have been free ever since. There are, however, a great number of *Portuguese* inhabitants who still live there in peace and safety; and, if they are not extremely rich, they are at least quiet and content^d.

^a P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 200. ^b Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, by BALDÆUS, c. 12.

^c Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 289. ^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 191. 300. ^e GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 67. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde, p. 212. ^f MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 6. ^g BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 16.

pence, or danger of extensive conquests. The great *Albuquerque* judged this to be the most effectual method of preserving the *Indies*, believing that six or seven strong places, besides *Goa*, which he meant should be their capital settlement, would have maintained their power in the east, without exhausting *Portugal* of people, or rendering their dominions so extensive as to make a strict and regular government a thing impracticable. Amongst other events that have rendered this place famous, may be reckoned the surprisal of it by the *Muskat Arabs* in

1670, who entered it in the night, through the carelessness of the *Portuguese*, and plundered it without mercy; the governor of the citadel keeping close within his fortress, receiving all who fled thither, but gave the enemy no disturbance. This rendered them secure and negligent; which the governor expected, and thereupon proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who would fall upon them, by which they were driven out of the town, with the loss of upwards of a thousand men (46).

(46) Hamilton's Account of the *East Indies*, vol. i, p. 140.

- a CANANOR, of which so much has been already said, is at this day a large and populous city, inhabited chiefly by *Mohammedans*, who carry on a very considerable trade. We have shewn how the *Portuguese* came to erect a very strong fortress here, by which they became intire masters of the commerce; and, if it had been as well fortified towards the land as it was towards the sea, it had still remained, in all probability, in their power; but the *Dutch*, with the assistance of the natives, attacked it, and, after the garrison had made a good defence, granted them an honourable capitulation^r. The rice of this country is in great esteem; and, besides this, they have sugar, pepper, ginger, and other rich commodities; so that it is computed not less than two hundred sail of ships arrive annually in the port, which is now open to all the *European* nations that have settlements in the *Indies*. ^{Strength, trade, and importance of the city of Cananor, and present state of that place. 1663.}
- b CALICUT was the capital of the *Samorin*, or emperor of *Malabar*, and, as we have shewn, the first port visited by the *Portuguese*, when, by doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, they opened a direct passage by sea to the *Indies*. Here, after long wars, in which many thousands of people were consumed, they erected a strong fort^s, and were absolute masters of the trade till about the beginning of the last century, when the *Dutch* began to interfere with them, and made a league with the *Samorin*, whom they assisted in his wars against the *Portuguese*, and enabled him more than once to distress them exceedingly; notwithstanding which, they defended themselves so gallantly, that their enemies were not able to reduce them by force: but what violence could not effect, was quickly brought about by dissensions amongst themselves, which threw their affairs into such confusion, that at length they blew up their fort, and abandoned the place to the natives. It still remains a place of great trade, the *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danes* having factories there; and the *bazar*, or market-place, is esteemed the finest in that part of the world^t. Pepper, fine cottons, salt-petre, sweet-scented woods, and rice, are the chief commodities. The sand of the river, which falls into the port, is mixed with grains of very fine gold; and the poorer inhabitants obtain a subsistence by washing them out, which is very hard labour^u. If we give credit to the Christian writers of all nations, the *Samorins* are a race of as deceitful and perfidious princes as ever the world produced; and it is possible that their historians do not give a better character of the Christians with whom they have had any concerns. ^{Calicut abandoned by the Portuguese, a place of great trade, and still in the hands of the Samorin.}
- c CRANGANOR, the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, was a place where the *Portuguese* had a very strong fort, which obliged the natives to remove their town to some distance. That belonging to the *Portuguese* was one of the fairest and finest places in the *Indies*, and the chief residence of the Christians of *St. Thomas*. The *Portuguese* settled here very early, and continued in absolute possession, to the great grief of the natives^v, till their fort was attacked and taken by the *Dutch*, who granted the garrison a good capitulation, and transported them to *Portugal*. The kingdom of *Cochin* was in the like condition, that is, had two capitals, one belonging to the *Portuguese*, and the other to the natives. The former, we have shewn, was the first place they had in the *Indies*; and the people, whether better used, or longer acquainted with the *Portuguese*, remained always faithful to them. This place, after a good defence, was taken by the *Dutch*, who found it a large well-built city, and many public structures in it, some of which are now wholly ruined^x (Q). ^{The past and present condition of the fortresses and districts of Cranganor and Cochin. 1504.}
- e CHOULAN is the capital of the last and the least kingdom on the coast of *Malabar*, its whole extent being fifteen leagues. It was divided into the upper and lower towns, the former belonging to the natives, and the latter to the *Portuguese*; and a very fine place it was, in which they had several monasteries, seven handsome churches, a noble exchange, and a stately castle built of free stone, in which the *Portuguese* governor resided. The port was spacious, and safe for small vessels, which drew very great trade to the place, rendering it extremely populous, and many of its inhabitants rich^y. The *Dutch* made themselves once masters of it, and could not keep it; for the people surprised their garrison, cut their throats, and restored it to the *Portuguese*; from whom it was again taken, after a long and bloody siege; since which it is much decayed, and many marks of its former magnificence reduced to ruins^z. ^{Account of the fortress and country of Choulán, the last of any consequence on the coast of Malabar. 1661.}

^r GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 85.

^s MILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 309.

^t BALDÆUS Description, &c. c. 80.

^u Description, &c. c. 21.

^v P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portu-

^w GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 93.

^x BALDÆUS Description, &c. c. 21.

^y HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 333.

^z BALDÆUS

(Q) At Cranganor there was antiently a republic of Jews, who, from records in their own possession, engraven upon copper-plates, pretended to prove they were part of the tribe of *Manasseh*. They were once populous, powerful, and masters of the country; but the last accounts of them represent them as few, weak, and necessitous: however, they have a synagogue, and

adhere very strictly to the law of *Moses*. The *Portuguese* city of *Cochin* was built on the side of the river, three leagues distant from the sea, but at present it is not above one hundred yards from it. So pleasant and so plentiful a place it was in the time of their prosperity, that it was a common proverb, *China* is the best place to get, and *Cochin* to spend, money in (48).

(48) Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 323, 324.

This is the last place of any great consequence between the river *Indus* and *Cape Commorin*, which is the point that terminates the peninsula that was formerly in the hands of the *Portuguese*; of whom it may be truly said, that, if they had built fewer and larger fortresses, and had been as studious to repress luxury as they were to reduce the natives, they might have retained much longer that empire, the acquisition of which does so much honour both to their courage and conduct.

The Portuguese never settled in the *Indies* without being acquainted with them, since the most northern of these islands lie but fifty leagues from *Cape Commorin*. They extend from eight degrees of north latitude to four degrees of south in length, consequently near two hundred leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five leagues in breadth in any part of the *Archipelago*. Within this space are contained a prodigious number of islands; so that, even in the time of *Ptolemy*, that is, in the second century, there were accounted upwards of thirteen hundred: but the inhabitants maintain, that a small part of them only were then known; for their sovereign takes the title of sultan of the *Maldives*, king of thirteen provinces, and twelve thousand isles^b. There is in this, without doubt, a mixture of that pomp and ostentation which are so common in the east; but there are unquestionably many more than the ancients knew under this monarch's dominion. Admiral *Suarez* discovered them in 1507; and he made an alliance with their king, which was confirmed by *Sequeira*, who demanded leave to build a fort upon the isle of *Male*, the largest of them; and the chief city of the same name is the capital of their monarchy, which is antient, rich and powerful^c. *John Gomez*, who was sent thither for this purpose, met with a favourable reception, and, by dint of presents, prevailed upon the king to agree to his demand. He built this fort of wood, there not being either stone or lime in the island. It was extremely well situated, and commanded the port; so that it might have been of great service to the *Portuguese*, if he had behaved as became him; but no sooner was the fort finished, than, presuming on the terror of the *Portuguese* name, he began to lord it over all the strangers that traded thither, though his garrison consisted but of seventeen men; which occasioned a conspiracy of the *Mohammedans* against him, who attacked him when he expected it least, and cut off him and all his people to a man, levelling the fort with the ground. The *Portuguese* were never afterwards able to obtain any establishment in the *Maldives*, which is the reason that several of their authors treat them as pitiful places, and their inhabitants as a base and barbarous people, contrary however to truth and experience^d (R).

An account of the celebrated pearl fishery at Tutocorin, opposite to Ceylon.

BEFORE we can speak with propriety of the noble island of *Ceylon*, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the advantages drawn by the *Portuguese* from their being lords of the sea between that island and the coast of the continent; but we must desire the reader to observe, that, in what we deliver upon this subject, we confine ourselves intirely to that period in which it belonged to this nation, things being very much altered since the property, or, as they are pleased to style it, the protection of these seas fell into the hands of the *Dutch*. At the time the *Portuguese* were masters in these parts, the taking of oysters in this streight (having the coasts of the kingdom of *Madura* on the north, and the islands lying between *Ceylon* and the main on the south) was styled, by way of excellence, THE FISHERY, and very deservedly; for though some prefer the pearls taken near the island of *Baharan* in the *Persian* gulph, and those likewise found on the coast of *China* at *Huinan*, yet it might be very easily proved, from the comparison of the annual amount of those fisheries within this period, that they were very seldom superior to this of which we are speaking^e. It was one of the wisest points in the *Portuguese* policy, that tho' they were really in full possession of this beneficial commerce, yet they chose to dissemble it, and took all imaginable precautions in order to make the natives

^a Voyage aux Indes par MANDELSLO, p. 284. PTOLEMAE Geogr. lib. viii. ^b GUYON Histoire des Indes, vol. ii. p. 187. ^c P. LAFFITAU Histoire des Conquistes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 297. ^d MARTINI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vii. cap. 7. ^e Histoire natur. des Indes de JOSEPH ACOSTA, l. iv. c. 15.

(R) It will be proper to acquaint the reader with two things relative to these islands, which are singular in their kind: the first is, that the *Dutch*, who now carry on, in a great measure, the commerce of these islands, find it extremely profitable, as purchasing at a very low price, and almost in what quantities they please, the finest cowries in the world, which pass for ready money in some nations, particularly on the coast of *Guinea* (49). The other is, that the cocos of the *Maldives*, of which so many useful manufactures are made, and of which such high commendations are to be met with in several authors (50), as if it grew no-where in such perfection

as in these islands, is, in reality, a different species of that fruit, which does not grow but in the *Maldives*; yet the nuts are not eatable, as is commonly reported, but medicinal, and in that respect highly esteemed, more especially in the cure of fevers and of poisons. A modern writer describes it thus, from his own knowledge: "Of that tree (says he) they build vessels of twenty or thirty tons; their hulls, masts, sails, rigging, anchors, cables, provisions, and firing, are all from this useful tree. It also affords them oil for their kitchen and lamps, sugar, and candied sweetmeats, and a pretty strong cloth" (51).

(49) *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 849. (50) *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 349.

(51) From a MS. Memoir of Mr. Gardin.

a believe that they were perfectly free, and that their interposition was not so much the effect of authority as of good will ; it was for this reason that they never pretended to erect any fort either at *Tutucorin*, or at *Calipatnam*, two towns upon the continent, from whence most of the fishers and their barks came, and that they suffered the antient customs to take place ^f.

THE season of the fishery was the latter end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according to the weather. The direction of it was left intirely to the sovereign of the country, called the *Naik* ; and the *Portuguese*, in quality of the protectors of the sea, sent two frigates to defend the fishing-vessels from the *Malabar* and *Maldiva* pirates. The time which this pearl-fishing lasted was about a fortnight, of the beginning of which the *Naik* gave public notice ; and, the day being come, there repaired to the place assigned several
b thousands of people of all sexes and ages, and an indefinite number of fishing-vessels, and divers from five or six hundred to a thousand or more. Upon a signal given, the boats put to sea ; and, having chose their proper stations, the divers plunged, and brought up the oysters in little baskets upon their heads ; with which the boats being sufficiently laden, they were carried on shore, where the people who remained there for that purpose buried them in the sand, till, by the heat of the sun, the fish was corrupted and consumed, and the pearls easily taken out. The whole product of the first day's fishery belonged to the *Naik* ; and, after that, what was caught every day was separated, and particularly distinguished, but went to the common profit. The whole number of people employed at sea and on shore, amounted frequently to fifty or sixty thousand souls ; and the pavilions and tents set up for their accom-
c modation, made a fine appearance at a distance. When the pearls were extracted, cleansed, and dried, they passed them through a kind of sieves, by which their sizes were distinguished. When all was over, the *Naik* appointed a time and place for the public market ; in consequence of which there was a kind of fair, that commonly lasted from the close of *June* till the beginning of *September*. The smallest, which are what we call seed-pearl, was sold by weight ; and all the rest according to their respective sizes and beauty, from a few shillings up to ten or twenty pounds, and sometimes more, apiece ; but there were few buyers, except the *Portuguese* merchants, who, bringing ready money, had good bargains, and thus all parties were pleased ^g. The *Portuguese* assumed the protection of this fishery very soon after they settled in the *Indies*, and held it till the year 1658, when, in consequence of their losses in *Ceylon*, and
d elsewhere, it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who have remained in possession of it ever since ^h (S).

WE come next to that beautiful island which lies beyond the *Maldives*, and to the south of *Cape Commorin*, the name of which, differently written by modern writers, is *Ceylon*, *Ceilan*, or *Ceylon*, called by the inhabitants *Lamca*, which in their language signifies the terrestrial paradise, or holy land, a name given by its first king *Vijiah Rajah*, who is supposed to have flourished five hundred years before Christ ⁱ. It was afterwards called *Ilanara*, or *Tranate*, which is as much as to say the insular kingdom ; it was also called *Hibenaro*, or the fertile island ; and *Tenarism*, or the country of delight. The *Arabians* call it *Serendib*, or rather *Serendive* ^k. It is by many held to be the largest, and is beyond controversy one of the richest
e and finest islands in the world. The *Portuguese* settled here in 1506, under the conduct of *Lawrence Almeyda*, who erected a column with an inscription, testifying that he took possession of that country on behalf of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, because it had no master ; though at the very same time he treated with the emperor of *Ceylon*, and promised him the protection of

Of the names, extent, condition, product, and government, of Ceylon, when discovered by Suarez.

^f Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 362.

^g Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 787.

^h BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 22.

ⁱ GUYON Hilloire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 193, 194.

^k Anciennes Relations Arabes, traduites par l'Abbé RENAUDOT.

(S) The *Dutch* have changed this method, as we are informed by a person very well acquainted with their affairs ; the course into which they have put it is, in few words, this : The camp is sometimes held on the coast of *Madura*, upon the continent ; sometimes on the island of *Manar*, which is in the hands of the *Dutch*, who, notwithstanding, follow the example of the *Portuguese*, and lay claim to no higher title than that of protectors of the fishery, in which quality their commissary is ever in the camp, as well as the *Naik*, or sovereign of the country, who is also the *Rajah* of *Tanjour*. The oysters caught every day are put up in tons or barrels, of which, when a certain number are full, they put them up to sale by way of auction ; and the merchants bid according as they have an opinion of the year, that is, of

the state of the oysters for the season ; but the middle price is between thirty or forty shillings sterling per cask. When a merchant has bought such a lot as this, he carries it to his quarters ; and, after a certain number of days, he proceeds to opening the oysters, but always in the air, for the stench is so great as to be almost insupportable. They open them over tubs, into which they pour what comes out of the oyster, as also the muddy water that remains in the cask ; next they draw it out into cullenders of several sizes, and at length perhaps they find four or five shillings worth of pearls, sometimes to the value of ten or twelve pounds ; so that it is a perfect lottery, by which some few becoming rich, it betrays numbers into beggary (52).

(52) From a MS. Memoir of Mr. Garcia.

his monarch, in consideration of two thousand five hundred quintals of fine cinnamon, as an annual tribute¹. In 1520 they built a fort here, and began to settle; and afterwards assumed an absolute power over a great part of the island, under colour of the emperor's will, who made the *Portuguese* heirs of his dominions. The trade they carried on was very considerable; and the commodities they drew from hence were long pepper, fine cotton, ivory, silk, tobacco, ebony, musk, chrystal, salt-petre, sulphur, lead, iron, steel, copper, besides the three capital articles of cinnamon, all kinds of precious stones except diamonds, and elephants. As soon as the *Dutch* came into the *Indies*, they formed designs of making themselves masters of so valuable a place^m. They made their first descent in the year 1602, and carried on sometimes open wars, sometimes secret contrivances, against the *Portuguese*, till, in the space of about fifty-five years, they absolutely drove or wained them out of *Ceylon*, making themselves masters of *Colombo* and *Negombo*, which were the principal places in the island, and of the strong fortress of *Punto Gallo*, which commands the best haven in *Ceylon*. The *Portuguese* held their establishments here for about a hundred and fifty years, under sixteen captain generals, from Don Pedro Lopez de Sousa, who was the first, down to Don Antonio d' Amaral y Menezes, who was the lastⁿ. Those best acquainted with the history of the *Indies* in general, and of this island in particular, agree that it was lost, after so long a possession, through the covetousness and pride of the governors, and the luxury, laziness, and cowardice, of the soldiers; which they charge on the inactive administration in *Europe*, that took no care to look into the management of so considerable a settlement, and which brought in so large a revenue to the crown of *Portugal*, till it was too late^o; a circumstance, surely, that ought to be remembered and considered by every maritime power, and such more particularly as have important colonies, and those at a great distance.

The state of
Negapatan at
the time it
was possessed
by the *Portu-
guese*, and
ever since.

THE first place of note that occurs on the coast of *Coromandel*, that relates to our subject, is *Negapatan*, that is, in the language of the natives, the *City of Serpents*, so called not only because the country behind it is very full of serpents, but likewise on account of a kind of religious respect that is paid them by the natives, who look upon it as a sort of impiety to kill them^p. At the time of the *Portuguese* coming into the *Indies*, this was very little better than a straggling village, or at most but an open town; but they, quickly perceiving the uses that might be made of it, and more especially how conducive it would be to the security of their trade in the gulph of *Bengal*, not only erected walls, but improved it in other respects to such a degree, that it became a fair and beautiful city, adorned with several fine churches, and a fine college belonging to the *Jesuits*^q. They held it till they lost the island of *Ceylon*; and it became then a place of such consequence to the *Dutch*, that they practised upon the king, or prince of *Tanjour*, to abandon his old allies the *Portuguese*, and by his assistance became masters of it^r. The *Portuguese* knew the value of it too well to part with it easily, or to forget the loss of it soon; and therefore they made a great effort to recover it; in which they succeeded; but did not keep it long, for the *Dutch* were now grown so strong in the *Indies*, and had dispossessed the *Portuguese* of so many places, that it was impossible for them to relieve it when besieged; which was the reason that the *Dutch* became masters of it again, and have continued so ever since^s. It is at this time a place of very great trade, though the port is not extraordinary; and almost all the different nations in the *Indies*, *Moors*, *Indians*, *Armenians*, &c. are settled and trade under the protection of the fort (T).

Meliapour, or
St. Thomas,
is commonly
looked on as the
same city, how
adorned and
how decayed.

MELIAPOUR, which lies ten miles to the north of the *English* settlement at *Fort St. George*; was of old the capital of the kingdom of *Coromandel*; and partly on its ruins, partly in its neighbourhood, the *Portuguese* erected the stately city of *St. Thomas*, or, as it is commonly called, *St. Thome*, which is the reason that, notwithstanding some travellers distinguish between the *Indian* and the *Christian* city, yet most writers consider them as the same place; which, if it be an error,

¹ MAFETTI, P. i. l. vii. c. 5. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 307. BALDÆUS Description of the island of *Ceylon*, c. 2.

Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iv. p. 90, 91.

^o Histoire de l'Isle de *Ceylon*, par Jean Ribeyro, p. 351, 352.

^p Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Établissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vi. p. 300.

^q BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and *Coromandel*, cap. 22.

^r GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 100.

^s HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 28.

^m Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Établissement de la

ⁿ See this matter treated at large in the next chapter.

^p Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à

^q BALDÆUS Description of the

^r HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 28.

(T) This town belonged originally, at least so high as we are able to trace it, to the *Naik*, who has been mentioned before; but it may not be amiss to observe, that this is the title of his office, because it lets us into a very curious circumstance, that one could hardly expect to meet with in the *Indies*, as agreeing precisely with the constitution of the *German* empire. All the countries adjacent belonged in times past to a powerful prince, who

was styled the emperor of *Bisnagar*, who distributed the provinces amongst the principal persons of his household. Of this the *Naik*, or cup bearer, was one; and, in right of that office, was governor of *Tanjour*, where he set up for himself, and became an independent prince, as well as the king of *Golconda*, and others, who, like him, were originally domestics of this emperor (53).

(53) Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, tom. iii. l. i. c. 10. Lettres édifiantes, tom. xv. p. 135.

- a is however not very inexcusable¹. It was, and indeed still is, inhabited by weavers and dyers, and noted for making the best coloured stuffs in *India*, which they transport to *Malacca*, *Java*, the *Molucca Islands*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, &c. The excellency and durability of the dye is attributed to the peculiar quality of the water which arises out of springs in white sandy ground, without any clay. Some think *Meliapour* to be *Ptolemy's Mapoura*². It was desolate at the coming of the *Portuguese*, who rebuilt it in 1545; after which it increased to that degree in buildings and inhabitants, that in a few years it was one of the finest cities in the *Indies*. It is fortified with a stone wall and several bastions, and has above three hundred towns and villages under its jurisdiction. When it was in the hands of the *Portuguese*, it was first subject to the see of *Cochin*, and afterwards made a bishoprick under the archbishop of *Goa*. They
- b had several churches, where the *Mahometans* and pagans were instructed and baptized, besides others, with two monasteries and a college of *Jesuits* here, where the *Portuguese* and *Malabar* children were instructed. Next to the college was a very large parish, inhabited by none but converts³. There is also the famous church of *St. Thomas the Apostle*, who, the *Portuguese* say, was buried here, and pretend to shew his sepulchre on the top of a neighbouring mountain, over which they have built a small chapel, that is seen off at sea. Near the college, upon a pretty high hill, there is another chapel, which they pretend was the apostle's dormitory; and they have adorned that part, where he used to say his prayers, with gilt iron steps. They likewise shew a stone cross, which they pretend fell from heaven in the apostle's time, and have covered it with an arch. The wood of this chapel is looked on as a precious relic; so that
- c pilgrims frequently carry away little bits of it, and set them in gold⁴. The city had seven gates, and was very strong from its situation, being covered by the sea on one side, and by a chain of mountains on the other; yet the *Moors* took it, after a long siege, and are still in possession; the road is very safe from *April* to *September*, when the south and south-west winds blow; but not in the other season, when ships of any considerable burthen are obliged to retire into some of the adjacent ports⁵ (U).

1661.

- It appears from their own histories, that even in the time of their highest prosperity the *Portuguese* contented themselves with these settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*, though their trade in those parts was of very great importance; but then they took great care to keep these places in a good state of defence, and maintained in each of them a very numerous garrison for their preservation, restraining the rest of the coast by their squadrons continually cruising in the bay of *Bengal*. On the opposite side of that gulph the *Portuguese* had once very great power in the kingdom of *Pegu*, in consequence of their assisting the king against his neighbour of *Siam*, who had invaded his territories; and would very probably have made him his tributary, if a small body of *Portuguese* had not come to his assistance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himself against his enemy, but even to carry the war into his own country. It is easy to discern what advantages might have accrued to the *Portuguese* from this favourable turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late author, that what might have turned so much to their benefit, proved, by their own ill management, the cause of their ruin, and that in a short space of time⁶. The king of *Pegu*, it seems, was so sensible of the service they had done him in driving the king of *Siam* out of his country, that in pure gratitude he made one Signior *Thomas Pereyra*, who commanded the *Portuguese* in the war, generalissimo of all his forces; which preferment made the *Portuguese* so insolent, that in a few years they became detestable and intolerable to all ranks and degrees of persons in *Pegu*. Both kings grew tired of war, but were too proud to make advances towards peace; so that for many years they had skirmishes, though not set battles; and where-ever the *Portuguese* went, they had victory to attend them. The king of *Pegu*, to have his forces nearer the borders of *Siam*, settled his court at *Martavan*; and kept the *Portuguese* near him, to be ready upon all occasions, either to repel or assault, as opportunity served; and *Thomas Pereyra* was the great favourite at court, having his elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen to attend him. One day coming from court in state on an elephant, he happened to hear music in a burgher's house, whose daughter, a beautiful virgin, had been married that morning to a young

¹ GUYON *Histoire des Indes*, tom. ii. p. 119.

Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 23.

² Atlas Geograph. vol. iii. p. 596.

³ Lettres edifiantes, tom. xii. p. 131.

⁴ BALDIUS

⁵ Lettres edifiantes, tom. xv. p. 27.

⁶ HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 36.

(U) We shall have occasion to mention this place more than once. It was by the assistance of the *Dutch* reduced by the king of *Golconda*, from whom it was taken by the *French*, who kept it for some time; and then the same *Indian* prince, by the assistance of his allies, re-

covered it, and remained in possession till he lost his dominions to the *Mogul*, under whom it now remains. The reason of its decay is the vicinity of *Madras*, or *Fort St. George*, which some writers affirm was built, at least in part, out of its ruins (54).

man in the neighbourhood. The general went to the house, wished them joy, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the general's visit for a great honour done them, and brought their daughter to his elephant's side. He, smitten with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and carry her to his house. His orders were too readily obeyed; and the poor bridegroom, not able to bear his loss, cut his throat. The disconsolate parents rent their clothes, and went weeping through the streets to the king's palace, imploring their countrymen's assistance to avenge them on the insolent *Portuguese*. Crouds of people came to hear and see the tragedy, till their numbers grew so great, and their noise so loud, that it reached the king's ears, who sent to know the cause of the tumult. The messenger, returning, acquainted the king of what had been transacted; and he sent them word, that he would punish the criminal, and accordingly sent for his general: but he made an excuse, that he was so much out of order, that he could not wait on his majesty; which answer so provoked the king, that he ordered the whole nation to take up arms, and to make a general massacre of the *Portuguese* in city and country. The king's orders were put in execution so speedily, that in a few hours all the *Portuguese* were destroyed; and the guilty criminal, being taken alive, and made fast by the heels to an elephant's feet, was dragged through the streets till there was not either skin or flesh left to cover his bones; which spectacle appeased the enraged populace. Three *Portuguese* only were saved, who, being accidentally in the suburb next the river, hid themselves till night favoured their escape in a small boat; in which they coasted along the shore, feeding on what the woods and rocks afforded them; and at length arrived at *Malacca*, with the dismal account of this melancholy transaction. This event, however memorable, would scarce have deserved a place in this history, if it did not afford us such a picture of the disposition of this nation, as sufficiently accounts for the loss of that power which they had acquired with so much industry and labour.

The great commerce carried on in the kingdom of Siam by the *Portuguese*, in their prosperity.

THE empire of *Siam* lies next to *Pegu*, and is a country of vast extent, the monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portuguese* to think of making any conquests in his dominions; and therefore they chose to live with him upon good terms, for the sake of the brisk trade carried on thro' his territories, which for that purpose are extremely well situated, having on one side the kingdoms of *Layos*, *Camboyda*, and *Cochin-China*, and on the other the countries bordering on the gulph of *Bengal*^a. Besides, there annually resorted thither a fleet of merchant ships from *China*, laden with all the rich goods of that empire. The *Portuguese* continued to hold a fair correspondence with this monarch and his subjects, as long as their power subsisted in the *Indies*; but by degrees the *Dutch* have long since in a great measure excluded them from their influence here; and have wrought themselves so effectually into the confidence of these kings, that they have granted them an exclusive privilege of purchasing all the tin in their dominions, which is a branch of commerce of prodigious importance^b; yet the *Portuguese* are not wholly ejected, though their trade is little or nothing now, in comparison of what it was. In the other principalities of this peninsula, they had also great influence, as well as a general correspondence with the people, as appears from the mixture of *Portuguese* words in their respective languages^c, and the remains of such as are descended from them, which are yet visible in these parts, though not at all revered or esteemed, but, on the contrary, treated with manifest scorn and contempt (X).

Malacca exceedingly improved, as well as strongly fortified, by the same nation.

AT the time the *Portuguese* first came into the *Indian* seas, the great peninsula of *Malacca* was subject to the king of *Johore*; and by what means the viceroys of the crown of *Portugal* were led to attack and make themselves masters of that city, has been already shewn. After it came into their hands, it changed its condition; and, though it was then a place of no small account, in a very short time became much more famous all over *India* and *Europe*. lying almost in the centre of trade, brought thither by shipping from the rich kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, and *Siam*; besides what *Johore* produced, and *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, *Macassar*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and *Ternate*,

^a Voyage aux Indes, par MANDELSLO, p. 304. 331.
^c HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. c. 38.

^b TAVERNIER, tom. iv. l. viii. c. 18.

(X) The present condition of the *Portuguese*, in almost all the different countries of the *Indies*, is truly deplorable, since they live in a very mean and wretched condition, though, generally speaking, protected both by the *Indian* and *Mohammedan* princes, in whose territories they are settled; which, whether it arises from their having been so long resident in the *Indies*, or whether the conformity of their manners recommends them more than other *Europeans*, we pretend not to decide. This, however, is very apparent, that they shew nothing of

the spirit of their ancestors, are not at all solicitous about settlements, forts, or factories; but content themselves with what they can get either by working at some manufacture, carrying on a pedling kind of trade, or serving in some inferior station, or as common soldiers in the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French* fortresses, or in the court of some *Indian* prince. But then, in these, the blood is much debased and corrupted, and there is nothing left of the *Portuguese* but the name (55).

a islands that abound in the most valuable commodities^d. After *Goa* and *Ormuz*, this was by very far the richest city in the *Indies*, and a great market for all the different commodities that these countries produced. It was the seat of a bishop; and the cathedral church, dedicated to *St. Paul*, was extremely fine. They had, besides, five other parish-churches, and a noble college for the *Jesuits*, together with a seminary, in which all new converts to the faith were instructed. The whole was encompassed with a strong stone wall, regularly fortified with bastions, the place extremely well peopled, and the garrison numerous and well supplied, because the *Portuguese* considered it as the eastern frontier of their dominions (Y), which therefore could not be kept too secure^e.

b In 1605 the *Dutch* attacked and destroyed a fleet of *Portuguese* here, consisting of thirty-four sail, on board of which were three thousand men; but they, notwithstanding this, were not able to take the place. The next year the king of *Johore* invested it with an army of sixty thousand men, in revenge of what the *Portuguese* had done against him three years before, when they took and destroyed his capital. However, he also was obliged to raise the siege with great loss^f. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the importance of the place, and the vast advantages accruing to the *Portuguese* from its situation and commerce, the former affording them an opportunity of levying ten *per cent.* upon all vessels passing through the *Streights of Malacca*, and the latter producing annually a large revenue; they attacked it in the year 1640, so vigorously, that they became masters of it, after a siege of six months^g. The walls and fortifications they preserved, as also the church of *St. Paul*; but most of the other churches they have destroyed, and the great hospital they have turned into a warehouse. The language spoken here, is esteemed the most copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore serves as a kind of general tongue through all the islands and provinces lying farther to the east^h. In the kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Camboya*, the *Portuguese* have still a considerable trade, and they are likewise well received in *Tonquin*; but what little commerce they now carry on, serves rather to keep them from starving in the *Indies* than to enrich, or to enable them to make any returns to *Europe*, with which they have in truth little or no connection, and about which, consequently, they cannot have much concernⁱ.

^d P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 117, 130.

^e MAFFÆI, P. ii. l. xiv. c. 1.

^f NIEUHOFF'S *Voyages and Travels to the East Indies*, in the second volume of Churchill's *Voyages*, p. 213.

^g GUYON *Histoire des Indes*, vol. ii. p. 159.

^h *Voyages aux Indes*, par MANDELSLO,

p. 344. ⁱ GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientalis*, vol. iii. p. 40.

(Y) It was, as the reader has been informed, reduced by the great *Albuquerque* in 1510, who, before he returned to the seat of his government, as general of the *Indies*, found himself obliged to put to death the *Rajah Utemutis*, to whose assistance he was in a great measure indebted for this important conquest. His affairs likewise made it requisite for him to raise *Ninachetu*, a man ennobled by his virtues, though not by birth, to the post of *Bandurc*, or chief of the *Indians*, which he had well deserved; but it being represented to *Albuquerque*, that the *Indian* princes could not brook being obliged to submit to one they esteemed so much their inferior, he very unadvisedly, at least very unjustly, engaged to take an opportunity of removing him; in which he kept his word, when he sent *George Albuquerque* thither to succeed *Ruy de Britto* in 1514, the new governor raising the king of *Campar* to the dignity of *Bandura* in his room. *Ninachetu* caused a pile of precious and sweet-scented woods to be erected in one of the most spacious

places in the city; and, having ascended it, made a moving speech to the people, in which he repeated the services that had acquired him his employment, the fidelity with which he had executed it, and the baseness of that ingratitude from which he lost it; and then causing fire to be set to that pile of wood, died with all that magnanimity for which the *Indians* are so famous (56). His successor, the king of *Campar*, was a man of no less virtue and honour; but, being falsely accused to *George Albuquerque*, he, without due examination, caused him to be publicly put to death upon a scaffold as a traitor. These acts of injustice and inhumanity excited such a spirit of resentment and aversion to the *Portuguese* in all the neighbouring nations, that *Malacca* stood more exposed, as well to secret conspiracies as open hostilities, than any other part of the *Portuguese* territories in the *Indies*, of which we shall have occasion to say something more hereafter (57).

(56) *Maffæi Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. v. c. 5, 6. vol. ii. p. 333.

(57) P. Lafitau *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*,

S E C T. VII.

Methodical detail of their concerns in respect to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, or Macassar, Moluccas, and New Guiney, with a detection of the false policy and tyrannical usage of the natives, by which they rendered themselves odious, and opened a way for the Dutch to subvert their power, and raise a new, though not a milder, government on their ruins.

The Portuguese, by making a few settlements on the coast, secured the commerce of Sumatra.

THE island of *Sumatra*, which extends itself north-west and south-east, fronting the peninsula of *Malacca*, is divided by the equinoctial into nearly two equal parts, extending to six degrees of latitude north and south. It is about two hundred and fifty leagues in length, sixty in breadth, and five hundred in circumference. The *Portuguese* came thither first under the command of *Don Diego Lopez de Segura*^a. They found the country very rich and fruitful, and under the dominion of several petty princes, who were continually at war with each other. One would have imagined that this must have afforded them an opportunity of subjecting it intirely, as they had done other parts of the *Indies*; but it happened otherwise; for the people, by their continual disputes among themselves, were become so well acquainted with the art of war, that they could make no great impressions; but contented themselves with a few settlements on the coast, by which they were enabled to carry on a very lucrative trade with the inhabitants, not only in sulphur, rice, ginger, pepper, camphire, cassia, sandal, and other rich woods and drugs, but also in fine tin, iron, copper, silver, gold, and diamonds. The crown of *Portugal* had frequent disputes with the princes in possession of dominions within the compass of this island, and sometimes gained considerable advantages over them; but were never able to subdue them, or reduce any of their principalities under their power, which however they attempted more than once. They would likewise have been very well pleased to have erected here, as well as in other places, some convenient citadel or fortress, which by degrees would have given them an opportunity of controuling the natives. But this they could never obtain; nor had they any kind of fort or strong place there, as appears from a state of the revenues of the *Portuguese* settlements in the *Indies*, compiled and published by *Don Edward de Menezes*, who was viceroy there in the year 1584^b. The *Dutch* infested this island from the close of the sixteenth century; and soon after, as their power increased, began, as usual, to exclude all other nations; but the inhabitants soon shook off their yoke, and are still in a great measure free (Z). It is for this reason, probably, that almost all our *European* nations concur in treating these people as the most cruel, barbarous, and perfidious, in the *Indies*, without ever considering that these very epithets may be justly retorted upon such as endeavour to deprive them of their liberties and their possessions, without the least colour of right. But to wave reflections, as improper in this place, let us proceed to the other great islands, and say somewhat of their state and condition during the dominion of the *Portuguese* in these parts. a b c d

The Portuguese engaged in frequent wars with the sovereign of Bantam, in the island of Java.

THE noble island of *Java* was known and visited by the *Portuguese* about the beginning of the sixteenth century, chiefly on account of the trouble given them by the pirates fitted out from *Bantam*, or, as they call it, *Bintam*, and other places in the same island; which induced *Don Pedro Mascarenhas*, to attack *Bantam*, which he took and plundered, though *George*

^a MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 4. CASTENEDA.

^b PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1532.

(Z) One of the best *Portuguese* historians, in describing the island of *Sumatra*, tells us, that it abounds in tin, iron, glass, sulphur, as well as gold, and with a certain gum, which, he assures us, has received the name of camphire from persons who were ignorant in the *Arabic* tongue (58). It is however more than probable that he was misinformed by those who helped him to this criticism; for the camphire of *Sumatra* is looked upon as the very finest in the *Indies*, and, as the ingenious and accurate Mr. *Lockyer* assures us from his own knowledge, is worth half a crown an ounce upon the spot. He acquaints us likewise with another particular both singular and curious, that the camphire of *Sumatra* bears a great

price in *China*, where they make use of it as kind of leaven, mixing it with their own, which is a coarser kind, to which they think it gives odour and spirit. The worst of it is, that there is but a very small quantity of this camphire, which would be otherwise a mighty valuable commodity (59). The same *Portuguese* author has another observation, which deserves both notice and credit: he thinks that the island of *Sumatra*, and not the peninsula of *Malacca*, was the country known to the ancients, by the name of the *Golden Chersonese*; which is so much the more probable, as this island abounds with gold, whereas there is none about the country of *Malacca* (60).

(58) Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 4. Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. v. cap. 4.

(59) Account of the Trade in India, p. 41.

(60) Maffei

- a *Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain^a. *Java Major* lies south-east from the peninsula of *Malacca*, having *Sumatra* lying before it, from whence it is separated by a narrow passage, now so famous in the world by the name of the *Streights of Sonda*. Authors vary as to its dimensions, but the most moderate allow it nine hundred miles in circuit. The air is generally esteemed more wholesome than in any of the isles before-mentioned, the country exceeding fruitful, and the coast abounding with good ports. The *Javanese* pretend, that they are descended from the pure and unimixed race of the old inhabitants of *Cbina*, who retired thither when their country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themselves: but, before the *Portuguese* came, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring nations, but were also become *Mohammedans*^b. The island at that time was cantoned out among a number of little princes, some more, some less powerful, but most of them masters of some force by sea. The *Portuguese* generals saw plainly enough, that they had not strength sufficient to keep this large island; and therefore contented themselves with making a new king of *Bantam* when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual tribute^c.

- PANARUCAN, a small city, the capital of a little principality of the same name, and withal a commodious port, owed much to their protection; and was raised to be one of the principal marts of the whole country, where they not only dealt in rice, pepper, and other commodities of the island, but also in gold, precious stones, and spices, brought from other places, and more especially from the adjacent islands. But since the *Dutch* became masters of *Batavia*, and the emperor of *Materan* and the king of *Bantam* have divided the island between them, this place is become a fishing-village, and all its trade is intirely lost. It may be with truth affirmed, whatever some travellers may insinuate to the contrary, that the inhabitants of these islands in general, and of this in particular, are fallen much below the state in which the *Europeans* found them. No *Javanese* monarch can now, as they did then, equip a fleet of thirty sail of large ships; the admiral so strongly, though so clumsily built, as to be absolutely cannon proof. All the princes together are not now able to expel the *Dutch*; whereas a petty king, or even a queen, in those days, could furnish a force sufficient to besiege *Malacca*, when the best fortrefs in the *Indies*, both by land and sea; and not to besiege it only, but to reduce it to great extremities^d (A). We shall have occasion to treat this matter more at large when we come to speak of the present masters of this island, who have thought fit to fix here the magnificent capital of their extensive and potent empire.

- It was above thirty years after the *Portuguese* arrived in the *Indies*, before they were acquainted with any thing more than the name of the island of *Borneo*, and its situation, by reason of their frequently passing by its coasts. About that time captain *Edward Conil*, had orders to examine it more narrowly; and, being once acquainted with the worth of the country, they made frequent voyages thither. This island, which is almost of a circular figure, lies, at least part of it, under the equator, being about five hundred leagues in circumference, and abounding with the richest commodities; the hills sprinkled with gold, and the finest diamonds in *India* found in its rivers, washed down probably from the hills by the torrents that pour from their lofty summits. They found the coasts inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had established themselves there by conquest; but the original inhabitants still remain in the mountains, and are styled *Beajus*, which in the *Malayan* tongue signifies a wild man; and the *Moors* use the very same word for the larger sort of apes, that are common enough also in this country; as if they meant to signify that the one had as little of humanity about them as the

Before the Europeans came into the Indies, the inhabitants of these islands more considerable than since.

How the Portuguese came to correspond with the inhabitants of the island of Borneo.

^a MAFFEI, P. ii. l. ix. c. 2.

^b NIEUHOFF'S Voyages to the East Indies, p. 301.

^c MAFFEI,

P. ii. l. ix. c. 2.

^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iv. p. 11.

(A) In the year 1547, as the *Portuguese* historians themselves relate, the king of *Achern*, in the island of *Sumatra*, sent a fleet of seventy ships of war to attack *Malacca*, with a great body of land-forces on board; which fleet was so suddenly and so secretly brought together, that they entered the port, and began to debark their men, about two in the morning, on the 18th of *October*, before the inhabitants had the least intelligence; and, though they were repulsed, yet they burnt all the ships in the haven, which were but eight, and, of these, five were very richly laden. The *Portuguese* were so much struck with their good fortune upon this occasion, that they ascribe it to a miracle wrought by the prayers of *St. Francis Xavier*, who was then in the city (61). The same monarch, in 1570, entered into a league with the Grand Signior, the *Shah of Persia*, and other *Mohammedan* princes, in order to drive the *Portuguese* out of

the *Indies*; and was the most active in the whole confederacy, equipping, notwithstanding his repeated losses, four numerous fleets; with the last of which he came before *Malacca* in person, in 1575, when he had infallibly taken the place, which he blocked up by sea, and besieged by land, if he had not taken the silence of their guns (owing to the want of powder, and the great confusion in their streets, which proceeded purely from consternation and despair) for the marks of some secret design, and the tokens of those great stratagems in war, for which this nation had been formerly famous; on which he suddenly retired, when the place would have submitted almost upon any terms. It is very certain, that all the princes of the *Archipelago* together, are not in a condition to wrest this fortrefs out of the hands of the *Dutch*; and it is their sense of this that makes them quiet (62).

(61) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iv. p. 19, 20, 21. p. 295. 337. 357. 367.

(62) Idem ibid.

other; which, however, is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by several kings, ^a the chief of which are those of *Banjar Masseen*; of *Succaton*, in one of whose rivers there are found excellent diamonds; of *Borneo*, and others.

Some account
of the *Beajus*,
or reputed
savages, who
dwell in that
island.

THE *Beajus* have no kings, but many little chiefs. Those that are subject to the king of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a tribute; but such as live farther up the country, and in places inaccessible to the *Moors*, are absolutely independent, and live according to their own customs. The *Beajus* are generally very superstitious, and much addicted to augury. They do not adore idols; but their sacrifices of sweet wood and perfumes are offered to one God, who they believe rewards the just in heaven, and punishes the wicked in hell. They marry but one wife; and look upon any breach of conjugal faith, either in the man or in the woman, as so heinous an offence, that every one contrives the death of the person transgressing, either by ^b themselves or their friends; and therefore the women are very modest and reserved, especially the maidens, who are not seen by their husbands till the wedding-day. These people are naturally honest, industrious, and have a brotherly affection for each other. They have a notion of property, which yet does not render them covetous. They sow, and cultivate their lands; but, in the time of harvest, each reaps so much as will serve his family, and the rest belongs to the whole tribe in common, by which method they provide against necessity and disputes (B). The coasts of the island were, and are, chiefly inhabited by *Moors*, with whom the *Portuguese* traded to great advantage, when they found it not so easy to conquer them; and entered into an alliance with the king of *Borneo*, which was very advantageous to both parties.

1530.

What inter-
course there
was between
the *Portu-
guese* and the
people of *Cele-
bes* or *Ma-
cassar*.

ABOUT the same time that they came to have a correspondence with the people of the last-mentioned island, they became acquainted likewise with *Celebes* and its inhabitants, some say by accident, others by the shipwreck of some of their vessels; but it is generally agreed, that their knowledge was but superficial, till one of their governors of the *Moluccas*, *Antonio Galvano*, sent two of the natives, whom he had converted to Christianity, back to their own country, where they brought numbers to embrace the gospel, and established a good understanding between the people in general and the *Portuguese*. The great island of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo*, by the *Streights of Macassar*. *Argensola*, and other authors, tell us the natives are of a white complexion, and that they were formerly much given to piracy: they give us too a remarkable plan of the antient form of government in this country; which seems to ^d confirm, that there had been great revolutions in these parts, before they were discovered by the *Europeans*. What they say on this subject, reduced into a narrow compass, amounts to this: that there were originally seven kingdoms or principalities in this island, the princes of which met together, and chose a monarch, who had a limited power in its nature, but, so far as it went, extended over the whole island; and whom, in case of tyranny, or exceeding that regulated power, they who elected him deposed (C). The discovery of so considerable a country, was looked upon by the *Portuguese* as a matter of great consequence; and measures were taken to secure the affections of the inhabitants, whom it was not found easy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered useful as their allies.

The motives on
which the lat-
ter disliked,
and resolved to

THESE people were much braver, and had much better heads, than most of the *Indians*; ^e and therefore, after a little conversation with the *Europeans*, they began to discern that there was no sense or meaning in their own religion, which in substance was this. Their priests told

^a GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 227.
^b *Portugais*, vol. iii. p. 221.

^c GERVAISE *Histoire de Macassar*, p. 31.
Discoveries.

^d P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des*
He gives us this account himself, in his book intituled *Discoveries*.

^e MAFFEI *Hist. Indica*, P. ii. l. x. c. 11. ^w GALVANO'S

(B) What is said in the text is thought the best, and there is reason to believe that it is the only authentic account that was ever given of these people. The *French* author above cited, transcribed it from one whom he blames for not mentioning his authority. We thought it requisite, therefore, to insert this note, to remove that difficulty. This account was originally extracted from the papers of an *Italian* missionary, one Father Antonio Ventimiglia, who was sent to *Borneo* on board a *Portuguese* ship from *Macao*, converted numbers of these people to Christianity, and died there about the year 1691. The *Portuguese*, from the city beforementioned, had for some years a considerable trade with the *Moors*, on the coasts of that island, and at their request settled a factory there, which in the end the *Moors* surprized, plundered, and put most of the people to the sword (63).

(C) It would be no difficult thing, if this were a pro-

per place, to prove, that, notwithstanding what is said of the barbarity of these people, there is scarce any form of government with which we are acquainted, that did not subsist in the *Indies* when the *Portuguese* came thither; and yet, whoever is well acquainted with this history, cannot but be sensible that things were then declining among the natives, though they are much more declined since. We may see from the foregoing note, that there is no trusting absolutely to the accounts given of nations that are separated, and as it were hidden, from the rest of the world. The *Moors* describe the *Beajus*'s as little better than beasts upon two legs; whereas the *Italian* missionary, who lived and died with them, and had no interest in either concealing or dissembling the truth, affirms them to have been both better and wiser men than the *Moors* themselves.

a them, that the heavens were eternal; and the sun and moon a god and goddess, from whose influence all things proceeded: that they had once a quarrel, and the sun striking the moon, she thereupon miscarried of this world; with abundance of stories of the like nature. They taught them likewise the transmigration of souls; and that it was unlawful to kill any living creature to eat, except swine and birds, because the former were too nasty, and the latter too little for any human soul to dwell in. But they advised them to sacrifice their cattle to the sun and moon; and, if they had none of these, they sometimes made free with their children. No wonder, therefore, that they were glad to get rid of such a religion, and of such practices, which with much unanimity they did, and became deists at once. But, not satisfied with this, they determined to send at the same time to *Malacca* and to *Acbin*, to desire from the one, d Christian priests, and from the other, doctors of the *Mohammedan* law, resolving to embrace that religion, the teachers of which came first among them *.

THE *Portuguese* have hitherto been esteemed zealous enough for their religion; but it seems that Don *Ruy Perera*, who was then governor of *Malacca*, was a little deficient in his concern for the faith, since he made a great and very unnecessary delay in sending the priests that were desired. On the other hand, the queen of *Acbin*, being a furious *Mohammedan*, no sooner received an account of this disposition in the island of *Celebes*, than she dispatched a vessel full of doctors of the law, who established their religion effectually among the inhabitants. Some time after came the Christian priests, and inveighed bitterly against the law of *Mohammed*, but to no purpose; the people of *Celebes* had made their choice, and there was no bringing them to c alter it ′. One of the kings of this island, indeed, who had before embraced Christianity, persisted in the faith, and most of his subjects were converted to it; but still the bulk of the people of *Celebes* continued *Mohammedans*, and are so to this day, and the warmest zealots for their religion of any in the *Indies*. But this difference in religion did not hinder them from living on very good terms with the *Portuguese*, who established a better trade there than in any other part of the *Indies*; for, finding few rich commodities, and but little opportunity of encroaching on the liberties of the nation, they were glad to treat them as a free people; and the situation of the country being extremely happy for that purpose, made it very soon, in respect to the adjacent islands, the centre of commerce ′.

THE great island of *Borneo*, abounding in gold, diamonds, pepper, and other rich commodities, lying but one day's sail from thence; *Ambogna*, and the *Spice Islands*, not above d three or four; the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboyda*, *Cochin China*, and *Tonquin*, the empire of *China*, and the *Philippine Islands*, none of them above three hundred leagues; we need not wonder, therefore, that the port of *Jampodan*, the best and most capacious in all that part of the world, should be constantly full of ships; and the great towns on the coast become places of prodigious trade, when it was so much the interest of the *Portuguese* to promote it. The people themselves were in every respect capable of managing it, being very industrious, and at least as well skilled in navigation as any of their neighbours; and though they had not, as has been observed, very rich commodities, except gold, and that in no great quantities; yet they had wherewithal to purchase of the greatest value, since their rice is esteemed the best in the e *Indies*, as their cotton is allowed to be the finest; with those they traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought such vast quantities of spices, that they drove a very considerable trade in them with their neighbours and the *Europeans* ′ (D).

THIS island is sometimes called *Celebes*, and at others *Macassar*; and the reason is, because the former, which lies in the north-west part of the island, and the latter, which takes up all the south, were the principal kingdoms of the island; and especially the last, the monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently masters of the best part of the island. Their subjects, the boldest and bravest of all *Indians*, are likewise remarkable for having a consummate knowledge in poisons, which are some of them of so deadly a nature, that the very touch or smell of them is instantly and infallibly mortal. The men make use of them to tinge f the heads of their arrows, or rather darts, which they blow through hollow trunks, and that with such force and dexterity, that they will hit a small mark at the distance of four-

* Le P. ALEX. DE RHODS *Voyages aux Indes*, p. 293.

† GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom.

ii. p. 230.

‡ GERVAISE *Histoire de Macassar*, p. 233.

§ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à

l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 223.

(D) It has been before observed, that the *Mores* were come into these parts but a very little time before the *Portuguese* reached them; and there seems good ground to believe, that at this time the island of *Celebes* was the center of commerce for all the nations of the *Indies*,

that traded in spices, on account of its ports, the mercantile genius of the people, and the great abundance of necessaries there, which were wanting in the *Spice Islands* themselves, and consequently rendered them less fit for the reception of strangers (64).

(64) Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 165.

score yards^b. They dip also the points of their daggers in the same poisonous drugs, and the very scratch of either dart or dagger kills without remedy. The women likewise make use of these poisons to gratify their revenge; for, as they are allowed to be extremely constant in their affection themselves, so they have very quick resentment in cases of infidelity, especially in regard to *Europeans*, who frequently cohabit with them, and sometimes marry them^c. As they were the allies, not the subjects, of the *Portuguese*, so they were much more attached to that nation than any other *Indians*, and gave a very hospitable reception to such as, on the ruin of their colonies, fled thither for protection; and this was one great reason that the *Dutch* made such a point of reducing the king of *Macassar*; which they did, after a long war, in 1667, and prescribed to him very hard terms, particularly these; that he should deliver up to them the harbour of *Jampadan*; next to turn all the *Portuguese* out of his dominions; and, lastly, to renounce all commerce with the *Spice Islands*, without which his conquerors could not have monopolized them, and kept him in servile subjection^d.

When they first visited the Moluccas, and what gave rise to Magellan's discontent.

THE *Moluccas* or *Spice Islands* were not discovered by the *Portuguese* till the year 1511, and then as it were by chance. *Francis Serrano*, *Diego d'Abreu*, and *Ferdinand Magellan*, being sent to make discoveries, were separated by a storm; the first penetrated as far as *Ternate*; the two latter discovered only the island of *Amboyna*, and afterwards that of *Panda*. They spent about eight years in these discoveries, which cost *Serrano* his life in his return. *Antonio de Brito* succeeded *Serrano* in the government; and built a fort at *Ternate*, under colour of protecting the king of that island, who was an infant, but in reality with an intention to establish the power of the *Portuguese* over the king, and his subjects likewise^e. In the mean time *Ferdinand Magellan*, having had very exact intelligence, from his friend *Francis Serrano*, of the situation of these rich islands, and knowing also what an immense fortune he had got within the space of a few years, while he resided at *Ternate*, resolved to return to *Portugal*, in order to obtain, if possible, the reward which he thought due to his services; and, if that was refused him, to withdraw into *Spain*, and suggest to the Emperor *Charles V.* that he had a better right to the *Moluccas* than the crown of *Portugal*, according to the pope's bull for settling that point (E). His suit was rejected at *Lisbon*, with circumstances that gave a man of *Magellan's* spirit great distaste; he therefore applied himself with diligence to the execution of the latter part of his project, and succeeded in it, even against the will of the emperor, whose council went warmly into the proposal; in consequence of which, *Ferdinand Magellan* sailed with a squadron, for the discovery of a new route to the *Moluccas*, September the twenty-first, 1519, from the port of *St. Lucar* in *Spain*. In that expedition, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter, he did indeed discover by that streight, which has ever since borne his name, a new passage to the *Moluccas*, thro' the *South Seas*, and came very near, though he was treacherously killed before he could reach them. The court of *Portugal* was very well apprised of his intention; and had sent proper intelligence of it to the *Indies*, with instructions to the viceroy how to conduct himself upon that occasion. But let us now return to the *Spice Islands*, and to that strange turn of affairs which happened there.

A specimen of that kind of behaviour by which the Portuguese lost the Indies.

HENRY *Garcias*, who succeeded *Antonio Brito*, was at that time governor of the *Moluccas*; and he, finding all things extremely embarrassed by the war which his predecessor had made against the king of *Tydor* with very little advantage, thought fit, on his first coming to his government, to make peace with *Almansor*, who was then king of that island, on condition that he should restore the artillery and prisoners he had taken from the *Portuguese*, which in the space of six months he undertook to do: but the face of affairs in those parts altering soon after, *Garcias* repented his having made the peace, and resolved to renew the war; believing, that if he could reduce this island, it would very much extend the *Portu-*

^b NIEBUHFF's Voyages to the East Indies, p. 316.
more full account of this matter in the History of the Dutch Settlements in the Indies.
Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

^c GERVAISE Histoire de Macassar.

^d See a

^e ARGENSOLA

(E) We shall give the reader, in the next chapter, a large account of this gentleman's expedition in the service of the crown of *Spain*; but it will be proper to observe here, that such as represent his merit in the service of the crown of *Portugal* as either very small or very dubious, do him much wrong. He was in great esteem with Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, and in 1510 saved the crews of two *Portuguese* vessels that were wrecked near *Angedive* (65). He was soon after very instrumental in saving the *Portuguese* army at the siege of *Goa*; and it was owing to him that *Diego de Sequiera*,

and part of his squadron, escaped, when that treacherous attempt was made upon them at *Malacca*. He served again under general *Albuquerque* at the taking of that city, from whence he sailed with that general's commission, to discover the *Spice Islands*. He might therefore with good reason expect that the court of *Portugal* should have granted his request, which was only a small augmentation of his pay, and that not from any motive of avarice, but, as it was in those days esteemed a singular mark of honour (66).

(65) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. iv. c. 6.

(66) *P. Lafitan Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 37.
gueuse

- a *guese* power, and raise his reputation^f. To furnish himself, therefore, with some pretence for breaking with the king of *Tybor*, he, before the time limited in the treaty was expired, sent to demand the cannon and prisoners. To which *Almanzor* modestly replied, that he would have delivered them up when the peace was made, if it had been in his power; but that, having lent the cannon to a prince who was his neighbour, it required sometime to get them back. He had so little suspicion, however, of the governor's bad design, that, being at this time very much indisposed, he requested *Garfias* to send him a physician, whose advice he might use for his recovery^g. The governor accordingly sent him one, under whose direction the king having put himself without the least reserve, was by him most basely poisoned. Immediately after that monarch's death, *Garfias* sent again to demand the cannon
- b and prisoners; and because the people desired a delay till the king's funeral was performed, he, who foresaw that, having all things ready, made a descent upon the island, attacked the capital, took and plundered it, and treated the people with the utmost inhumanity.

THE viceroy of *Goa*, being informed of this, sent him a successor. As this villainous action was done without the least provocation, in a time of full peace, and when there was not the least intention on the side of the natives to renew the war against the *Portuguese*, it caused among the people of that island, and of the rest of the *Moluccas*, an implacable hatred against them; soon after which, the squadron of *Charles V.* arriving there, was welcomed by the people of *Tybor* with all the marks of kindness, on account of the *Spaniards* bearing an equal enmity with them to the *Portuguese*; and, being received into their port, they raised works for the defence of it, in case of an attack from the enemy. The *Spaniards*, who, after *Magellan's* death, were under the command of *Igniqueza*, alleged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of right to them, as being first discovered by *Magellan*, with a commission from the king of *Spain*; and that the dispute, having been submitted to arbitration, was determined in their favour. On the other hand, the *Portuguese*, under the command of *Henriquez Garfias* said, that the unjust sentence of the *Castilian* arbitration had been reversed by the judges in *Portugal*; and that those islands had been discovered ten years before the voyage of *Magellan*, in the *Spanish* service, by *Anthony Abreu*, who was sent out to make discoveries by *Alphonso Albuquerque*, in whose company was *Magellan* himself before he had deserted the service of his country^h.

- d THUS they disputed with words for a while, but soon after came to blows, the people of *Ternate* taking part with the *Portuguese*, and those of *Tybor* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. The latter struck the first stroke by besieging the *Portuguese* fortress in *Ternate*, where at the first attack they took one of the enemy's ships; and now the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had gone near to have atoned for the mischiefs they had done to the *Indians*, by the destruction of each other, but that the emperor, being engaged in very expensive wars in *Europe*, neglected so remote an acquisition, and, for a certain sum of money, yielded up his right in the *Moluccas* to the king of *Portugal*ⁱ. This was looked upon at that time as very indifferent policy, and as the effects of his not being properly informed, as to the advantages that might have been derived to him in *Europe*, by the prudent management of his affairs in *Asia*,
- e and this because his thoughts were entirely bent on the vain hopes of raising an universal monarchy by force of arms; whereas the *Portuguese* contented themselves with pushing their conquests in the *Indies*, and employed the riches they derived from thence to secure themselves against their ambitious neighbours in *Europe*^k (F).

AN attempt to prosecute the history of these islands, while under the dominion, or rather tyranny, of the *Portuguese*, would oblige us to enter into a long detail of robberies, murders, and treasons, on one hand, and of insurrections, leagues, and obstinate wars, on the other; for as their own writers acknowledge, the *Portuguese* behaved toward these people in the most barbarous and perfidious manner, robbed them without remorse, murdered them without mercy, swore alliances they never meant to keep, poisoned some kings, assassinated others, deluded and betrayed all. There is already a history, in which these shocking facts are set forth to public view; and many histories, in which various arts are practised to hide and

^f MAFFÆI Hist. Indica. P. ii. lib. ix. cap. 4.

^g J. DE BARROS, MAFFÆUS, ARGENSOLA.

^h See this matter farther explained in the next chapter.

ⁱ ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

^k HERRERA Hist. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. ii.

(F) The *Spaniards* speak very highly, and that with great justice, of the wisdom and policy of this monarch; which makes it so much the more astonishing that he could never be brought to have any tolerable notion of the advantages arising from colonies, and the vast benefits accruing to *Spain* from the discovery and conquest of the new world; yet this was a matter of fact, as appears plainly not only from his mortgaging his right to the *Moluccas* (67), but from his cold treatment of the famous *Ferdinand Cortes*, his granting away a whole province in *America* to the inhabitants of the city of *Augsburgh*, and many other instances.

(67) *Herrera Hist. de las Indias Occidental, Decad. iii. l. iv. c. 5.*

disguise them (G). Let us, then, be as short as we can; and endeavour, by a succinct description of these isles, to shew their importance¹.

A succinct
view of the
Moluccas
strictly con-
sidered, and par-
ticularly of
Ternate.

THESE valuable islands consist, strictly speaking, of no more than five; from whence it is said they received their name, in the original language of the inhabitants. They are not out of sight of each other, and lie all of them within the compass of twenty-five leagues. They are famous for producing several sorts of valuable spices, but especially nutmegs and cloves, and are under the dominion of three kings. Their coasts are rendered very dangerous by sands and shelves. They were formerly subject to the *Chinese*, fell next under the *Javanese*, were in process of time subdued by the *Malayans*; and the *Mohammedans* had begun to settle in them, and convert the inhabitants to their religion, but a very little while before they were discovered by the *Portuguese*^m. Ternate is eight leagues in compass; the land high; and they have good water, little provisions, and few cattle except goats. Their chief riches consist in cloves; they have extraordinary parrots, which exceed in beauty those of the *West Indies*; and many birds of paradiseⁿ. They have also almonds, and coarse tobacco. During their wars with the *Portuguese* they burnt all their clove-trees, retired to the mountains and deserts, and forbade selling any thing to that nation on pain of death; which reduced them to great extremity. Though they burnt the cloves out of despair, and to extirpate them, their ashes so enriched the soil, that it produced cloves in greater abundance than ever in a few years. The king of this island was the most powerful of all, and boasted of a divine extraction, which the silly people firmly believed. He was sovereign over twenty-two islands that lay in the great *Archipelago*, between *Mindanao* on the north, those of *Bina* and *Corea* on the south, and the *terra firma* of *Papao*s, or *New Guiney*, on the east; and had his tribute in gold, amber, and birds of paradise, from those countries. He styled himself emperor of the *Archipelago*, in which were many colonies of Christians; but most were destroyed, or apostatised, by the persecution above-mentioned^o. According to a particular account of the forces which every island could raise, the whole amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand, besides multitudes of slaves. Many of these islands had their particular kings; but all subject to him of *Ternate*, and served under him, to revenge the death of King *Aerio*, who was treacherously murdered by the *Portuguese* (H). This great king's name was *Cachil Babu*, *Aerio*'s third son. He allowed the *Dutch* to trade here; in 1599 entered into a strict friendship with them, and they assisted him to shake off the yoke of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*^p.

A short de-
scription of
Tydor.

TYDOR is larger than *Ternate*; is also a particular kingdom, and produces the same fruits: it lies a little south-east from *Ternate*, near the line. The *Spaniards* assisted the inhabitants against those of *Ternate* at first; but engaged in a war with them at last, and treated them barbarously, till expelled by the league above-mentioned. The *Dutch* attacked the

¹ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. vii. p. 245.
^m ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i. ⁿ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iv. p. 245. ^o P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 9. ^p ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. iv.

(G) The history referred to in the text is that of a very ingenious *Spanish* clergyman, *Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola*, who was employed by the president and council of the *Indies*, to write the history of the conquest of these islands, in the reign of *Philip* the third, of which the reader will find a succinct detail in the succeeding chapter. His work is very curious and entertaining, and at the same time very authentic and impartial: he wrote from excellent memoirs; and was under no temptation to conceal the truth, the desire of doing which, as a very able *French* historian (68) has observed, had put the *Portuguese* authors under the necessity of writing confusedly, and of contradicting each other, upon this subject. It is necessary to observe, that the *French* translation of this work, printed in three volumes in *Holland*, contains not only the original work, but a supplement, in which is comprehended the history of the *Dutch* conquest of these islands; and it is for this reason that we cite only that volume, because it is in reality an original, and in every respect a very curious piece (69).

(H) This Sultan *Aerio* was one of the best friends the *Portuguese* ever had, for which they rewarded him strangely. *Lopez de Mezquita*, who was appointed governor of the *Moluccas* in 1570, seized and sent him pri-

soner to *Goa*, on pretence of his having connived at his son's ordering several *Portuguese* to be put to death for ravishing the daughter of one of his subjects, though in fact this order did not take effect: and the king would nevertheless have punished his son, if the *Portuguese* had not hindered him (70). When this innocent but unfortunate prince arrived at *Malacca*, he met with letters from the viceroy, desiring him to return to his kingdom, assuring him, that he was very well satisfied with his conduct; that he would take an opportunity of punishing the governor, but in the mean time desired he would be reconciled to him (71). The king accordingly went back: *Lopez de Mezquita* pretended to make the utmost submissions to him; the king, on his side, forgave him very sincerely. Five days after, under pretence of being sick, he invited him to a conference in the fort; where, after a gallant and glorious defence, he was most basely and barbarously murdered (72). It was upon this that his son Sultan *Babu* formed a general confederacy with the princes of the neighbouring islands, for expelling or exterminating the *Portuguese*; which produced a war so bloody and destructive, that both parties were in a manner ruined by it.

(68) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iv. p. 90. (69) Amsterdam, 1706. 12mo.
(70) Meffai Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. xii. c. 5. (71) Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.
(72) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. iv. p. 87, 88.

a *Spaniards* here in 1607, and afterwards without success; but at last became masters of their fort, by the assistance of the king of *Ternate*, after an obstinate defence, and were kindly received by the king of that island, who allowed them to settle factories here. The capital is of the same name, and has an harbour dry at low-water, and defended by a chain of narrow rocks, over which the tide rises from three to six feet. The town is very strong by nature, and capable of being made impregnable^a.

MOTIR, *Motil*, or *Timor*, lies between *Tybor* and *Machian*. It was laid waste during their intestine wars; but the *Dutch* built a fort at the north end of it, which encouraged the inhabitants to return from *Gilolo*; and, continuing firm to the *Dutch*, the *Spaniards* durst not attack it^b. *Machian* lies directly under the line, south from *Motir*. The *Dutch* took it from the *Spaniards* in 1609, and built three forts here. It is seven leagues in compass, and has several little towns; the inhabitants were then esteemed about nine thousand: it was antiently reckoned the fruitfulest of the *Moluccas*, and produced the best cloves; the inhabitants were also esteemed more industrious than their neighbours. *Bachian*, the last of the proper *Moluccas*, lies south from *Machian*, and was a distinct kingdom. The country is in a great measure wild and desert; where cultivated, it abounds with sago, fruits, and many other sorts of provisions. It was formerly very potent, and had the best cloves in the *Moluccas*; but was ruined by the idleness of the inhabitants. They had an alliance with the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who established garrisons there; but were dispossessed by the *Dutch* in 1610, who built other forts, and obtained a liberty to trade without paying customs. The isle of *Labova* lies so near it, that they frequently go by the same name, though each had their particular king. The latter is very pleasant, and abounds in cloves^c.

We must be obliged to speak of these islands again in the next chapter, and still particularly more when we enter into the history of the *Dutch* proceedings in the *Indies*. At present our design is, to represent the condition they were in at the time the *Portuguese* lost their dominion, which lasted very near a century; during which period they, by oppressions and wars, depopulated these countries so much, and drove the inhabitants to so many and such strange acts of despair, that they left them the very reverse of what they found them; and the remains of the people so strongly prejudiced against the Christian faith, that they bound the *Dutch* by treaty, on their first coming among them, not to disturb them in their religion. In times of peace, and when the *Portuguese* were in full possession of all these islands, they produced an annual profit of nutmegs and cloves, of near half a million sterling, which one would have thought might have gratified even the most boundless avarice. It is true, that, after their possession was interrupted by the *Spaniards*, this commerce began to decline; but it was almost always in their power to have revived and restored it, if they could have been content to have treated the poor people with any degree of mildness and indulgence^d (I).

We have before observed, that, in the neighbourhood of these islands, there are many others, some larger, some smaller, but all of them bigger than the *Moluccas*, which owe their renown not to their size, or to their fertility in other respects, but to their being the countries to which nature had made a kind of exclusive grant of the richest spices, which

^a Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 339.

^b Memoire d'APOLLONIUS SCHOT de Middlebourg touchant les Isles Moluques.

^c See a farther account of this in the history of the Dutch settlements. ^d P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 9. Voyage de la Compagnie, tom. ix. p. 253.

(I) The monopolizing the spice-trade was one great object of the *Portuguese* councils, and which by degrees they had in a good measure effected; so that if they would have been contented to have treated the monarchs of these small islands with a reasonable degree of respect; had made true converts of their subjects to the Christian religion, by living like good Christians themselves, as well in point of morals as of ceremonies; and had taken care to furnish them with provisions upon moderate terms; they might have secured their nutmegs, mace, and cloves, without the inhabitants conceiving themselves in the least injured; and, with part of these, they might have driven such a trade in *China* and the *Indies*, as would have enabled them to have sent twice or thrice the value of the spices to *Europe* (73): whereas by harassing, abusing, and oppressing, the common people, encouraging feuds and quarrels among the nobility, and insulting, imprisoning, exiling, depopulating, and mur-

dering, princes at their pleasure, they drove whole nations into downright madness, depopulated great countries, and found themselves under many difficulties to maintain forts and garrisons, where their own ill management rendered them necessary, and in process of time extinguished that profit, for the gaining of which they had been erected (74). Yet so strong a sense the *Portuguese* always retained of the importance of the spice trade, that when they became subjects of the crown of *Spain*, and the preservation of those islands depended wholly upon succours from the *Philippines*, the commerce in spices was reserved to them (75), because as they represented to the court of *Madrid*, it was impossible for them to carry on their trade in the *Indies* without it, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, was such a burden upon the *Spaniards* as they were scarcely able to bear (76).

(73) *Argensola Conquista de las Malucas*, l. i. tom. iv. p. 90.

(74) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais.

(75) See the memorials upon this subject cited in the next chapter.

(76) *Argensola*

Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.

whether more favourable or fatal to them, it appears, from their conduct, the natives themselves knew not how to determine. The island of *Bouro* was formerly subject to the king of *Ternate*. It is not very considerable; but, while in the hands of the *Portuguese*, more so than at present; yet the island they chiefly depended upon was that of *Great Timor*, so called, because it was much larger than the other of the same name, and was extremely fruitful; so that from thence they supplied most of the *Moluccas* with provisions^a. West from thence lies the island of *Solor*, in which was a strong fortress, wherein the *Portuguese* garrison held out a siege of two months against the *Dutch* fleet and army; and, when they surrendered, marched out near one thousand men^w. There are, besides these, many other islands, which commonly, since the *Dutch* conquests, are styled the *Moluccas*, because they lie near them, and are considered only as they serve to maintain the garrisons which are destined to protect them; yet it has been reported, that, notwithstanding the vast importance of these islands, there were countries at no great distance from them, which deserved some degree of notice, as abounding in gold and precious stones, and not altogether deficient in spices. It is the more requisite to speak of these countries in this place, because, though they were but half discovered by the *Portuguese*, yet, for all the world knows to the contrary, that discovery has not been so much as prosecuted, much less perfected, by the *Dutch*. On the contrary, we have been given to understand, that some mistake has happened in this business; that these countries are poor, barren, miserable places; and those who inhabit them a race of brutal, stupid, and starving people. This possibly may be so; however, as it has been otherwise reported, and as these countries lie upon the very line that divides the known from the unknown parts of the world, and may be as easily reached by the *South Seas* as by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, a few particulars from the histories of the *Portuguese* may not be either unpleasant or unuseful, more especially if the spirit of discovery should at any time hereafter animate the bosoms of our countrymen (K).

Particular WHILE *Antonio Galvano* commanded at *Ternate*, there was a famous pirate, who, with a *Portuguese* squadron of paraoes, did a great deal of mischief on the coast of the land of *Papoas*, which is that country since called *New Guiney*, and, at last, began to threaten the subjects of *Portugal* in the *Moluccas*. To repress the violences committed by this rover, the governor fitted out some barks sent him by the king of *Tydor*, and having manned them with a few *Portuguese*, and the auxiliaries from the neighbouring islands, he sent them, under the direction of *Ferdinand Vinagrez*, a priest, in quest of this pirate; with whom they came up, and, after a smart engagement, in which he and his brother were both killed, destroyed some, and dispersed the rest of his squadron. After obtaining this victory, he was sent to the country of *Papoas*, where he was kindly received by several princes, and converted them and their subjects to the Christian faith; which was so great a satisfaction to the worthy governor, that he instituted a kind of seminary, in which he bred abundance of young men brought from all these countries, d

^a Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 333.
Timor, par APOLLONIE SCHOTT,

^w Memoire touchant les Isles Solor &

(K) The country of *New Guiney*, which, some writers tell us, is a country having an extent of two, others of three (77), and some of four, hundred leagues of coast (78), with the islands that lie near it, has been known to the *Europeans* above two hundred years; but were never thoroughly discovered or described (79). It is affirmed, that the first who saw them was *Alvaro de Saavedra*, in the month of *May* 1529, as he was endeavouring to return to *New Spain* from the *Moluccas* (80). The natives of those islands call the inhabitants of this country *Papuas*, that is, *Blacks*. The *Spaniards*, conforming rather to the sound than the sense, called them *los Papuos*; but knew very little about them. In 1545, they were visited by some *Spaniards* who had been at the *Philippines*, who were inclined to think themselves the first discoverers, as knowing nothing of the expedition of *Saavedra* (81). But, as we have remarked in the text, they were long before that time known, and some of them became subject to the king of *Ternate*. According to the accounts given by the *Indians*, those who inhabited the continent had gold, spices, and other valuable commodities; but the inhabitants of the islands were poor and miserable (82). *Schouten* and *Le Maire* coasted this country in 1616, where they found all things agree-

ing with the description given by *Saavedra*; but they saw no great signs of wealth, only in some of the islands they found *China* ware, which, they concluded, was either brought thither by the *Chinese*, or by some *European* nation trading to *China* (83). Captain *Dampier*, in 1699, coming hither purely to make discoveries, gave the name of *New Britain* to a large island which he discovered. He met with abundance of ill-favoured, weak-sighted blacks, who, in his judgment, live mostly upon raw fish, and were poor and wretched in an extreme degree (84). Commodore *Roggeveen* examined many of the islands, and passed along the coast of the continent, in 1722. The best, indeed the only account we have of this voyage, says, that the islands were pleasant, fruitful, and populous; and that the continent had the appearance of being a fertile and well-wooded country; adding, that the free burghesses, or *Dutch* inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, were reported to carry on a valuable trade there, by exchanging small pieces of iron for large nutmegs (85). Thus the reader sees, in a narrow compass, what a slender knowledge has been hitherto attained of the southern *terra incognita*, which posterity, perhaps, may find to be as valuable as *America* or the *Indies*.

(77) *Galvano's Discoveries*. (78) *Gomar Hist. gen. l. ii. c. 72*. (79) *Purchas Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1689*.
(80) *Galvano's Discoveries*. (81) *Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1693*. (82) *Argensola Conquista de las*
Islas Malucas, lib. ii. (83) *Voyage de la Compagnie, tom. viii. p. 199, 200, 201*. (84) *Dampier's Voyages, as*
in Harris's Collection. (85) *Histoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. i. p. 222, 223*.

- a instructing them himself in the Christian religion, and in those sorts of literature that were at that time studied in *Portugal*, in all which Don *Antonio* was extremely well versed. By his wife and gentle government, his reputation spread, and attracted multitudes of Christians expelled by *Mohammedan* princes, throughout the whole extent of the *Indies*, to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was so intirely beloved by all the princes of those islands, that they joined in a representation to the king of *Portugal*, that *Antonio Galvano* might be continued in his government for life; but, before this representation was well framed, the governor of the *Indies* sent *George Castro* to succeed him; which, in the space of a few years, produced such a change in affairs on this side, that their historians have declined giving us an account of them ^x.
- b It was the removal of this worthy man which hindered all the southern continent from being thoroughly known; for, by his wife government, he established a new face in that part of the world, of which the *Portuguese* never had any idea; and if he had remained there but a few years, would have done more towards the conversion of those nations than ever could be effected by an army of missionaries. But what he was not permitted to achieve by his actions, he has sketched forth in his writings; so that from them we learn this great southern continent was, in his time, well inhabited; and though these inhabitants might, in some parts of it, be absolute barbarians, yet in others they were as much civilized as their neighbours, and had not only the use of vessels, but some kind of naval force, of which, according to later relations, there is not now the least remains ^y. We are assured, that a great part of the people at least inhabiting these countries, were *Caffres*, or *Negroes*, which is also the meaning of the word *Papuas* or *Papoes*, that is, people of a jet shining black, with thick, curled, woolly hair; but it is admitted there were other nations very different from these, as well in their manners as in their complexions, some, particularly, that were very fair, with large, weak, blue eyes, which hindered them from seeing well by day-light, but, in the night, they were very brisk and active, resembling those, to whom the name of moon-eyed *Indians* hath been given in *America*. How either of these people came there, or whether they were the antient inhabitants, is a point we want both leisure and abilities to discuss; and therefore we shall content ourselves with saying, that the *Chinese* vessels often visited these coasts, more especially before the coming of the *Portuguese*; and that the produce of these islands, in general, were equally acceptable in all parts of the *Indies*, more especially at the two great marts of *Malacca* and *Ormuz*, and in the ports of *China* that were then open to strangers; which leads us to speak next of the intercourse of the *Portuguese* with the inhabitants of that famous empire, to which, of all the *European* nations, they were the first that found a direct passage by sea, from whence, as from their other discoveries, they derived very solid advantages, as well as very high reputation ^z.

^x GALVANO's Discoveries.
Voyages.

^y See the Voyages of LE MAIRE, DAMPIER, and ROGGEWEIN.

^z WAFER'S

S E C T. VIII.

A trade, well settled in China, very unluckily, and almost irreparably, lost. Their intercourses and happy establishment in Japan; and a very concise account of the causes and manner of their expulsion. Fruitless and fatal attempts to revive their correspondence with the inhabitants of those islands.

- e **T**HE viceroy *Lopes Suarez*, successor to the famous Don *Alphonso d' Albuquerque*, was the first who thought of establishing any commerce with *China*, and, in the year 1517, sent, under *Ferdinand Andrada*, a squadron of eight ships laden with merchandize, and *Thomas Perera*, who had the character of ambassador from *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*. On their arrival at the mouth of the river *Canton*, the *Portuguese* ships were stopped, and only two suffered to proceed up the river, on board one of which was the ambassador, and the *Portuguese* commodore *Andrada*, who was a man of strict honour; so that he soon gained on the *Chinese*, notwithstanding their natural aversion to strangers. By his civility and polite behaviour he drew them to trade, and then, by his exactness and probity, brought them to have a great confidence in him; but what had the greatest effect, and might have established the commerce of the *Portuguese*, to the exclusion of all other nations, was his giving notice, a little before his departure, that at such a time he should sail, and that if any had demands either upon him or any who belonged to him, they might apply, and receive satisfaction. This was a thing new to the *Chinese*, but so agreeable, that they made him high professions of friendship, and assured him, that they would willingly trade with his nation, in hopes of meeting with the like usage. But so fair a prospect did not long continue, and, for all this,
- f

the first had also very near proved the last voyage of the *Portuguese* thither^a. The captains^a of the ships that were left at the mouth of the river were the occasion of this; for they landed, and fell into trade with the natives, but, presuming on their power in the *Indies*, treated the *Chinese* in the same manner they had done other people, that is to say, brought on shore several pieces of cannon, and then took what goods they pleased at what rates they thought fit, committing many other insolences, ravishing women, and trading with pirates for such as they had taken prisoners, of whom they made slaves. The viceroy of the province quickly assembled a great naval force, with which he surrounded the *Portuguese* squadron, and had infallibly taken every ship, if a storm had not risen, which scattered the *Chinese* fleet, and gave the *Portuguese* an opportunity of returning to *Malacca*, with more profit than honour^b. As for the ambassador *Thomas Perera*, he, tho' perfectly innocent, proved the victim of this bad behaviour; for the *Chinese* court, being acquainted with what had passed, not only refused him audience, but sent him back to *Canton* in chains, where he was put into the common prison, with the vilest criminals, and there lived in misery for several years, till, worn out with hardships, he expired in such wretched circumstances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury him^c (L).

When this commerce was resumed, the Portuguese kept sent an annual fleet to a settlement at Macao, which they still keep.

It was many years before the *Chinese* would admit the *Portuguese* to any trade with them; but, at last, consented they should send some ships to the island of *Sanban*, where they were allowed to erect tents on shore for a very small space of time, in which they disposed of their merchandize. At length, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a favourable opportunity offered, not only for restoring their commerce, but of procuring an establishment in *China*; which is what no other nation ever had to boast. A certain pirate, whose name was *Tchang-si-lao*, committed prodigious ravages upon the coasts, and, having at last acquired a great force, made himself master of the little island of *Macao*, and from thence not only blocked up the port of *Canton*, but also besieged the city. The mandarins, in this distress, had recourse to the *Portuguese*, whose ships were then at the island of *Sanban*. They readily offered them their assistance, and not only forced *Tchang-si-lao* to raise the siege, but pursued him to *Macao*, and there killed him. The viceroy having made a faithful report to the emperor of this extraordinary service, that prince, out of pure gratitude, published an edict^d, by which he granted the *Portuguese* this island, with the power of making a settlement there; which they joyfully accepted, though but a small, inconvenient place, and built a good town, fortified after the *European* manner, and furnished in time with near two hundred pieces of cannon. One would imagine, that this must excite the jealousy of the *Chinese*, justly esteemed the most suspicious people in the world; but they provided so effectually for their own security, that all the force of the *Portuguese* is intirely at their devotion; because they have not a day's provision, but what they receive from the *Chinese*, and are so surrounded by their forces, that it is impossible for them to undertake any thing to the prejudice of their empire^e. The possession of this place has been, notwithstanding, extremely beneficial to that nation; for from thence they carried on, for many years, a most beneficial commerce with *Japan*, by which *Macao* became one of the richest and most considerable places in the *Indies*; and many of the nobility of *Portugal*, who had enjoyed very high offices, chose to settle there, where they lived in great splendor, and, at the same time, acquired vast estates by trade; so that the permission of living at *Macao* was a reward for past services, and the contriving

^a Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. c. 5.

^b P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes d's Portugais, tom. ii. p. 310.

^c Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. cap. 5.

^d Du HAI DE Description de l'Empire de Chine, tom. i. p. 241.

^e Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRETTI, liv. iv. ch. 1.

(L) It is very remarkable, that the officers, who conducted these expeditions after a manner so very different, and with success answerable to that difference, were brothers. *Ferdinand Andrada*, who carried the ambassador up to *Canton*, from whence he went by land to *Peking*, remained in *China* near a year, and, in that time, his own behaviour was so correct, his discipline so exact, and the submission paid to his orders so ready, and so great, that the *Chinese* concluded the *Portuguese* to be, beyond comparison, the wisest and most potent nation with whom they had ever any correspondence (86); yet *Ferdinand Andrada* did his own and his nation's business very well, that is, he carried home a valuable cargo, and made his own and his officers fortunes; which recommended him to king *Emanuel*, who was then living, and who was never weary of hearing the

stories he told him of *China* (87). *Simon Andrada*, who was to have brought back the ambassador, effaced all the impressions that his brother's right behaviour had made, prejudiced the *Chinese* against the people of *Portugal* to the last degree, whom they esteemed to be no better than pirates and free-booters; so that he returned to *Malacca* with great loss of men, an inconsiderable cargo, and a perfect bankrupt in point of reputation (88). There is some doubt as to the name of the ambassador; for though the author we have cited calls him *Pereyra*, yet most other authors tell us his name was *Thomas Perez*. It is possible the error might arise from hence, that there was also one *Pereyra*, who remained long a prisoner in *China*, and who wrote a large account of that empire, extant in our own as well as in other languages (89).

(86) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 312.

Monsieur de la Cleyde, tom. iv. p. 285.

(87) Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. cap. 5.

(88) Histoire generale de Portugal, par

Polygme, vol. iii. p. 199.

(89) Purchas's

a many such rewards, without any expence to the crown, was the great policy of the *Portuguese* viceroys ^f (M).

We have an account, from a modern author, of an early settlement that the *Portuguese* had in *China*, at a place which he calls the *Limpoa*, which, perhaps, ought to be wrote *Liampo*; ^{A modern author reports the ruin of their settlements at Liampo.} but of this there are no traces to be found in the *Portuguese* writers. As he received his intelligence from the *Chinese*, it may not be improper to take notice of that history, which has very probably some foundation. This settlement, he says, grew to be of very great consequence, and the *Portuguese* who inhabited there became immensely rich, and, in consequence of this, outrageously insolent, as well as excessively debauched. Amongst other excesses of which they were guilty, that which provoked the *Chinese* most, was their carrying off girls when they were extremely young, by force, and, when they had kept them as long as they thought fit, and were grown tired of them, they sent them back to their parents. All applications for redress having failed, the people at length determined to have recourse to a vigorous resistance against such shocking acts of violence; and taking advantage of one of these troops of virgin-hunters, they surrounded and cut them off to a man. The *Portuguese*, upon this, complained in their turn; which brought the affair before a higher tribunal, where the *Chinese* having fully justified themselves, from the necessity they were under to repel force by force in their own defence, the matter came at last to the knowledge of the emperor, who immediately ordered a strict inquisition to be made into the conduct of these strangers; which brought such a horrid scene of iniquity and violence to light, as produced a decree, ^c that they should immediately quit his dominions; with which they were obliged to comply, but were allowed to carry off their effects. And thus, says our author, ended the most opulent colony at that time in the world ^e.

As he ascribes the wealth of this settlement, in a great measure, to their trade with *Japan*, it is not easy to reconcile this fact to the relations of the *Portuguese*, who unanimously fix the center of that commerce at *Macao*, and with great reason, as we shall shew hereafter. We shall also have occasion, at the close of this chapter, to give a description of the present state of this city, which still belongs to the crown of *Portugal*, and, though very inconsiderable now in comparison of what it was, is yet, on many accounts, a place of importance. But it is now high time to proceed to the utmost limits of the *Portuguese* discoveries in the east, and ^d to speak of the manner in which they found an entrance to *Japan*; of which though they were not the first *Europeans* that had any knowledge (for, as we have shewn, those islands had been visited, and in some measure described, by the famous *Venetian* traveller *Marco Polo*, long before), yet they were certainly the first who had any establishment in the country, or commerce with the inhabitants, which turned to prodigious advantage for them, and in possession of which they might have still continued, but for their insolence and indiscretion, and the great address of the *Dutch*, by whom they were absolutely supplanted ^h.

THERE is not any passage relating to the subject of this chapter more curious, or more extraordinary, than what refers to the islands of *Japan*, which, about the same time, were visited by two different companies of adventurers; and though, in the account we have received of both discoveries, very little notice is taken of dates, yet, from the comparison of facts, it is pretty evident, that those, of whom we shall first speak, arrived in that country some time in the month of *May*, *A. D.* 1542 ⁱ. *Ferdinand Mendez Pinto* tells us himself, that being in company with two of his countrymen, *Diego Zimoto* and *Christopher Borello*, at *Macao*, they endeavoured to get a passage by sea into some other parts of the *Indies*, and found it very difficult. At last a *Chinese* pirate offered his service, promising to carry them to the islands of *Lequios*, of which, it seems, the *Portuguese* had already some knowledge. They pass under

^f LE COMPTE's Letters concerning China.

^g HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 282, 283.

^h Histoire de Japan, par LE CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 411, 412.

ⁱ Voyages and Adventures of FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO, chap. 43.

(M) It is very difficult to discover either the manner or the time in which the *Portuguese* were reconciled to the people of *China*; the best account we have been able to meet with is that of a *Dominican* friar, dedicated to *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*; in which he says, that, upon the quarrel mentioned in the former note, the *Chinese* called these people, to shew their hatred of them, *men of the devil*. But, however, they began to trade with them again, by stealth, at *Liampo*; and at length, near forty years afterwards, through the good conduct of *Lionel Sousa*, they were received again at *Canton*, and a better name bestowed upon them, which was that of *people from another coast* (90). It is not very certain either when or

how they came to have the island of *Macao* bestowed upon them; the most probable account is, that, about the year 1585, it was assigned them as a place to winter in, in case they could expel the pirates that were in possession of it; and upon this that account is grounded, which, from modern historians, we have given in the text; for, if the thing had been of such public notoriety, the date of that grant would have been with more certainty recorded. In the old *Chinese* maps this place is called *Amacoa*, that is, the *harbour of Ama*, from an idol of that name, to which a temple was erected near the port (91).

(90) Gaspar du Cruz Hist. Sinens. lib. v.

(91) That Chinese Map was published by Purchas, in vol. iii. p. 411.

different names, for some writers call them the islands of *Lequios*, others the islands of *Rinku*.^a They lie between twenty six and thirty degrees of north latitude ; having the island of *Formosa* on the south-west ; the continent of *China* on the west ; the islands of *Japan* on the north ; and the ocean on the east ; on which side they seem to have no land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japanese* report, that they are the most fertile countries in the world ; and that the inhabitants are the easiest, happiest, and best-conditioned of the human race. They are subject to the prince of *Saxuma*, who is one of the principal lords of the empire of *Japan*. The *Chinese* were formerly masters of them ; and even at present there is still some commerce between them and the *Phillipines*. But our adventurers being at sea, the weather proved so bad, and the ship so leaky, that there was an absolute necessity of putting into some port to refit. The captain bore away, therefore, for a certain harbour in the island of *Japan*, which^b was that of *Niaygima*, in the island of *Tanuximaa*, where they safely arrived. This, undoubtedly, is what other authors call *Tacuxima*, belonging to the kingdom of *Firando*.

Their situation according to him.

It lies in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north, at a very small distance from the great island of *Ximo*, which is the second in size of those three islands, known in *Europe* under the common name of *Japan* ; which, as we have shewn, is not the name of a particular country, but of a large archipelago of islands, the most considerable of which is *Nippon*. Before they entered the port, two barks came from the shore, to know who they were, and what they wanted ? The captain answered, that they were come from *China* ; that his intention was to trade, if they might obtain permission. To which the principal person answered, that the lord of the island was called *Nautaquim* ; and that, if they paid the port-duties, they might^c have leave to trade. The *Chinese* captain complied ; and the patron of the barks, with great civility, conducted him immediately into the harbour^k.

A succinct account of his adventures in those islands, and his manner of leaving them.

ABOUT two hours after, the lord of the island came, accompanied by several persons of distinction, and some merchants. At the sight of the three *Portuguese* he was astonished, and demanded who these strangers were, and of what nation ? The captain answered, that they came from a great city called *Malacca* ; and that they were of a certain kingdom in *Europe* called *Portugal*. At these words *Nautaquim* appeared still more surprised ; and at last, turning to those who were about him, he said, “ Let me die if I don’t believe these are the *Chinchi-* “ *gogis*, of whom we read, in our old books, that they fly upon the waters, and make them- “ selves masters of every rich country of which they hear. We shall think ourselves very^d “ happy, if they are content to be our allies.” He then made no difficulty of going on board the *Chinese* vessel, with some of the people about him, and asked the *Portuguese* abundance of questions, whom he invited to visit him on shore, promising to entertain them kindly. They went, and carried him a present, which was graciously received ; and *Nautaquim* entered into a long conversation about their country, and particularly insisted on these three points, which, he said, he had been told by the *Chinese* and *Lequians* in his country : first, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer : that the king of *Portugal* had conquered the best part of the world : and that he had better than two thousand houses full of gold and silver. *Pinto* owns, that he did not stick exactly to truth in his answers ; but contrived such as were likely to keep up the high opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their monarch. All the time^e they staid they were treated with the utmost civility, being permitted to see every thing they desired, and go where they would. This great lord was the nephew and the son-in-law of the king of *Bango*, one of the greatest monarchs in *Japan*, who, upon having an account of the arrival of these strangers, was very desirous of seeing them ; and, at his request, accordingly *Nautaquim* sent *Pinto* to him ; and some adventures, which happened at his court, recommended the *Portuguese* so strongly to the king’s favour, that he made him several considerable presents, besides a sum of ready money to the amount of about a thousand pounds ; and, not without difficulty, permitted him to embark again on board the same ship which brought him, in which he went back to *China*, and from thence returned to the *Indies*¹ (N).

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^k Histoire de Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, vol. i. p. 179. MENDEZ PINTO, c. 44, 45, 46.

¹ Voyages and Adventures of FERDINAND

(N) The character of this writer has suffered not a little, in the general opinion of the world, from that humour, common to his nation, of embellishing all he relates in such a manner as to create astonishment, by which he has incurred the just punishment of disbelief ; yet some very able judges, upon a strict perusal and close examination of his work, have found, that there are in it not only many curious and useful things, but that also, in reference to the transactions in which he was himself concerned, he is a very exact and candid writer.

For instance, with respect to this expedition, he tells us very honestly, that there were eight of them, all natives of *Portugal*, who, after suffering infinite hardships, travelled cross the empire of *China*, to the island of *Sanchean*, and from thence to another port, which is held to be *Macao*, where they found several vessels, on board of which they might have embarked for the *Indies* (92). “ But whereas, says he, it is the quality of us *Portuguese* to abound in our own sense of things, and to be “ exceeding obstinate, there arose amongst us eight such

“ a

- a We come now to the other adventurers, and their story will lie in a very narrow compass. How they were discovered also by other Portuguese voyagers; and how the famous Xavier came to be esteemed the apostle of this numerous and potent nation.
- In this year, 1542, there came three other subjects of the crown of *Portugal* into this country; their names were *Antonio Mota*, *Francisco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Pexota*, who, in a voyage from the island of *Macassar* to *China*, were thrown upon these islands, and exceedingly well received. Amongst others, they entered into a close acquaintance with one *Angero*, a man of a good family, and a considerable fortune, but exceedingly troubled in mind, on account of some irregularities committed in his youth, who heard them, with pleasure, discourse of the truths of the Christian religion. About two years after, *Alvarez Vaz*, a *Portuguese* merchant, came into the same country, and became intimate with the same person, whom he persuaded to go to the *Portuguese* settlements, in order to be consoled by the holy discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received baptism at *Goa* in the year 1548, he the next year accompanied father *Xavier*, and two other jesuits, in their voyage to *Japan*; where they immediately entered upon their mission, by the progress of which this country was made so thoroughly known to the *Portuguese*, that, if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing at all of it, but that he afterwards visited *Japan* in company with father *Xavier*; and, after the decease of that industrious jesuit, whom the papists esteem the apostle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as ambassador from the viceroy of the *Indies* to the king of *Bango* in 1556; so that there seem to be no just grounds for calling in question any thing that he has written. The conversion of multitudes to the Christian faith through the whole extent of this great empire, contributed not a little to support the *Portuguese* trade, which was managed with much facility, and to a vast profit; for the *Portuguese*, being established in *China*, carried from thence vast quantities of silk into *Japan*, where, as all ranks of people affect to be cloathed in it, there followed a prodigious consumption, which enriched the *Portuguese* merchants very soon to a high degree; though it is scarcely credible, that, as some *Dutch* writers report, they have sometimes carried home in one small ship an hundred tons of goldⁿ. But this prodigious success proved the cause of their being at last deprived of this lucrative commerce.
- It is not consistent with our design to enter here into a long and particular relation of the several facts which drew upon them, from the government of *Japan*, that fatal prohibition; we shall only report in general terms, and in as few words as possible, the principal causes of this exclusion. The vast wealth they had acquired, corrupting the manners of the *Portuguese*, made them less cautious than they ought to have been in their behaviour towards the *Japone*; infomuch that, instead of the moderation, sobriety, and exact conduct, which they at first pursued, they grew proud, insolent, and dissolute. This prompted them to change the places where they were wont to trade, and to prefer such ports as were in the dominions of infidel princes to such as were in the territories of those *Japone* lords that had embraced the Christian religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the controul of the missionaries, who took all the pains they could to oblige their countrymen to advance the credit of the Christian religion by the regularity of their lives^o. These errors had two very bad consequences; for, first, they disgusted such princes as had embraced the faith; and, secondly, they hardened the infidels in their aversion to it. But it was not only the corruption of the *Portuguese* merchants, officers, and seamen, that gave offence to the people of this empire; the intrigues of the missionaries themselves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the jealousy of the emperor; for where-ever they had converted any of the princes of *Japan*, they were continually at court, and, instead of minding what was the proper business of the church, engaged perpetually in affairs of state, making the direction of consciences much less their care than the direction of councils; by which they became the authors of many troubles, and afforded a handle to their enemies of charging them with many more; so that the emperor of *Japan* began at last to surmise, that there was more of hypocrisy than sanctity in their hearts; and that they were endeavouring, under colour of saving mens souls, to establish a new government in that country^p, at the expence of his.
- f THESE jealousies, which certainly were not altogether without foundation, were extremely increased by two circumstances: the first was, the haughtiness and ill conduct of such as were sent ambassadors thither, especially after the union of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for Careless or unaccountably blind to several pregnant

^m Histoire de Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, vol. i. p. 186.
 blissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 102.
 and of the Exclusion of the Portuguese.

ⁿ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 102.
^o MANLEY'S Account of the Island of Japan,
^p HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 299.

“ a contrariety of sentiments about a matter, in which
 “ nothing concerned us so much as to act harmoniously,
 “ that we not only quarrelled, but were on the point
 “ of cutting one another's throats; so that the officer,
 “ who conducted us thither, retired with great displea-
 “ sure, refusing to charge himself with our letters, de-
 “ claring he had rather the king should cut off his head,

“ than that he should provoke God, by receiving into
 “ his custody any thing that came from such wicked
 “ people.” After this, he proceeds to relate the facts
 briefly mentioned in the text, and for which it was ne-
 cessary to cite his testimony, and, as far as justice will
 allow, to vindicate his sincerity.

instances of the designs of the Japonese. those ministers were wont to boast of the vast power of the catholic king, and of the mighty extent of his dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japonese*, by shewing the maps of the *East* and *West Indies*; and the imprudence of one of these ambassadors is said to have carried him so far, as, being asked, “How his master had acquired such vast territories at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions?” he answered, “By sending missionaries first to convert a part of the inhabitants to Christianity, and then sending troops to assist the new converts in shaking off the yoke of infidel princes.” The other circumstance was, the coming of *Dutch* ships upon the coast of *Japan*; for these people, applying themselves intirely to commerce, and submitting, for the sake thereof, to whatever terms were prescribed by the *Japonese*, gained such a degree of confidence with their princes, that it procured implicit credit for their representations as to the ambitious designs of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. These remarks will give the reader an easy key to the political contrivances for first restraining the *Portuguese* trade to a particular port, and then shutting them up as it were in a prison during their stay in that empire. But notwithstanding these and many other previous signs which the *Portuguese* had of the approaching rupture with the *Japonese*, yet were they so far from taking such steps as in common prudence they ought to have done for avoiding so great a mischief, that, on the contrary, they became daily worse and worse, till the storm came upon them with such a force as was not to be resisted ^a (O).

Attempt made by the Portuguese at Macao to renew their correspondence with these islands.

THIS irremissible edict was given in 1639; and, not long after, two large ships, richly laden from *Macao*, came to an anchor in the road of *Nagasaki*; on which it was instantly notified to the commodore, that the emperor of *Japan* had totally prohibited all commerce with the *Portuguese*, for these reasons: first, because, notwithstanding several cautions given them, they had continued to bring over missionaries into his country; secondly, that they had supplied those that were already there with provisions and other necessaries; and, thirdly, that there were just reasons to suspect they had some knowledge of, and concern in, the late rebellion of the Christians in *Arima*. They had also a copy of the emperor’s edict, which they were directed to make public at *Macao*, and to inform the inhabitants of that city, that these were the last ships that should ever be permitted to anchor in any port of *Japan*; and that, if ever they came thither again, they should be treated as enemies, and put to death without mercy. On their return, the whole place was struck with consternation, being convinced that the loss of this trade would prove the ruin of their city; to prevent which, they resolved to employ a solemn embassy to justify their conduct, and, if possible, to engage the emperor to recall this edict, or at least to qualify it, that they might, on certain terms, have leave to send some ships thither. The difficulty was to find any who would charge themselves with so dangerous a commission; but at last the following persons offered to run the hazard, *viz.* Don *Lewis Paez Pacheco*, who had served, with honour, as commander of the armies in the *Indies*, and who was now seventy-eight years of age, Don *Roderic Sanchez de Paredes*, Don *Gonzalez Montayro de Carvailho*, and Don *Simon Faz de Pavia*, all men of distinction, and moved by nothing but the desire of justifying their countrymen, and rendering service to their country ^b.

The treatment of that embassy by the Japonese.

ON the ninth of *July* 1640, the ship that carried them arrived in the road of *Nagasaki*: they sent an account to the *Japonese* governors of the nature of their commission. The ship was immediately seized; and the ambassadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight negro seamen, were imprisoned in the island of *Kisma*, till the emperor’s pleasure should be known. On the return of the courier, they were sent for before the magistrates, who treated them as criminals, demanding what it was that could induce them, after so fair warning as was given them, to return, in direct breach of the emperor’s edict? They pleaded, that they were not at all within the meaning of that law, because the emperor forbade thereby any attempt to trade, which was not their business, having no commodities of any sort on board their ship, ^c

^a VARENIUS, KÆMPFER, CARON, &c.

^b Histoire de Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 413.

(O) There are very different accounts of the expulsion of the *Portuguese* from *Japan*, which it would be improper, in this work, for us to state and examine. What is said in the text, appears to us, from a comparison of the best relations, to be as near the truth as possible. Certain it is that the *Dutch* were in no small danger of suffering for being Christians, as well as the *Portuguese*; nor is there any doubt that the government of *Japan* knew them to be so, and even told them plainly, that what they represented as important and distinguishing differences between their religion and that of the *Portuguese*, seemed to be of little consequence to the ministry of *Japan*; and therefore they insisted upon their

demolishing immediately those edifices, upon which they had inscribed the year of the Lord, and to forbear all the public exercises of their religion, that the subjects of the emperor might not have daily before their eyes what might revive their notions of Christianity (93); which is a convincing proof, that the *Japonese* government was persuaded, that, in respect to their own people, they could not be good subjects and good Christians at the same time; which certainly could never have entered their minds, if the *Japonese* converts had acted in a manner suitable to the principles of the gospel, than which none were ever so fully calculated for promoting the interests of civil society.

(93) *Recueil de Voyages au de Nord*, tom. iii. p. 246.

a but coming thither with the characters of ambassadors, which had been always, and by all nations, esteemed sacred. They were told, that this would not serve their turns; that they had incurred the penalty of the edict; upon which they were instantly bound, and conducted back to prison.

THE next day the ambassadors, and all their attendants, to the number of seventy-four, *Miserable issue of that unfortunate negotiation, by which a period was put to their hopes, so long as they continued subjects to the crown of Spain.* Portuguese, Spaniards, Chinese, Canarins, and Indians, were carried before the magistrates, who then told them, his imperial majesty had commanded they should all suffer death, except thirteen; which sentence was executed the same evening. The next morning, before it was light, the governor sent for the thirteen that were spared; and, having asked them whether they had seen their ship burnt, inquired of them, whether they would faithfully report at *Macao* what they were commanded by the emperor to say on his behalf? Being answered in the affirmative, he proceeded thus: "You are then to inform your fellow-citizens, that henceforth the subjects of *Japan* will not receive either money, merchandize, or presents from them any more: you see we have burnt the very cloaths of those who were executed yesterday. Let your people use any of ours, that fall into your hands, in the same manner: we consent to it; and desire you would think of us no more than if there were not such a nation as the *Japonefe* in the world. This is what we had to say to you." The poor wretches, having listened to this sad tale, promised to deliver the message. They then conducted them to the place where the heads were fixed upon poles in three rows, the four ambassadors first, the *Europeans* next, and the strangers last. They likewise shewed them a great iron chest, in which were the bodies of the persons executed, and a long inscription, ending with these words: "All this is set forth as a memorial of what is past, and as an advertisement for the time to come. Henceforward, so long as the sun shall shine upon the earth, let not any Christian be so hardy as to set his foot in *Japan*: and be it known to all the world, that if king *Philip* in person, the god of the Christians, or the great *Xeca*, one of the first deities of *Japan*, shall presume to break this ordinance, he shall pay for it with his head." They then gave these poor people an old vessel to return in to *Macao*; which they chose rather than to be put on board any of the five *Dutch* ships that were then on the coast, and offered to carry them to that port (P).

WHEN Don Juan, Duke of *Bragança*, mounted the throne of *Portugal*, and assumed the title of *John* the fourth, he, in the year 1646, thought fit to make another attempt in favour of the city of *Macao*, and sent Don *Gonzalo Segueyra* as his ambassador to the most puissant emperor of *Japan*, to inform him, that *Portugal* no longer continued subject to the crown of *Spain*, which as it was the principal occasion of the nation's being prohibited all commerce with the *Japonefe*, he hoped that a good intelligence might now be restored between the citizens of *Macao* and the subjects of his imperial majesty. The ambassador was very civilly received, and an express sent to court with the news of his arrival. About a month afterwards came back a courier with the emperor's answer, which was, that his request could not be granted; but that he, and all who belonged to him, had free liberty to depart.^d *Upon the accession of the duke of Bragança to the crown of Portugal, new enterprises undertaken.*

IN 1685, another favourable opportunity offered, which the *Portuguese* did not fail to embrace. A *Japonefe* vessel, driven by a storm from their own coasts, was forced to take shelter in the port of *Macao*, where those who were on board it met with a very kind reception; and, having been entertained at the public expence till they were recovered from the hardships they endured at sea, were then put on board one of the best vessels belonging to the port of *Macao*, and sent back to their own country. On their coming to an anchor in the road of *Nangazaki*, and sending the *Japonefe* on shore, they received a message from the magistrates, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous behaviour; but that, for the future, they would advise them not to give themselves the trouble of sending home any more of their people, since it would not answer their ends.^e We may from hence collect of how great consequence this commerce was, and how very sensible the *Portuguese* were of the sad effects that must inevitably attend the loss of it; and indeed their foresight has been justified by the event, since their trade, their force, and their reputation in the *Indies*, have all been gradually declining ever since.^f *Another promising opportunity engages them to make a new attempt without success.*

^a Taken from the relation at large, preserved by the author last cited.

^t Recueil des Voyages au Nord,

tom. iii. p. 220.

^u Histoire du Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 441.

^w Tour du Monde, par

GEMELLI CARRERI, l. iv. cap. 2.

^x GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 336.

(P) As a further precaution, these unfortunate people judged it requisite to desire a passport from the *Japonefe* government, in order to protect them from *Dutch* privateers; which was readily granted, and by the help of which they returned safely to *Macao*; where when the

inhabitants had fully considered their report, they, with a courage and spirit becoming their nation, celebrated with joy the constancy of those Christian martyrs, who had thus perished for their religion and their country (94).

(94) Histoire du Japon, par le P. Charlevoix, tom. iii. c. 416.

S E C T. IX.

Present low and distressed state of the small remains of the Portuguese territories in the Indies; remarks on the causes of a declension no less strange than the sudden rise and vast extent of their empire; reasons why their situation, sunk as it is, ought not to be considered as irretrievable.

A short description of the city of Goa, the capital of the Portuguese empire in Asia.

WE have now conducted the history of the rise and progress of the Portuguese power in the Indies to its close; and there remains nothing more than to give the reader a just and distinct idea of the possessions which the crown of Portugal still retains in these parts. In order to this, it is necessary that we should begin with the island and city of Goa, which yet continues, as it always was, the capital of their dominions (Q). We have shewn before how it came into their hands through the courage and conduct of the famous *Alphonso d' Albuquerque*, in 1508, from whom it was again recovered by the natives, and with much difficulty reconquered about two years afterwards, when, from the consideration of its convenient situation, the great excellence of its port, and the fertility of the adjacent islands, it was very wisely resolved to make it the seat of government¹. The island of *Goa*, as it is now called, or, as it was styled antiently, *Ticuarin*, is situated in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty minutes north, and is about twenty-seven miles in compass. The river *Mandova*, which is almost as much respected by the *Indians* as the *Ganges*, divides it from the continent, and at the distance of about six miles falls into the sea. The rainy season continues here from *June* till *September* or *October*; and the land-floods bring down such quantities of mud and sand as stop up the haven, and impede the navigation. During this time the weather is very hot after sun-rise, when the rains cease; yet before the rains begin, that is, in the months of *April* and *May*, the weather is still more sultry; but from *October* to *March* it is very moderate².

The convenience, strength, and other advantages, of the haven and quays.

In the best descriptions we have of these countries, the port of *Goa* is represented as one of the fairest in the *Indies*, and for this it stands in some measure obliged to nature; but, to do them justice, the *Portuguese* have spared no pains to heighten and improve those advantages, as well as to fortify it with many castles and towers, furnished with abundance of very good cannon; for, at the entrance on the left, upon the point of the island of *Bardes*, is a strong fort called *Aguada*, with large outworks, and guns level with the water. On the top of the hill, near the chanel, is a long wall planted with cannon; and opposite to it the castle called *Nossa Senhora del Cabo*, or, *Our Lady of the Cape*, built in the island of *Goa*. Two miles within the chanel, above the island of *Bardes*, is another castle called *dos Roys*, or, *the King's*, well fortified with cannon, and level also with the water. Here the new viceroy takes possession at his arrival. Near this fort is a monastery of *Franciscans*; and opposite to it, within cannon-shot, is the fort of *Gaspar Dias*, but two miles distant from that of *the King's*. Beyond these castles the chanel grows narrower, sometimes to one, sometimes to two miles; and its banks, planted with the best fruits and finest trees *India* affords, yield the fairest prospect imaginable. Besides, there are beautiful country-houses called *quinta's*, and abundance of pleasant dwellings of the country people³.

The situation, and beautiful prospect over the country adjacent.

THIS delightful scene holds for eight miles quite up to *Goa*. Half-way, upon the right side, is a palace called *Passo de Dangi*, where formerly the viceroys resided; but at present it serves as a barrack for the garrison. There begins a strong broad wall, two miles in length, for a foot-path when the country is overflowed; and a great deal of salt is gathered thereabouts. Opposite to this wall or dyke is a hill, on which the jesuits have their house for

¹ MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vii. c. 3. Voyage aux Indes, tom. iii. p. 176.

² Les Etats du Monde, p. 217.

³ PIETRO DELLA VALLE

(Q) The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to learn the state of this place before the *Portuguese* came into the *Indies*, which will also render this description more perspicuous. In the language of the country, the word *Ticuarin* signifies thirty, and alluded to the number of villages that were upon the island. They were mostly inhabited by *Moors*, who became proprietors of these islands by a very singular accident: the great king or emperor of *Bijnagar*, being engaged in a war with the monarch of *Decan*, was so excessively enraged that the *Moors* should furnish the people of *Decan* with horses, that he ordered the king of *Onor*, then his tributary, to destroy all the *Moors* in his dominions. This he actually

attempted, and cut off great numbers: the rest retired into the island of *Ticuarin*, and built the town of *Goa*; which is to be understood not of the old, but of the new town, that was improved and fortified afterwards by the *Portuguese*. This event happened *Anno Domini* 1479; and these refugees made choice of *Hoffein* for their king, whom the *Portuguese* stiled *Mrlikehocem*. When he died, his son *Idalcan* succeeded, who was dispossessed of it by *Albuquerque*, and who maintained a long war in hopes of recovering it; but was at length forced to content himself with the territories that he still preserved upon the continent (95).

(95) *John de Barros, Decad. 1. l. viii, Decad. ii. l. v. c. 1.*

- a novices^b. The viceroy has his palace, called *la Palçoereira*, on the same chanel, and so has the archbishop. Here begins the city; and so far ships can come up, after discharging some part of their lading. This chanel, that makes so noble a port, runs many miles up the country, dividing it into several fruitful islands and peninsulas, which not only plentifully furnish the city with necessaries, but delight the palate with rich fruit, afford a curious prospect, and yield much profit to the gentry, to whom for the most part they belong. Adjoining to this port is the haven of *Murmugon*, formed by the other chanel, that runs between the island of *Goa* and peninsula of *Salsete*, and supplies a safe retreat to the ships that come from *Portugal* and other parts, when they are shut out of the port by the sands the river *Mandova* brings down, when swollen by the first rains of *June*, the passage not being open till *October*. This
- b port of *Murmugon* is defended by the castle of the same name, seated in the island of *Salsete*, in which there is a good garrison, and the fortifications are well supplied with cannon^c.

- At the south entrance into the chanel, a little beyond the forts on the right hand, are seen the remains of *Old Goa*; and from thence to the new city there is a commodious road, elegantly adorned with trees for fruit and shade, and the country for several miles embellished with pleasant country-houses, to which belong neat gardens. What is still styled the new city carries evident marks of decay; for though the walls are kept in good repair, and are everywhere well supplied with cannon, yet taking in, as they do, a compass of twelve miles, they serve to shew what the city once was in comparison of what it now is. In the time of its prosperity, there was nothing could be compared with it in the *Indies*; and very few cities in *Europe* were either larger or better built. The public structures still remain, and bear incontestable evidence of its former grandeur. The cathedral is very large, supported by twelve beautiful columns; and the archbishop's throne is very stately^d. His palace is also very magnificent, tho' that prelate usually resides in the country. The viceroy's palace is also a noble building, and has many large and commodious apartments. The house of the holy office, or palace of the inquisition, is spacious, and the apartments belonging to the inquisitor-general very richly furnished. The power of that formidable ecclesiastic is very terrible, and extends to persons of all ranks, the viceroy, the archbishop, and his vicar, who is always a bishop, only excepted. There are churches and monasteries enough for a much larger place. The jesuits alone have no less than five houses, and it is said, that their revenues equal those of the crown of *Portugal*; but then it is to be remembered, all the wealth that is still remaining lies in the hands of the church^e. The houses were formerly the best in *India*, and, being so still, make a tolerable figure: the number of inhabitants is said to be, in all, about twenty thousand; of these the native *Portuguese* are a very small number; the *Mestizos* are more numerous. The *Canarins*, or natives, are as black as jet, but have long black hair, and many of them fine features: multitudes of negro slaves, and pagans of different nations, make up the rest of the people. It is generally agreed, that the men are, for the most part, proud, indolent, jealous, revengeful, and indigent: the women lazy, lascivious, and as well skilled in poisoning as any in the world; so much are they degenerated from what they were in former times. It might be suspected that these accounts were fictitious, or at least exaggerated, if writers of different nations did not so exactly agree in them, and if the present state of things did not too plainly prove, that they are founded in truth, and that the continued progress of corruption has debased them from what they once were into the state in which they are now represented^f.

- ALL that remains under the *Portuguese* dominion, from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africa* to the city of *Macao* in *China*, is now governed by a viceroy or captain-general, who resides at *Goa*. There are six, and sometimes eight *desembargadores*, or judges, that attend the governor, and compose a sovereign court or council, who all of them wear a gown down to their heels, over a cassock of the same length: the gown is made with wide sleeves, reaching half-way their arms. They use gollilas and huge perukes, after the *French* fashion^g. The chief court that these gownsmen sit in is called *relacaon*, in which justice is administered in civil and criminal cases, their power extending over all the officers of the crown; in which court also are tried appeals brought from all parts of their dominions. The viceroy, as chief of this court, sits under a canopy; the judges on benches placed on the floor. The council *de facada* is a court of exchequer, where one of the gownsmen sits, as the viceroy's deputy. Thus the pomp and splendor of this government is still kept up, tho' the extent of it is so much lessened, and the power and credit of it in a manner quite decayed^h. There are still as many subordinate governments as ever, that is, in title, for otherwise they are of no great consequence;

^b TAVERNIER, LE BRUN, &c. MANDELSLO, TAVERNIER, DELLON. ^d GEMELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde, liv. iii. cap. vi. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, tom. xv. p. 48. ^e TAVERNIER, GEMELLI CARRERI, DELLON, P. BOUCHET. ^f LA MARTINIÈRE, SAVARY Dictionnaire de Commerce, ABRAHAM DU BOIS Geographie, p. 641. GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 69. HAMILTON's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 241. ^g Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, l. i. c. 13. ^h Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, liv. iii. c. 6.

and yet those on whom they are bestowed have the rank and title of generals. There is, for instance, a general of the gulph of *Ormuz*, who has four ships under his command; a general of the north, who commands the small towns on the coast of *Malabar*; a general of *Salsete*, who has the inspection of a territory of about fifteen miles; a general of *China*, who is, properly speaking, governor of *Macao*, and is a mere vassal to the *Chinese*. There is another general in the islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom, however, the *Portuguese* there scarce pay any obedience, and who lives in a miserable fort, the guns of which are in no condition for service. There is, besides all these, a general of *Goa*, who takes care of the chanel between the islands, and restrains smugglers, unless they are under the protection of his superiors¹.

A concise deduction of the several steps by which the inhabitants have been corrupted.

BUT as it is a true observation, that men never grow superlatively wicked all at once, so it must be allowed, that dissolution of manners, as well as declension in power, came on gradually here: for, while *Portugal* remained annexed to *Spain*, viceroys and governors were sent over from very different motives, sometimes to remove them out of the way, sometimes through their interest at court, and sometimes as a reward for their condescension in points prejudicial to the interests of their native country. Such men, as might be well expected, behaved still worse abroad than they did at home, minding nothing but aggrandizing and enriching themselves by every method they could invent. The bad examples of the governors had a terrible effect on the subordinate officers; so that pride, vanity, luxury, and a pompous display of wealth, attained by the basest means, took place of that virtue and public spirit, which enabled their ancestors to lay the foundation of so large an empire, with a very inconsiderable part of the power which was in the possession of those who lost it. Their clergy followed the example of the laity; and instead of promoting, as at the beginning, the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith from the religious view of saving their souls, prosecuted that work from the meaner motive of making them subservient to their purposes, and enabling them to acquire vast riches. This corruption proceeded so far by degrees, that not only many of the jesuits at *Goa* engaged in trade, contrary to the rules of their order, and their duty as missionaries, but descended so low as to disguise themselves in the habits of *faquirs*, or *Mohammedan* monks, that they might have an opportunity of visiting the diamond mines, and purchasing stones there of an extraordinary value, in which they have been detected, and openly punished².

The keeping a multitude of idle and dissolute slaves the main instrument of their ruin.

BUT what contributed to corrupt the inhabitants of the *Portuguese* settlements was, the little care taken to prevent their leaving all things to the direction of their negro slaves, and their intermarrying with the people of the country; practices which have been, and ever will be, fatal to all establishments: because it not only effeminates the minds of all such as fall into this way of living, but also makes them lose all regard for their country, and inclines them to take such dirty measures as are most likely to preserve them in the enjoyment of such servile pleasures. The *Portuguese* at *Goa* have been, for more than a century past, so much addicted to this sensual kind of life, that, provided they might enjoy their fine houses in the city, and their country palaces in its neighbourhood, they gave themselves no pain about what happened elsewhere, or how much progress the *Dutch* made in subduing their distant settlements. The natural consequence was, that when such settlements were lost, those who were driven from their habitations, instead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking arms in the king's service for the recovery of these dominions, went into the territories of some *Indian* prince, and there, for a pitiful subsistence, entered into his pay, or accepted of some low office in his court; so that while the fleets and armies of *Portugal* grew contemptible for want of soldiers and seamen, there were thousands of that nation scattered all over the *Indies*, disgracing their country by the ignominious manner of their getting their bread, when, by a proper behaviour, they might have restored the affairs of their prince, as well as their own fortunes. But when men once forget the dignity of their nature to such a degree, as to place their supreme happiness in sensual delights, nothing just or prudent, great or good, is to be expected from them; and their minds being already enslaved to their lusts, their bodies soon become the properties of those who will bestow those gratifications they so eagerly desire¹ (R).

¹ BALDÆUS, TAVERNIER, GEMELLI CARRERI.
Coromandel, c. 14.

² BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and
¹ MANDELSLO, TAVERNIER, BALDÆUS, GUYON, BOUCHET.

(R) We have, in a book written by a modern author of our own country, such an account of this place, as sets it in the most despicable light that can be, and this chiefly penned from his own observation and experience (96). He assures us, that there cannot be a more perfect contrast than that between the past and present state of this capital, and the country about it. He stood on a little hill near the city, and from thence counted fourscore convents and monasteries, to which there were said to belong not fewer than thirty thousand ecclesiastics

of different orders, nations, and complexions, who are not ashamed to live out of the labours of the laity, when they are scarce in a condition to subsist themselves, and when they are so far from giving the least umbrage to their Christian neighbours, that the *English* and *Dutch* consider the circumstances of their necessity with the utmost compassion, tho', at the same time, they look upon their ill-placed haughtiness, and irreclaimable idleness, with an eye of contempt.

(96) *Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 254.

- a THE territories that immediately depend on the viceroy of *Goa* are, first, the island upon which that city stands, and in which there are about thirty villages; the peninsula of *Salzete*, which is about sixty miles in compass; there are reckoned in it no less than fifty villages, and as many thousand inhabitants. The peninsula of *Bardes* is about forty-five miles round, and it is computed that there are twenty-eight villages in it: the *Anchedives* are a cluster of five islands, at some distance, of no great extent, and not so well peopled. All these places are not of much consequence, farther than they supply the city of *Goa* plentifully with provisions, which some penetrating people think is no great advantage; for, vast quantities of rice coming to market, and slaves being contented with a dish of this food at noon, and another at night, this encourages every housekeeper to entertain a number of unnecessary attendants.
- b fewer than having fewer than six, and some thirty or forty^m (S). If these poor creatures, who are chiefly negroes, were employed in any useful labour, it were well enough; but carrying a *palanquin*, or supporting their master's umbrella, is the chief of their services: and thus poverty and pride accompany each other, and this to such a degree, that the women of *Goa* are carried in state a begging; and while the *palanquin*, with its mistress, rests at the door, a black boy enters with the lady's compliments, more especially to strangers, containing a succinct account of her distresses, and an intimation that some relief would not be disagreeableⁿ. But let us now pass over to the continent, and just mention the towns and fortresses that are under the direction of the general of the north, which are not many, none of them very healthy, and seated at such a distance from each other, as to correspond chiefly by sea: we will name them in their order, according to their respective distances from the metropolis of *Goa*, to which they are much inferior in every respect; yet, if we may trust the most experienced travellers, they are not so much declined from what they were, at least in appearance, as that famous city^o.

What the territories are which depend immediately on the viceroy of *Goa*, and their importance.

- THE first of these is *Chaoul*, which is not seated, as many writers say, on the sea-shore, but in a plain, at the distance of six miles from the coast. It stands, however, upon a beautiful river, which at high water is deep enough to bring ships of considerable burdens to the city-walls. It is covered towards the sea by a large mountain, on the top of which there is a strong fortress which commands the town, and protects the port, a little difficult at the entrance, but, within, one of the safest and most commodious in the *Indies*. The walls of the town are in tolerable good repair, and well supplied with cannon^p. We have before mentioned *Daman*, which lies at some distance from *Chaoul*, on a river of the same name. There was formerly another city of the like denomination on the other side of the river, but nearer the sea, which is now fallen to decay, consisting only of huts, and mud-walled houses, inhabited by *Moors* and gentiles. As for the city of *New Daman*, it is beautiful, and well fortified; there are in it a great number of monasteries and churches, but the want of a good port, for even the smallest vessels can come up but once a day, and such as are of any burden but twice a year, that is, when there are spring tides, is a great disadvantage to it^q. However, as the climate is temperate, the soil not despicable, and some spirit still left in the people, which encourages them to carry on an inland trade, and enables them to provide for a good garrison, it is very probable the *Portuguese* may keep this city as long as they retain any footing in the *Indies*^r. *Bacaim*, *Basaim*, or *Bazaim*, situated in the latitude of nineteen degrees north, was yielded to the viceroy *Nunes d'Acuna* so early as 1535, and was a place of great consideration; but as it was taken by the *Indian* princes some years ago, and there is some uncertainty whether it be yet recovered, it is not necessary that we should detain the reader with any particular description of it, and for this reason it was not mentioned before. One thing, however must be remembered, before we part with it, which is this, that it was the residence of the general of the north, who lived here with a degree of magnificence much more suitable to his title than to his power, or the circumstances

Of *Chaoul*, *Daman*, and the rest of the fortresses and ports under the general of the north.

^m BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 14. Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI, CARERI, b. iii. c. 6.

ⁿ Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, lib. 1. cap. 13.

^o NIEUHOFF, BALDÆUS, GEMELLI CARERI.

^p Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 770. HAMIL-

TON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 243.

^q GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 67.

Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778.

^r TAVERNIER, GUYON, BOUCHET.

(S) When it is said that the far greater part of the inhabitants of *Goa* have a black complexion, it does not imply that they are negroes, though, as we have told the reader, there are abundance of them likewise. But the *Canarins*, or natives of the country, are also a jet black, though their faces are perfectly well featured, and their hair long, and gracefully curled; these are most of them Christians; and such as are descended of the superior casts, that is, from the *Bramins* and the *Nairo's*, are a very shrewd, lively, and polite people; whereas those of the lower cast are as cunning, base,

and wicked fellows, as the world can produce (97). Amongst the former there are many priests, physicians, merchants, scriveners, and solicitors, who are as free, and some of them richer than the *Portuguese*; and yet are subject to one distinction that is exceedingly mortifying, which is, being obliged to go without shoes or stockings, let their circumstances be what they will. But, notwithstanding this, what little trade there is, and what money is to be got in the better sort of professions, is carried on and acquired by these barefooted people (98).

(97) Tavernier, Dellon, Hamilton.

(98) Du Bois Geograph. moderne, p. 640.

of the people under his government, by which those sums were squandered, which, properly employed, might have preserved the place^a.

A farther account of the port and fortresses of Diu, one of the most considerable in the Indies.

We promised to say something farther concerning *Diu*, which is justly styled the key of the *Indies*. The port is very good, and capable of holding large ships; for which reason, while the *Portuguese* had any fleets of consequence, they were commonly laid up there in the winter-season; and, while their power continued, the *Moors*, and other traders in those seas, were obliged to take out passports here, before they sailed to the east. It was to favour the trade of this city, that the *Portuguese* destroyed *Surat*; and in return, since that city has been rebuilt, and protected by the *Mogul*, it has, in conjunction with *Cambaya*, drawn away much of the trade of *Diu*^b. As this place, however, is very strong, and the fortresses, as experience shews, capable of a long defence, it bids fair for remaining some time longer to the crown of *Portugal*. There is no doubt that some trade is still maintained, and some ships fitted out from thence, but this is by the *Indian* merchants, and is in reality nothing in comparison of what might be expected from the situation and circumstances of the place, which, in the hands of any other nation, would soon become very considerable^c. Under its present masters it continues to subsist by what its inhabitants acquired in better times; but is visibly declining, and, like the rest of their places, sinking slowly under its own weight (T).

State of Portuguese trade, and remoter settlements in Solor and Timor.

At *Bisnagar*, and some other places in the *Indies*, they have factories, and a small proportion of trade. Thirty or forty years ago, there was hardly any city or country that had any tolerable degree of commerce, in which there were not found some of the descendants of these antient conquerors of the *Indies*; but it is otherwise now, or at least they are become much thinner^d. In the islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, which are very remote, and depended heretofore upon the government of the *Moluccas*, they have still some settlements in participation with the *Dutch*; and once in two or three years a ship is sent from *Goa*, to load with the product of those places, which is sandal-wood, a commodity much esteemed in *China*, wax in great quantities, and *Solor* stones, which are of the nature, and held not at all inferior either in virtue or value, to the best bezoar^e. Besides these, they have nothing except the little city and island of *Macao* in *China*, of which we have undertaken to give some farther account, in reference to the present state and condition of the place, than occurred in the historical detail;

^a Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez du Monde, p. 212. Malabar and Coromandel, c. 10.

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778.

^c BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, l. i. c. 14. Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 781. ^d Voyage de

MILTON'S New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 138. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 415.

(T) After *Goa*, this has been always esteemed the strongest place in the hands of the *Portuguese*, and is famous in history for two sieges that do the highest honour to the *Portuguese* nation, and therefore we will give the reader a short account of them. Sultan *Badur*, king of *Cambaya*, granted *Nugno d'Acugna*, then governor of the *Indies*, leave to build a citadel here in 1535; and he caused it to be raised, and put into a posture of defence, in forty-nine days (99). Soon after Sultan *Badur* changed his mind, and would have taken it from the *Portuguese*, but perished in the attempt (100). His successor Sultan *Mahmud* entered into his schemes, and called the *Turks* into the *Indies*; when *Solyman*, bashaw of *Cairo*, came with a potent fleet and a numerous army on board, to his assistance. Before his arrival, *Mahmud* had invested the fortresses of *Diu*, the outworks of which were not intirely finished. Don *Antonio Sylveira de Menezes* commanded in the place with a garrison of six hundred men. The *Turks* began to debark their forces September the 14th, 1538, opened their trenches regularly, carried on the siege in form with an army of twenty thousand men, and a prodigious train of artillery; neglecting nothing that could be done, either by skill or force, to become masters of the place: yet were at last obliged to raise the siege on the first of November, after losing, in the whole, three thousand men, and leaving behind them five hundred sick and wounded, together with most of their heavy cannon. The garrison too were quite exhausted, having no more than forty men left who were able to remain at their posts. The fame of this first siege of *Diu* was so great, that the *French* king, *Francis* the first,

sent a person expressly to *Lisbon*, to bring him the picture of the governor (101). The second siege of *Diu*, no less remarkable than the first, happened in the year 1546, when Don *Juan de Castro* was governor of the *Indies*; *Mahmud*, king of *Cambaya*, was there in person with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery. The place was defended by a very feeble garrison, under the command of Don *Juan de Mascarenhas*, who gallantly maintained it for many months, till he was succoured by the viceroy, whose son had been killed in the course of the siege. Don *Juan de Castro* attacked the *Moors* in their entrenchments; and, after an obstinate dispute, gained a complete victory, which put him in possession of the town of *Diu*, and of the whole island (102). But he found both the houses and the fortifications so terribly ruined, that there was a necessity of rebuilding the one, and of repairing the other; but this could not be done without money; there was none in the treasury; the credit of the government was gone, and no private person would be bound for it. In this distress the governor intended to have pawned the body of his deceased son, but that was not in a condition to be transported. At last he wrote a letter to the citizens of *Goa*, mentioning the sum he wanted; and sent them a lock of his beard, as a pledge for the re-payment. This had all the effect he could desire: the ladies of *Goa* raised the money, and sent it with the pledge; and not long after the viceroy took a very rich prize, that not only enabled him to discharge this debt, but to repair the citadel, and rebuild the town of *Diu* in such a manner, as to render it one of the finest fortresses in the *Indies* (103).

(99) Baldæus's Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, cap. 9.

(100) Maffæi Hist. Indica,

P. ii. l. xi. c. 4.

(101) Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur de la Chryde, tom. iv. p. 503.

(102) Baldæus Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, cap. 12.

(103) P. Lofitau Histoire

des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 3, & 4.

^a and this it is the more necessary to do, since, after the detriment suffered by the loss of the *Japan* trade, it is no easy matter to conceive how its inhabitants subsist.

In speaking of *Macao*, some writers represent it as standing on an island, and others on a *peninsula*. Both accounts are true; and it is this that renders them not easily understood. The mouth of the river of *Canton*, or rather the arm of the sea where that river falls into it, is full of a vast number of broken islands of different sizes; from one of the largest of these there runs out a peninsula in the shape of a man's arm bending, joined to the main land, as it were by a *isthmus* at the shoulder; which *isthmus* is so narrow, that there is a strong wall built across it; and therein a large gate, which is the boundary of the city's jurisdiction^y. This peninsula lies in the north latitude of twenty-two degrees twenty minutes, and is not above three miles in compass. The port is not large, but very secure; there is a fortress, which is pretty strong, and has a garrison in it, but not very considerable. The city is without a wall; and, with respect to the *Chinese*, it is for many reasons a place of no strength at all. The ground is very uneven, and yet the city is not ill built: the public edifices are spacious and neat, and the streets very well paved; which is no wonder, since there was a time when the inhabitants were able to have paved them with silver^z.

^b Of the *Portuguese*, their descendants and their slaves, there are about four thousand, and about fifteen or eighteen thousand *Chinese*. The former, with respect both to their civil and military government, are under the governor of *Macao*, appointed by the crown of *Portugal*, who, in his own fortress, is styled "his excellency the general of *China*." He is paid by the citizens, who allow him a crown a day for subsistence, and three thousand crowns at his departure. The *Chinese* are under a mandarin, without whose consent the *Portuguese* governor also can do nothing. All people here live by trade, and nobody pretends to be born above getting his bread; it cannot indeed be otherwise, for they have not as much ground as would serve to sow a handful of pease: the only distinction is this, the common people labour, go to sea, or keep shops; the better sort merchandize, let out money, or insure; some trade they carry on with the *European* ships when they are in the river of *Canton*, some more especially, in their absence, with the *Chinese*; but what turns to the best account is a kind of contraband commerce with the *Philippine Islands*, and, as some say, also with the inhabitants of *Hainan*, a great island on the coast of *China*, prodigiously rich in gold^a. Yet, what between the *Chinese* port-duties levied by an *Hoppo*, or collector of the customs, and the imposition of ten per cent. upon all merchandize in *Portuguese* bottoms, for the support of the government ecclesiastic and civil, there are hardly any can boast of being rich; and if they can live but tolerably, and that too in a place where every thing is cheap, they are, generally speaking, content^b (U).

In order to form a complete notion of the state of the *Portuguese* affairs in the *East Indies*, it is necessary to recollect what has been already said of the places which they still retain upon the coast of *Africa*, particularly *Mosambique* and *Sofala*. The gold obtained from thence is sent to *Goz* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into small pieces called *St. Thomas's*, not worth more than half a crown of our money; and it is observed, that this coin is of a worse touch, that is, of a baser alloy, than any other in the *Indies*, which is an infallible sign of a declining trade: for the *Sarajins*, which were formerly coined at *Ormuz* when in the *Portuguese* hands, were esteemed the best gold in the *Indies*, but they are now become extremely scarce; and the *St. Thomas's* are said to be coined in less quantities every year^c. Upon the whole, these possessions are said to produce so little to the king of *Portugal*, that it has been more than once debated whether it would not be for the interest of the crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their artillery and effects; and we are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious, motive that has hindered this measure from taking place, the priests having suggested, that in that case a multitude of souls would be lost to the church.

^y Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARERI, P. iv. l. i. c. 1. 844, 845.

^z Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col.

^a GEMELLI CARERI, TAVERNIER, HAMILTON, &c.

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 845, 846.

^c Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 614.

(U) We have before informed the reader how great a blow the loss of the commerce of *Japan* gave to this flourishing city; and here it may not be amiss to observe, because the fact is very little known, that what in a good measure completed their ruin was, their undertaking, and persisting for twenty years together in making war upon the inhabitants of *Timor*. Those people were Christians, and acknowledged the king of *Portugal* for their sovereign; but they were determined to live according to their own laws and customs, and not to admit of a

governor-general and prelate, which the *Portuguese* had a mind to impose upon them; and under the command of one *Gonzales Gomez*, they defended their liberties so gallantly, as to preserve them from the least infringement. This war, which began in 1688, had, as we have remarked, the most dismal effects upon the people of *Macao*, who, from a thousand substantial burghers, were reduced to about fifty, and, from having upwards of fifty sail of good ships, had not at the close of the war, above five (104).

An explanation of the manner in which the remaining commerce of GOA is carried on.

WE shall the less wonder at this, if we consider that such as are best acquainted with the *East India* trade assure us, that a single merchant might well carry on as great a commerce as subsists between *Lisbon* and *Goa*; but this requires some explanation. There are still a great many ships employed from *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, to the coasts of *Persia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *Cbina*; but they are mostly on the account of *Indian* merchants, there being scarcely a *Portuguese* trader at *Goa*, able to furnish a cargo of the value of ten thousand crowns^d; and it is very much doubted whether, in the whole of their trade, they employ above two hundred thousand crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that, one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, and those not a fourth part so rich as when they annually sent twenty^e: yet a late regulation made at *Goa*, for the preservation and promoting of trade, is that which those, who understand this subject best, agree has gone near to complete its ruin^f. This is the establishment of an exclusive company, with the sole right to carry on the commerce of *Mosambique* and *Macao*; which company had taken upon itself the payment of the royal officers, who are also two-thirds concerned therein; by which such a blow has been given to the natural commerce of *Goa*, that the best part of the *Indian* merchants are now retired from thence. To say the truth, it was the great share the viceroys, governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themselves on such as did not admit them to a share in their trade, that first injured the extensive commerce they enjoyed (X). But, though their power and commerce are so much declined, their pride is as great as ever; inasmuch that, as we have before observed, they refuse the natives of this country, who are called the *Canarians*, the privilege of wearing stockens, though they would willingly pay a large consideration for that indulgence; notwithstanding they employ them as physicians, lawyers, and merchants, by which many of them are so rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the *Portuguese* themselves^g. But, after all, what is not a little surprising, the revenues of the church have suffered but a small diminution by this change in the state, inasmuch that there is hardly a monastery which does not receive four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury; at the same time the soldiers starve and mutiny for want of pay; and this is so much the harder upon the government, because the reverend fathers know very well how to take care of themselves. It is not easy to know what becomes of the money these church-men raise^h; but it is very evident, that the wealth they possess, together with the establishment of the inquisition at *Goa*, is such a dead weight on the settlement, as must sooner or later destroy it, unless some speedy and effectual remedy be appliedⁱ (Y).

The most considerate people in Portugal are well apprised of the sad state of affairs here.

THE *Portuguese* themselves, that is, the wiser and more intelligent part of the nation, are extremely sensible of this; and have often represented to the court, that, instead of living in a continual state of war, as they have done for above a century past, with all the *Indian* princes on the opposite continent of *Malabar*, which, because the honour of the crown is interested therein, entails a prodigious expence, it would be better to cultivate a good understanding

^d Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 781.

^e Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 780.

^f c. 13, 14.

moderne, p. 640.

^g GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 39, 40.

^h Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie,

ⁱ HAMILTON's Account of the Indies, vol. i. p. 251.

^j Du Bois Geograph.

(X) It is universally agreed, that the avidity of their governors was the principal cause of the miserable declension of their affairs, and this notwithstanding repeated orders from *Lisbon* for putting an end to such pernicious practices. The true reason why those orders never produced any great effect, was plainly this; that the governors, who broke through them, carried home fortunes sufficient to defeat all prosecutions; and, on the other hand, the parties injured were, by those very acts of injustice, disabled from taking the proper methods for redress. But if the court of *Portugal* had appointed from time to time men of probity, in quality of commissioners, sent them to make inquiries on the spot, and, in consequence of their discoveries, punished the offenders severely, and indemnified those who had suffered by them, out of their estates, the loss would have fallen upon a few wicked men; and the nation had preserved, by justice, that empire which the virtue of her citizens, such as her *Gama's*, *Albuquerque's*, and *Castro's*, had acquired.

(Y) It is not a little strange, that, amongst such a multitude of churchmen, there should not be some of parts and sagacity enough to see that persisting in this

method of living must be fatal to them as well as to the state, since they cannot but be sensible that the enemies of the one will never pay any respect to the other: besides, experience might convince them, that all the rich churches in *Malacca*, *Cochin*, and in the island of *Ceylon*, have been demolished and plundered; and this will sooner or later be the fate of those in other places. It would have been so long ago at *Goa*, if the Marquis de *Villa Verde*, when he was viceroy, had not recruited his army with the lustiest monks he could lay his hands upon, by whom the infidels were repulsed, and the city saved; notwithstanding which the viceroy was recalled, excommunicated, and underwent a great deal of trouble, though nobody pretended to deny the necessity which he pleaded as his excuse; a necessity so pressing, that a *Portuguese* woman of quality, understanding the danger the city was in from the enemy's having made themselves masters of an important post, put herself at the head of a handful of men, who, animated by her example, attacked, carried it, and cut twice their own number to pieces; for which generous exploit this heroine, who was living in 1705, enjoyed the title and the pay of a captain (105).

(105) Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 254, 260.

- a with their neighbours, to employ a part of their church revenues for the support of the necessitous, and, by some indulgences to the natives, revive again that spirit of industry which is necessary to accumulate wealth in the *Indies* as well as elsewhere^k. But in a court where the king's confessor has always a very great influence, and sometimes is prime minister, though it may be wished, it can hardly be expected, that schemes of reformation should take effect where the churchmen are to bear the expence; and here there are none besides in any condition to bear it; whence some have ventured to foretell, that, by the end of the present century, this nation will not preserve a foot of land in that part of the world where they have already lost all their trade, and where the little power they have is in reality maintained at a very great expence to the crown; and this partly from a point of honour, and partly from a principle of religion, which, though reputable motives, yet at the bottom are not those by which, generally speaking, colonies are made to flourish^l.

But, after all, the state of the *Portuguese* affairs in *Asia* is capable of being considered in another and better light; since, however depressed their power may be, and how much soever the people may be degenerated from what they were, yet they have at this hour such establishments as would, if they were well managed, put them upon a better foot than any other *European* nation interested in that part of the world, the *Dutch* only excepted. They have but a few places left, it is true, and these scattered at a great distance one from another; but, notwithstanding this, those places are excellently situated for trade, and, by proper management, might be rendered highly beneficial to the crown of *Portugal*^m. If *Diu* and *Macao* were made free ports, and the power of the inquisition restrained in respect to such *European* strangers as should be inclined to settle in the *Portuguese* dominions, it would infallibly give a new turn to things; for interest, in that part of the world especially, is a sufficient invitation. All the trade in the *Indies*, carried on by the other *European* nations, is managed by exclusive companies; and, whether this be or be not expedient for the nations to whom those companies belong, this is very certain, that individuals are very far from finding their account in it; and if places so convenient, and so well situated, were open to them, and they had a free liberty of trading under the protection of the crown of *Portugal*, it would very soon appear that this protection, though it cost nothing, would produce much; and that flag, which is at present so little esteemed, would in a small space of time be the most respected of any in the *Indies*ⁿ.

d (Z). To some, no doubt, this project will appear very chimerical; but whoever reflects on the great struggle made in favour of the *Ostend* company; on the new establishments that have been made in the north of *Europe*; and on the scheme at present carrying into execution in the *Italian* dominions of the house of *Austria*^o; will very plainly perceive, that, if the ministry in *Portugal* were inclined to act upon these maxims, and would do it with vigour, they might bid much fairer to engage those adventurers, who have been the real authors, and are the only supporters, of these new contrivances, than any of their competitors; and the difference is so very great between having no establishments at all, and having as commodious as any in those parts ready settled and fortified; and the concurring favourable circumstances, in respect to the navigation, are so self-evident, that we may boldly pronounce, nothing but indolence, timidity, and bigotry, can prevent the undertaking such a design, and, when undertaken, carrying it into execution with far greater ease than their first establishments were made two hundred and fifty years ago; and, having made this remark, which is wholly new, and, we hope, not impertinent, we shall proceed to another part of our extensive subject.

^k Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 748, 749.

p. 39, 40.

^m Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, tom. iii. p. 131.

the *Ostend* company.

ⁿ GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii.

^o See chap. x. concerning

^p We may now add the Prussian company established at *Embsen*.

(Z) The reader will observe, that, though freedom of conscience is allowed at *Goa* to infidels of every denomination, yet all *Europeans*, as Christians, are exposed to the terrors of that tribunal, of the severity of which in this city not protestants (106) only, but papists (107), have complained, and justified their complaints by in-

stances sufficient to make a reader of any humanity tremble: while, therefore, this court continues there, and extends its influence to the few places that are yet left to the *Portuguese*, it is impossible that commerce should revive, without which they must gradually sink into a total dissolution.

(106) Voyage de Monj. Dillon au *Goa*.

(107) Jean Baptiste Tavernier, seconde partie, l. i. c. 15.

C H A P. V.

The history of the discoveries, settlements, conquests, disputes, and commerce of the Spaniards in the East Indies, from their first coming into those parts down to the present times.

S E C T. I.

An account of the motives to the search of a new passage to the East Indies by sea, of the disappointments that attended it, and of the celebrated expedition of Ferdinand Magellane, by which that long-sought passage was at length discovered.

The rise of the Spanish naval power under their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella.

THE reputation which the Portuguese acquired by settling the *Canaries*, discovering the islands of *Madeira*, *Azores*, and along the coast of *Africa*, soon raised the jealousy, or at least the emulation, of their neighbours, and more especially the *Castilians*, naturally as high-spirited a nation as any in the world. They were at this time governed by King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabella*, who, by their marriage, united the kingdoms of *Spain* which descended to each of them by hereditary right; and, in consequence of that superiority of power which was the natural result of this union, they attacked the kingdom of *Granada*, the only region of which the *Moors* then remained possessed, and, after a bloody war, and a siege of the capital, which was of some length, added that fruitful territory to the rest of their dominions, by right of conquest^a. While their catholic majesties were employed in the siege of this city, the queen, after he had spent many years in attendance, thought fit to accept the propositions made by *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, for discovering certain rich countries, by sailing west from the coast of *Spain*; and, after taking possession of *Granada*, furnished him with the means of putting this design in execution; in consequence of which he embarked on *Friday, August* the third, 1492, the contract with him having been signed the seventeenth of *April* preceding^b (A).

Pope ALEXANDER VI. confirms their title to the discoveries made by Columbus.

UPON the return of this great man from his happy discovery, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* thought fit to apply themselves, according to the custom and policy of those times, to the court of *Rome*, in order to have their title to these new-found countries, and such others as might be found, confirmed and secured^c. Upon this application, *Alexander* the sixth, who then possessed the papacy, consented to bestow on their catholic majesties the sovereign dominion of the *Indies*, with supreme jurisdiction over all that hemisphere; and accordingly, with the consent and approbation of the whole sacred college, the bull was passed in the usual form, on the second of *May* 1493, with all the same formalities, prerogatives, and powers, that had been before granted to the kings of *Portugal* in relation to the *East Indies*, *Guiney*, and part of *Afric*: and by another bull, of the third of *May* of the same

^a MARIANA de rebus Hisp. lib. xxv.

^b Historie di FERNANDO COLOMBO nelle quali Phao porticolare, e vera relatione della vita e de fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suo padre, e dello scuoprimento ch'egli fece delle Indie Occidentali dette mundo nuovo, tradotte dal Spagnuolo in Ital. da Alfonso Ulloa. Venet. 1511, 8vo.

^c HERRERA Histor. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 4.

(A) This project of *Columbus* was out of comparison a greater and more noble design than any that had yet entered the thoughts of any of the Portuguese navigators. It was the result of much study, and founded in true science; for, instead of creeping along the shore, and doubling with equal danger and difficulty one cape after another, which had been their method, he boldly undertook, by a navigation through the open sea, to perform at once what they had been aiming at, by a course of painful endeavours, for so many years (1). To make so strange a notion, as this must at that time have been, in some measure intelligible, he drew a chart of the world, according to his own conception, supported by the authorities of *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Isidorus*, from whence he undertook to demonstrate, that, by

steering west from *Spain*, he must necessarily arrive at the *Indies* as described by those authors (2). This chart his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* published at *London* in 1480; and though it was in many respects wide of truth, more especially in the distances, which, either misled by some authorities, or from a set purpose of representing the expedition very practicable, he made much smaller than they were afterwards found to be: yet, for all this, his scheme was perfectly well founded, and, to such as will contemplate it attentively, and without prejudice, must appear one of the greatest efforts of the human understanding; more especially when it is considered, that with no less prudence and fortitude he executed, than with skill and judgment he contrived, so vast a design (3).

(1) Vita dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo. l. i. c. 7.

(2) Herrera Histor. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. i.

(3) Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 2.

- a year, he granted them all the islands and continents already discovered, or that should be discovered, drawing a line from pole to pole at the distance of an hundred leagues to the westward of the islands *Azores* and those of *Cape Verde*; and that all that should be discovered beyond that line to the west or south, should appertain to the navigation and discovery of the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, provided it were not in the possession of any Christian prince before *Christmas-day*; and that no person should pass over into those parts under penalties and censures^d. These bulls, which were intended to put an end to all disputes between the two crowns, were so far from having that effect, that they heightened the animosities between them; the king of *Portugal* representing to their catholic majesties, and to the court of *Rome*, that he was extremely wronged by this partition, insisting at first, that the new-discovered countries belonged to him, and threatening to send a fleet to support his claim^e.

By degrees, however, things were brought to a better temper by a negotiation; and at length it was agreed, that, to prevent disputes, which could not fail of being detrimental to both, commissioners should be appointed by the two crowns, in order to discuss this matter amicably, and settle it to their mutual satisfaction. Accordingly such commissioners were appointed by both parties, with full powers to adjust this difference, either by settling boundaries north and south, or from east to west, or such other limits either by sea or land as they should think fit. After many conferences, and upon hearing of several cosmographers, who were admitted into their assemblies, on the seventh of *June* 1493 they agreed, that the line for settling the boundaries should be drawn two hundred and seventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the islands of *Cabo Verde* westward; and that all beyond that meridian, westward, should belong to the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and all to the eastward should appertain to the navigation, conquest, and discovery, of the kings of *Portugal*; but that their catholic majesties might freely sail through those seas belonging to the king of *Portugal*, they holding on their direct course. Likewise, that whatsoever should be discovered before the twentieth day of the said month of *June*, within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy, should remain to the kings of *Portugal*; and whatsoever should be discovered within the other one hundred and twenty leagues should appertain to the kings of *Castile* for ever^f.

THESE conditions being drawn up before *Hernan de Alvarez de Toledo*, secretary to their catholic majesties, and *Stephen Baez*, secretary to the king of *Portugal*, their said catholic majesties signed them at *Arevalo* on the second of *July*, and the king of *Portugal* at *Ebora* on the twenty-seventh of *February* the next year^g. Though their catholic majesties, on the seventh of *May* that year, ordered the cosmographers, and others that were to draw the line, to meet, and to do the same within ten months, if required; it does not appear to have been performed, though it is certain their catholic majesties endeavoured it^h. The *Portuguese*, who at this time had discovered very little beyond the island of *San Tome*, or *St. Thomas*, under the equinoctial, that they might not be behind with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they soon after passed that cape now called *de Buena Esperança*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, and so entered into the possession of their *Indies*ⁱ (B).

Under this agreement things rested quietly enough for many years, till *Ferdinand de Magalhaens*, or, as we usually call him, *Magellan*, who had some share in the discovery of the *Moluccas* for the crown of *Portugal*, began to surmise, that possibly they were not within the term stipulated, and that therefore they might be claimed by the crown of *Spain* upon the foot of that agreement; on which he resolved to avail himself, in case he did not succeed in the pretensions (grounded upon his past services) which he had on the court of *Lisbon*; and, that he might be in the better condition to take whatever steps he thought necessary, he procured and obtained very ample memoirs from his friend *Francis Serrano*, who was the principal person

^d MARIANA de rebus Hispaniæ, l. xx. c. 3. HERRERA, Decad. i. l. iii. c. 4.

Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 56, 57.
generale de Portugal, M. DE LA CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 61.
BARROS, CASTENADA, MAFFÆUS.

^e Histoire generale de

^f HERRERA, Dec. i. l. ii. c. 10.

^g Histoire

^h HERRERA, Decad. i. l. ii. c. 10.

ⁱ J. DE

(B) The reader will from hence discern the truth of what has been so often suggested, that, notwithstanding the passage to the *West Indies* was first discovered, yet it was in reality discovered by seeking a passage to the *East Indies*. It was indeed impossible for *Columbus* to look for countries utterly unknown; but as he all along suggested, that he might very probably find islands hitherto unvisited in his passage, so his credit was perfectly saved by his first and future discoveries, which

proved the source of these disputes, all arising from a supposition, which afterwards appeared to be well founded, that a passage might be opened this way to the *East Indies*, as it actually was by *Magellan*, who took up the thread, which, being cut off by death, *Columbus* had let fall; so that his merit lay in distinguishing the true design of that great man, and in prosecuting it, as he did, with effect (4).

(4) *Herrera Histor. de las Indias Occidental*, Decad. ii. l. ii. c. 3.

concerned in that discovery^k. Upon his return to *Lisbon* from the *Indies*, he set forth his services by a memorial, and desired a small augmentation of his pay. What he asked was so very trivial, that it seems strange to some writers the court of *Portugal* should so peremptorily refuse his demand; more especially when he threatened to renounce the service, to abjure his country (which it seems was legal in those times), and seek employment elsewhere^l. But, in reality, it was not the gratification, to which the *Portuguese* ministers were so averse, as the thoughts of making such a precedent, the consequences of which they foresaw^m. Upon this he determined to put his other scheme in execution; and accordingly went away into *Castile*, carrying with him a planisphere drawn by *Peter Reynel*, by which, and the correspondence he had held with *Serrano*, he persuaded the emperor *Charles* the fifth, that the *Molucca Islands* belonged to him; and confirmed his opinion from testimonies, and the authority of *Ruy Faleyro*, a *Portuguese* astronomer, and much more from that of *Serrano*ⁿ.

The Spaniards strongly bent to maintain their pretensions, accept the proposals of Magellan.

WHEN this was known in *Portugal*, several methods were proposed for preventing the execution of this scheme; great offers were made to *Magellan*, and his companion *Faleyro*, to induce them to return, but without effect: some mention was made of assassinating them; but this was either not attempted, or did not succeed^o. There were, however, no pains spared to represent publicly at court, that the sending this man was a breach of treaties; and privately, that the thing would turn to no account, for that *Magellan* was a vain bragging boasting fellow, of little courage, and a shallow capacity. It is said the emperor was not much inclined to this adventure; but the *Spanish* council, who understood such affairs better, were of a different opinion. They thought the design practicable, and had a great opinion of him who proposed it; in which they were certainly right, for no man ever conducted an enterprize of that importance better. On the tenth of *August* 1510, *Magellan* sailed from *Seville* with a squadron of five vessels, two of which were of the burden of one hundred and thirty tons, two of ninety, and the least of sixty, having on board, in all, two hundred and thirty-four men, of whom about a fourth part were *Portuguese*^p. The points he had undertaken were two: first, to find certain islands within the limits assigned to *Spain*, from whence spices might be brought; and, secondly, to find a passage to and from those islands, without violating the rights of the *Portuguese*; which if he did, his imperial majesty stipulated, that he and *Ruy Faleyro* (who, falling mad, did not go the voyage) should have an exclusive trade thither for ten years, enjoy the title of *Adelantado*, and a twentieth part of the profits for ever^q.

A succinct account of Magellan's voyage, discoveries, and death.

THE squadron making some stay at the *Canaries*, a caraval overtook them with dispatches for *Magellan*, by which he was informed, that *John de Carthagena*, and several other officers, had declared, before their departure, that they meant not to obey him, of which at that time he took no notice. It was not long before he was convinced that these officers were in that disposition, for they began to question him about the course he steered. He told them "that was his affair: that they had nothing to do but to follow his flag by day, and his lights in the night, and he would answer for the rest." When they were advanced into the south latitude of thirty-five degrees, they complained of the cold, and other hardships. *Magellan* answered, "that it was indeed cold; but that *Norway* and *Iceland* lay in higher latitudes, where the weather was consequently colder; and yet those seas were navigated, and found tolerable." He wintered in port *St. Julian's*, where the mutiny broke out; which he quelled by his wonderful presence of mind, and by a discipline necessarily severe^r. He continued his voyage from thence into and quite through the streights which have since bore his name. As soon as he was in the south seas, he held a council, in which he declared, that there was no farther doubt of there being a passage this way to the *Moluccas*. *Stephen Gomez*, the ablest pilot in the fleet, confirmed what he had said; but gave his opinion, that it would be better for them to return, because they had still a wide ocean to pass. *Magellan* answered roundly, "that he meant to prosecute the voyage, if he eat the hides that were nailed round the bottom of the mast: that they should be exposed to as little hardship going forward as backward; and that if any presumed to speak of the length of the voyage, or the quantity of the provisions, he would cause them immediately to be put to death." However, *Gomez* soon after found means to carry back the ship of which he was pilot. *Magellan*, having still with him three ships out of the five that were under his command, pursued his voyage, though himself and his people were exposed to great difficulties, till he arrived at length at the island of *Zebu*, one of the *Philippines*, as they were afterwards called, and not far from the *Moluccas*^s. He was well received by the king, who, by his persuasion, was baptized, and promised obedience to the crown of *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were well entertained here, and recovered surprisingly; but *Magellan*, engaging rashly in an action against two *Indian* princes, on behalf of

^k ARGENSOLA *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. i. CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 307, 308.

^l l. iv. c. 10.

^m l. i.

ⁿ *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. i.

^o HERRERA, *Decad. ii. l. ii. c. 3.*

^p RAMUSIO, vol. i. fol. 352.

^q HERRERA, *Decad. ii. l. vii. c. ii.*

^r *Histoire generale de Portugal*, par M. DE LA

^s EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Ephome de las Historias Portuguesas*,

^t ARGENSOLA *de Conquista de las Islas Malucas*,

^u l. ii. c. 3.

^v ARGENSOLA

- a the Christian king his friend, on the 27th of *April* 1521, was unfortunately slain¹. Other writers affirm that the Christian king betrayed and murdered him; but, however that matter might be, one of his ships, called the *VICTORY*, under the command of *Sebastian Cano*, returned safe to *Spain*, being the first vessel, at least so far as history informs us, that ever sailed round the globe² (C).

- We should not have dwelt so long upon the motives to this expedition, and the disputes which it occasioned, if it had not been to explain in what manner the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the pope's bull, found a passage into the *East Indies*; which is certainly a very material point to our purpose, and therefore we shall pursue it so far as to shew how it ended with regard to the *Moluccas*, as these were the original cause of the quarrel³. *John* the second, who was at that time king of *Portugal*, knowing perfectly well the value of those islands of which he was in possession, and being very unwilling to have a war entailed upon him in that part of the world, with the only nation in *Europe*, of whose naval force he had reason to be apprehensive, caused privately some hints to be given to the emperor, that, upon a treaty of accommodation, he might possibly acquire a considerable sum of money⁴. This was after two treaties that had been set on foot for an amicable discussion of their titles, which, to say the truth, was no easy matter, since the *Spaniards* affirmed, that the *Portuguese* had forged charts; and the *Portuguese*, on their side, disputed the astronomical observations made by *Magellan* in his voyage; so that the commissioners appointed in 1525 and in 1526, separated, without coming to any conclusion⁵. But the insinuation before-mentioned ran so strongly in the head of a monarch whose ambition made him always necessitous, that, under pretence of the near relation between them, and his unwillingness to create uneasiness in their respective families, he resolved to drive as good a bargain with the king of *Portugal* as he could; and accordingly, *August* the twenty-second, 1529, he concluded an agreement, by which, in consideration of the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, to be paid him at several short times therein stipulated, he consented to mortgage his title, whatever it was, and to appoint commissioners for re-examining these affairs; with a proviso that he should not be at liberty to act, whatever their division might be, till he had repaid that sum⁶.

- THE *Spaniards*, who in those days were very free speakers, and did not apprehend their kings to be infallible or impeccable; were very angry with this agreement, in which, they said, the emperor had sacrificed their interests, in order to come at a sum of money he very much wanted to defray his coronation in *Italy*; yet, to shew that they meant something more than clamour, they offered an expedient, which, according to their notions, might reconcile his private and his public interests; which was, that the *Cortes*, or parliament of *Castile*, should pay the money advanced by the king of *Portugal*, for which the emperor should make them a grant of the *Moluccas* for six years, during which the staple for spices should be fixed at *Coruna*; and, after the expiration of that term, the emperor should be again at full liberty to dispose of that trade as he pleased. But his imperial majesty, either from particular reasons, or from a point of honour, because he knew the king of *Portugal* relied upon the treaty he had concluded, rejected the proposal, and ordered a fleet ready to sail to the *Moluccas* to be disarmed⁷.

¹ RAMUSIO, vol. i. fo. 361.

History of this Controversy in EDEN's Book of Travayle.

Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 11.

Islas Malucas, l. i.

² ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

³ See the

⁴ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las

⁵ EDEN's History of Travayle.

⁶ ARGENSOLA Conquista de las

⁷ Histoire generale d'Espagne, tom. v. p. 196. ARGENSOLA, l. i.

(C) As there are various accounts of *Magellan's* voyage, some written by *Spanish*, some by *Portuguese*, and some by *Italian* authors, so they differ very much about the facts which they deliver; but as our business here is only to give a short and plain account of what regards the time and manner of his discovery, we did not think it necessary to enter into a long detail of these differences, which indeed are little or nothing to our purpose; for, whether he arrived first at one island, or at another in this *Archipelago*, is not of any great moment, since it is allowed on all hands, that he was the first *European* who visited them; and, by coming thither by another passage than that of the *Cape of Good Hope*, fully performed his contract with the crown of *Spain*, and

completed also the great design of *Columbus*, which was, reaching the *East Indies* by a west course; demonstrating the truth of that position, which he had laid down as the basis of his discoveries, that the globe was invested by the ocean, and that it was possible to sail round it (5). By this enterprise of *Magellan's* it appeared, that the line of demarcation was founded in reason, though the ambition of princes rendered it ineffectual, because it has been always found an easy thing, in such cases, to dispute about computations, each party having, or pretending to have, direct proofs that such islands or countries, as they desire to possess, are within the limits prescribed by treaties.

(5) *Essai sur la Marine, et sur la Commerce*, p. 8.

S E C T. II.

The settlement and conquest of the Philippine or Manila islands; the methods taken to fortify and secure them, and the dangers to which they were exposed on every side from open and avowed, as well as from secret and sinister enemies.

The islands now called the Philippines, how, by whom, and at what time, discovered.

THIS agreement deprived Spain of the *Moluccas* during the remainder of that and some part of the succeeding reign; but then, together with the rest of the dominions of Portugal in all parts of the world, they fell under the power of Philip the second,^b; yet, notwithstanding this sudden loss of what had been so lately found, the discovery of *Magellan* proved of very great consequence to the crown of Spain, not only as it opened a new passage to the *South Seas*, but as it made way for the subjecting a great number of rich islands to the crown of Spain, and might be attended with still farther advantages (D). *Ferdinand Magellan*, coming in sight of a small part of these islands on the day dedicated by the Church of Rome to the memory of St. *Lazarus*, called so many of them as he saw the *Archipelago de St. Lazaro*^c. It was so long after his discovery as the year 1543 before we hear of any Spanish squadron being sent thither; and then *Don Lopez de Villalobos* came thither, and took a view of some of the most considerable islands, giving them, as some say, the name of the *Philippines*, in honour of the Infant Don Philip, then prince of Spain^d; but others affirm, that they were not so called till the Adelantado Michael Lopez de Legaspi came in 1564, when King Philip was actually on the throne, in order to reduce them in earnest. He first subdued the island of *Zebu*, and others in its neighbourhood, which were then called the *Pintado's*, on account of their being inhabited by naked *Indians*, whose bodies were strangely painted. In doing this he spent no less than six years; and being then informed, that there were countries much better worth his arms, he in some measure abandoned those that had already submitted; and collected all his force, that he might undertake his new expedition with greater probability and certainty^e.

The reduction of Luzon, or Luzon, and the raising Manila to the rank of a metropolis.

WHEN he had placed a small garrison in *Zebu*, and made the best dispositions he could for the preservation of that and the adjacent islands, he embarked all his forces, and went over to possess himself *Luzon*, or, as it is pronounced, *Luzon*, one hundred and fifty leagues from *Zebu*. He fought the barbarians, who, after the first surprise caused by arms, ships, and countenances, differing from theirs, was over, defended themselves bravely. Legaspi ran into a bay four leagues over at the mouth, where is an island now called *Marivelez*. The bay runs thirty leagues up to the city of *Manila*, and is eight leagues over, lying north-west and south-east. The inhabitants of this city opposed him with more bravery than the *Pintadoes*, because they had cannon and a fort; but, as soon as they saw that taken by the *Spaniards*, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously, that the people from the country had not time to come in; and thus he entered *Manila*, which, from what follows, will appear to be a place strong by nature^f. At a point of it, which is shut in by the waters of the bay, a considerable river empties itself, which rises in the great lake called *Babi*, five leagues distant. This point, which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the sea-coast runs away to the south-south-east, and the river west, leaving a most spacious plain for the city, which is all encompassed with water, except that part which lies to the south-west. Legaspi then built it of wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The roofs he covered or thatched

^b EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. v. c. 7. vol. i. fo. 356.
de las Islas Filipinas.

^d Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^e PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 284.

^c RAMUSIO.
^f Relac.

(D) The very best Spanish writers are very far from being distinct or explicit in settling the bounds of these *Archipelagi*, which amongst geographers occasions a good deal of confusion. To prevent this as far as we may, it will be best to treat this matter rationally and historically. It is most probable that *Magellan* intended to include in his *Archipelago* of St. *Lazarus* all the islands that he conceived to be on the Spanish side of the line of partition; and consequently this took in the *Ladrones* on one side, and the *Moluccas* on the other; but this name is now grown almost into disuse. The *Philippines* are now understood to be those islands in the Indian ocean belonging to the crown of Spain (6), and are divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Philippines*, which will

be hereafter described, and the *New Philippines*, discovered about the beginning of the present century, and of which we have but very imperfect accounts. As for the *Ladrones*, or *Marian Islands*, they lie between the two continents of *Asia* and *America*, are under the dominion of the crown of Spain; and, from being very populous, are many of them become desert. These Spanish islands taken all together, are very numerous; some writers swell the account to eleven thousand (7); but that serves rather to confound than to explain things: our business lies only with such as are well known and inhabited; and these, in comparison of the rest, are but a very few, as the reader will be informed at large within the compass of this chapter.

(6) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de las Rios Coronel. in Sobrino's Spanish Dictionary.

(7) See the word *Philippinas*

a with the leaves of *Nipa*, which is like sedge, or sword-grass, and a sufficient fence against the rains; but combustible, and the occasion of great conflagrations, which have often happened. One would have imagined that in process of time, this inconvenience might have been removed; and very probably it had, if the inhabitants were not sensible, that, in freeing themselves from this, they should run into a greater; for, the country being very subject to earthquakes, strong and well built houses would frequently become the tombs of those who lived in them; and therefore to this time the upper stories are only built of wood, though they want not better materials^a.

b We have but indifferent memoirs of the history of the *Philippines*, even in the *Spanish* writers; neither would it be necessary, or even suitable to our purpose, if we were better supplied, to enter into a regular detail of affairs; and therefore we shall mention only some remarkable and less known passages, and then proceed to a description of the dominions of the crown of *Spain*, in this part of the world, the extent, importance, and commerce of which, are, generally speaking, but very imperfectly understood (E). The *Chinese* were formerly masters of all these islands, as their own historians relate; but finding their empire in danger of breaking to pieces by its bulk, they slighted these, and many other frontier provinces; upon this judicious maxim, that a smaller country, well peopled, and well cultivated, was better able to support its government, and receive the benefits of a wise and just administration, than a vast empire, the extremities of which, from their very situation, must be exposed to frequent and inevitable calamities^b. But, notwithstanding the island of *Luzon*, or *Luzon*, was no longer under the dominion of this nation, yet many thousands of *Chinese* were settled there, when *Legaspi* made himself master of the capital, most of which retired to their own country afterwards, but continued to keep up their trade, and, at the proper seasons of the year, came thither in vast fleets^c. The *Japanese* also pretended to have a claim upon this country^d; so that the *Spaniards* found themselves on every side surrounded by enemies; and, instead of meeting with any relief from King *Philip's* adding the territories of *Portugal* to their own, they found it a dead weight upon them, more burdensome, and more expensive, than all the difficulties they had to struggle with before, and which made these islands less considered by the *Spanish* government than formerly.

d It is very strange, that the *Spaniards* have never maintained any direct correspondence with *Luzon*, or the rest of the islands dependent upon it; but have constantly sent their governors, forces, and military stores, intended for the support of these islands, to *New Spain*. This, no doubt, is founded upon some maxim of policy, with which we are not acquainted; but it is evidently productive of many mischiefs, and is one great cause why so many rich and noble countries yield so little to the crown of *Spain*. Their welfare depends, and always did, on the good or bad qualities of those who are sent to govern it. The first who put it into such a state of defence, as freed them from all apprehensions of falling the victims of any sudden invasion, was *Gomez Perez de las Marinnas*, knight of the order of Saint *Jago*, or St. *James* the Apostle, a person of high reputation^e. He arrived at the *Philippines* in the year 1590, and brought with him his son Don *Lewis*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*.

e The new governor found *Manila* open, without any form of a city, and the inhabitants, in general, without the wealth necessary to improve it. Above two hundred thousand pieces of eight were wanting for this purpose, which he presently undertook; and though it seemed impracticable, yet he compassed the work, by several contrivances, without any damage to the public, or to private persons. He monopolized cards; laid penalties on excessive gaming; punished such as forestalled the markets, and victuallers, and other retailers, that were guilty of frauds. With these fines he built the walls of *Manila*, which are twelve

These islands formerly possessed by the Chinese, and claimed also by Japan.

Put into a good state of defence, by the wisdom of a public-spirited governor.

Don Gomez Perez de las Marinnas having adjusted domestic affairs, meditates greater things.

^a Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, l. iv. c. 2.

^b Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

CORONEL.

^c Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS

^d PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 283.

(E) It often happens, as a very judicious writer of our own nation observes, that the genius of a single minister, thoroughly attentive to the interest of a great monarchy, strikes out sudden advantages from things overlooked or neglected for whole ages before. This will, some time or other, be the case, with respect to the countries the *Spaniards* possess in the *East Indies*, hitherto little regarded by them, and therefore strangely slighted by most of those who have hitherto treated this subject. A late *French* author, who has given the world a very entertaining, and a very instructive history of the *Indies*, bestows but a page or two upon the *Philippines*, and has not so much as named the *Spaniards* amongst the nations car-

rying on a trade to the *East Indies* (8). Yet, when the reader has considered this section, we doubt not of his being of our opinion, that whenever the court of *Madrid* pays a serious regard to her national interests, she will find it no difficult thing to convince the world, that her dominions in *Asia* are in reality very considerable, and capable of such improvements, as may render them very little inferior in value to that vast empire which she possesses in *America*; since their appearing hitherto of so little importance has been intirely owing to the advantages that might be reaped from their being not thoroughly understood.

(8) *Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 231.

thousand eight hundred forty-nine geometrical feet in compass^m. He applied himself dili- a gently to this work, the inhabitants being willing to forward it, on the intreaties, and from this example, of their chief. The city had but one fort, and that ill-built, he erected another at the mouth of the river, calling it *Saint Iago*, and repaired the old one. He finished the cathedral, and built from the ground the church of *Saint Potenciana*, patroness of the island. Then he applied himself to casting heavy and small cannon; built gallies, to cruise and trade, on which depends the welfare of those countries; and, pursuant to what he had promised in *Spain*, bent his thoughts towards the reduction of *Ternate*, and all the *Moluccas*; reflected on the unfortunate expeditions of his predecessors, who attempted the conquest of that flourishing kingdom, and how he might punish those who tyrannized in it; which project of his, calculated chiefly to gratify the desires of the court of *Spain*, had b a very unfortunate catastrophe, notwithstanding all this nobleman's care and circum-spectionⁿ (F).

His unfor-
tunate expedi-
tion for the re-
covery of the
Moluccas, in
which he pe-
rished.

THIS governor, who had been hitherto admired and adored by the inhabitants, found himself, of a sudden, suspected and disliked. The people began to apprehend, by his pre- parations, that he had such an expedition in view, and this it was that lost him their confi- dence. He had therefore recourse to art; pretending sometimes, that he had intelligence of great designs formed by the *Chinese*; at others, that they were in danger from *Japan*; and, under colour of these false alarms, he increased his land forces, built a greater number of gal- lies, and provided every thing that he thought necessary, not only for the complete con- quest of the *Moluccas*, but for the maintaining and defending them against any enemies c whatever^o. When this formidable fleet came to put to sea, it was found that men were wanting to row the gallies; which obliged the governor to have recourse to the *Chinese*, and of these, partly by promises, partly by pay, he gained a great number; yet not enough for his purpose, and therefore at last, he had recourse to force. *October* the 17th, 1593, he sailed with his whole squadron, having on board about three thousand soldiers, exclusive of seamen, and such as rowed in the gallies. On board his own galley, there were two hundred and fifty *Chinese*, and fourscore *Spaniards*. The former rose, in a dark night, upon the latter, murdered them all, except two, and carried off the vessel^p. This put an end to the expedition, and, in that respect, was fortunate to the *Spaniards*; for his son, Don *Lewis*, returning to *Luzon*, was hardly settled in the government, before a numerous d *Chinese* fleet arrived, under the conduct of several mandarins. They gave but a very dark account of their business; but it quickly appeared, that, having intelligence of the expedition against the *Moluccas*, they apprehended the conquest of *Luzon* would be easy, as, if that ex- pedition had taken effect, no doubt it had proved; but perceiving the army and the fleet returned, and the people highly enraged at the treachery of their countrymen, they judged it best to withdraw^q.

The city of
Manila in the
utmost danger
of being de-
stroyed, by the
interruption of
the Chinese.

AFTER such an escape, one would imagine succeeding governors might have taken warning; but either their own ambition was so great, or the orders received from *Spain* so precise, that they went on in the same track, and were continually hazarding the *Philip- pines*, in hopes of recovering the *Moluccas* from the *Dutch*, so long as *Portugal* continued e annexed to the crown of *Spain*, neither were they free from the other inconveniency, pro- duced from the avarice and negligence of their governors, who, for the sake of the high duties they imposed on them, suffered too many of the *Chinese* to remain in the suburbs, notwithstanding the terrible consequences with which this piece of false policy has been attended^r. Thus in the time when Don *Pedro de Acuna* was governor, who had been extremely kind to these people, and was thought to be beloved by them, some mandarins came from *China*, under a very frivolous pretence, but in reality, to persuade their country- men to revolt, and to furnish them with arms, the governor being, at that time, intent upon

^m Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.
par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. liv. i. c. 9.

ⁿ Tour du Monde,

^o Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

^p ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. ix.

^q Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

^r Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

(F) The very best account we have of these islands, allowing for the time in which they were written, are the memorials transmitted to the *Spanish* court, some of which have been printed at *Mexico*. but are become ex- cessively scarce, and others are only to be found in manu- script, in the cabinets of the curious. So many of these as we could possibly obtain have been made use of, and are cited through the course of this chapter; but, it is highly probable, there are pieces of a fresher date, still

more curious, and of greater importance, that the *Spanish* ministers have not thought fit to divulge, for reasons of state, amongst which, perhaps, may be reckon- ed the concealing their own ignorance and negligence. It is, however, never too late to mend; and, from some books on the subject of trade, lately printed in that kingdom, there are good grounds to believe, that, be- fore the close of the current century, there will be great alterations in the *Spanish* politics in this respect.

a a new expedition'. On the feast of *St. Francis*, or rather the night preceding it, the *Chinese* attacked the city, with the utmost fury, putting to death, without mercy, all that came in their way. The rebellion was general, and the dispute lasted many days; but, at length, the *Japanese*, and other strangers, as well as natives of the island, coming in to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, the *Chinese* were reduced, or rather extirpated, there being killed, in less than three weeks, upwards of twenty-five thousand; and all the large suburb that they inhabited was burnt to the ground, and therein perished all sorts of rich goods, to an immense value'.

In a short time afterwards, came several mandarins from *China*, who expostulated roundly with the governor, about what had happened to their countrymen; affirming, that they were not the aggressors, but that they were attacked and murdered by the *Spaniards*, for the sake of plundering four hundred shops, and possessing themselves of the substance of eight thousand families; for which, in the name of the emperor of *China*, they demanded ample satisfaction, with threats of sending an army on board a thousand sail of vessels, in case what they demanded was refused". Don *Pedro* answered the ambassadors, that these were notorious falsehoods: that four or five thousand *Chinese*, indeed, died innocently, having no hand in the insurrection; but that they were killed by their countrymen: for that very reason, that he had spared as many as could be spared, and had sent them on board the galleys; but if they had a mind to carry them to *China*, they might: and that as to the money and effects of the deceased rebels, they were not plundered, but safely laid up, which might be restored to their heirs, if they could be found, or, otherwise, laid out in works of charity. These excuses were either accepted, or the loss was, in comparison of the profits by this trade, so little regarded, that, in the *April* following, the *Chinese* fleet was as numerous as ever, and the suburb was quickly filled again with inhabitants. A short time after this, one of the most powerful princes of *Japan* sent over an ambassador to Don *Pedro*, with rich presents, and instructions to demand some persons capable of building him ships, and casting cannon; which, as might have been expected, he refused, though with all the civility possible, and yet not without giving great offence".

The same governor Don *Pedro de Acuna*, had also the honour of achieving, what had been the ruin of his predecessors, the reduction of the *Moluccas*. He received his Catholic Majesty's command upon this subject, together with a considerable supply of vessels, troops, and military stores, from *New Spain*, in the year 1605; notwithstanding which, he very much apprehended the success of this undertaking; but being informed that the *Dutch* were entirely masters of those islands; that they had a considerable fleet, and were preparing to attack him in the *Philippines*, he quickly changed his sentiments*. These informations being laid before the principal persons, both of the clergy and laity, they became as eager, and as industrious, in promoting this enterprise, as they had been backward and dilatory upon all like occasions, in times past. In the beginning of *January*, 1606, Don *Pedro* sailed with a numerous fleet, having upwards of three thousand men on board, and a good train of artillery. He found the *Dutch* and the natives perfectly well agreed, and in a good condition to receive him; notwithstanding which, he attacked the island of *Ternate*, and, with the assistance of the king of *Tydoor*, reduced it, and, in a small space of time, the whole *Moluccas*. He carried back with him, amongst the prisoners taken in this expedition, the king of *Ternate*, his son, and twenty-four persons of the first distinction, with whom he entered in triumph, into the capital city of his government, on the tenth of *June*. But he had not much time to enjoy the pleasure this success gave him, since some base people, who envied and hated him, caused him to be poisoned, of which he died, *July* the 3d, 1606, to the great detriment of the *Spanish* nation' (G).

IN

* ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ix.

ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ix.

DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ix.

Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

Malucas, l. x.

† GEMELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde, l. iv.

‡ Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN

* Relac de las

† ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas

(G) We have followed, in what is related in the text, the authorities of the best *Spanish* writers, who are unanimous in bestowing the highest praises upon Don *Pedro de Acuna*, and in celebrating the success that attended his enterprise. Yet the memoirs we have mentioned speak somewhat a different language; they say, that he was to blame in suffering the *Dutch* to remain in possession of *Amboyna*, were they soon fortified themselves so, as not to be driven out; and, receiving fresh supplies from *Holland*, quickly recovered all that he had taken from them. It is further alleged, that he failed

very much in his duty, in not leaving some galleys to protect the *Moluccas*, and hinder the *Dutch* from fortifying themselves at *Amboyna*, which they might have done, as those vessels draw but little water, and the *Dutch* fortifications were all upon the coast. As for the captive king of *Ternate*, he was very well used, so long as Don *Pedro* lived; but in the time of his successor, Don *Juan de Silva*, he was thrust into a close prison, and so little care taken of him, that his body suffered from the inclemency of the weather, and he would have absolutely starved for want of subsistence, if he had not procured

*Advantages
by which the
Dutch were
enabled to
drive out the
Spaniards.*

In the space, however, of a few years, things were in as bad a condition as ever; and this, notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippines*, at which the reader will not at all wonder, when he considers, that the people under this government undertook these expeditions unwillingly; that the *Portuguese* were very indifferent as to their success; that the *Dutch* had the advantage of numbers, and of being better and sooner supplied; and that, not knowing as yet what masters they would make, the natives, in general, were there firm and faithful allies. These frequent miscarriages begetting continual complaints and never-ceasing demands from the *Philippines*, it was debated in the councils of *Philip* the Third, as it had been in those of *Philip* the Second, whether it might not be for the advantage of the *Spanish* monarchy to quit the *Philippines* intirely, and leave them to be occupied by any other nation, or to return again into the hands of their old masters the *Chinese* (H).

*Arguments
urged in the
Spanish coun-
cil for aban-
doning the
Moluccas.*

AMONGST many reasons offered in support of this opinion, these were not the least persuasive: "That the *Philippines*, though noble countries themselves, and such as might well excite a desire in another *European* nation to become possessed of them, were, nevertheless, nothing, when compared to the vast dominions already in the possession of the crown of *Spain*; and therefore, instead of meanness of spirit, it would argue magnanimity in his Catholic Majesty, to take this resolution; that the dominions of the crown were already of such a vast extent, and so separated and divided, that the monarchy suffered from its own weight, and could recover no otherwise than by contracting its forces nearer to its centre; that, in respect to the *Philippines*, these arguments were the more conclusive, since, instead of contributing towards the general expence of government, they were a constant burden upon *New Spain*, swallowing up annually vast quantities of silver; which being exported to *China*, from whence it could never return, was in effect digging it at a great charge, then transporting it with no small one; and all this to throw it again into the mine; that the sparing these annual draughts, withdrawing the garrisons, and disposing properly of the forces, that were in the *Philippines*, might be of great consequence to the rest of his dominions; and that, finally, these were arguments agreeable to common sense, and founded in facts that could not be denied; whereas all that could be urged against them, was, in effect, no more than idle words, pompous sounds, and the language of men led away by vain notions of grandeur, which serve only to beggar private persons, and bring great states to ruin."

*Answers
given to these
reasons, which
occasioned lay-
ing that mo-
tion aside.*

To these motives, which were chiefly urged by the *Italians* and *Flemings*, there was far from being a general concurrence given, even before the sentiments of the king were known; for, the debate being intirely free, all spoke their opinions without reserve, that the king and his ministers might judge. The old *Spanish* counsellors answered, "that no conclusion could be drawn to the prejudice of any part of the *Spanish* monarchy, by comparing it with the whole, because at this rate every province might be attacked, and all by degrees, and the expediency of quitting them insisted upon; since, no doubt, whatever they threw away others would pick up; and that, if his majesty had a mind to try the experiment, he might do it with the jewels of his crown at a cheaper rate than with the dominions descending to him from his ancestors; that with respect to the wide compass of the king's dominions, it was true the sun never outwent them in his journey, and that the bounds of his territories and of the world were the same; but that, as these were acquired by the wisdom and power of his royal predecessors, so, with the exercise of like prudence, they might be kept; that it was not the distance of countries, but the dismal effects of

^z Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas, à l'Illustrissimo y Reverendissimo Senor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, del Consejo de su Majestad en el Real de las Indias, Obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, por Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON, Procurador General de las Islas Filipinas, Agente del Principado de Cataluna, y Sindico de la Ciudad de Barcelona.

^a ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.

cured wherewith to keep him alive, by begging; which, our author says, was highly scandalous to his Catholic Majesty, considering, that the power of his monarch was once so formidable, as to strike terror through all the adjacent islands (9).

(H) If, from the time the *Philippines* were first settled, they had not been continually burdened with the protection of the *Moluccas*, and thereby engaged in a perpetual war with the *Dutch*, they would, in all probability, have been effectually planted, and the *Spanish* inhabitants, gradually increasing, would have applied themselves to making the most of the mines, and other natural riches,

with which they abound; but being continually diverted from their labours, and forced to be at a great expence in offensive and defensive wars, they were kept always poor, and always craving, which brought a very undeserved odium upon these islands, and furnished those pretences for exciting his Catholic Majesty to abandon them, of which the reader has a full account in the text; and from whence it will sufficiently appear, that it is much easier for ignorant and indolent ministers to misrepresent distant colonies, than by taking pains about them, to make them advantageous to their mother country (10).

(9) *Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. Don Juan Grau y Montfalcon.*

(10) *Justification, &c. par*

- a “ weak administrations, that made empires seem too large; and that, if the king would
 “ contract his views at home, he might easily defend his dominions abroad: that, as to those
 “ large sums, sent annually from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*, it was an apparent charge,
 “ but might not be a real one, since the gold sent back was equal in value to the silver;
 “ and if this was more useful in the *Philippines*, and that better liked in *America*, there was
 “ no cause the king should throw away vast countries to prevent people exchanging a white
 “ metal for a yellow; but if there was a loss, it ought not to be ascribed to the *Philippines*,
 “ but to the extraordinary services which the crown had expected from the inhabitants; that
 “ whatever might be advanced to the prejudice of these settlements, they were discovered at
 “ the expence, and established by the labours, of the *Spanish* nation; and it was hard they
 b “ should be given away either to preserve what the *Portuguese* once possessed, and now
 “ despised, or to furnish money for a war in *Europe* which had already exhausted both the
 “ blood and treasure of *Spain*; and that these were not empty words, or flowers of rhetoric,
 “ but the antient maxims of the crown of *Castile*; maxims by which the glory of the king,
 “ and the interest of his subjects, might be maintained: whereas that strain of politics, which
 “ confined all to *Europe*, must be necessarily mean and poor, since it prompted the king to
 “ sink much below what he was, and to throw away the *Indies*, from the absurd hopes of
 “ compassing projects which he could not accomplish with all the wealth that they had brought
 “ him.” King *Philip* the Second added, and his son adhered to his father’s reasons, “ that
 “ he would not abandon the *Philippines*, because, since they came into his possession, there
 c “ had been half a million of souls converted to the Christian religion: that if the silver of
 “ *New Spain* was employed to protect those new converts, it could not be better bestowed:
 “ that to quit these provinces, was to abandon vast countries and many nations to idolatry;
 “ and that, after having wasted so many millions in opposing heresy, it would very ill
 “ become a Catholic prince to endeavour the making some small savings expence of
 “ Christianity”.

S E C T. III.

A particular account of the name, situation, extent, climate, produce, natural and civil history, of Luçon, the principal island among the Philippines; together with an exact detail of the government ecclesiastical and civil, and whatever else is any way remarkable as to the country or its inhabitants; from whence its great wealth and singular importance to the crown of Spain fully appear.

- d **A** *Spanish* historian, who has written largely upon this subject by the command of his Catholic Majesty, and from the very best memoirs, after applauding the judgment of the two kings, makes this remark, *That if the Philippines had been abandoned, the Moluccas had been certainly saved*. He did not foresee, that, if it had been so, the *Moluccas* as well as the *Philippines* would have been lost to the crown of *Spain*, and that therefore the wisdom of their Catholic Majesties has been fully justified by the event. It is true, that, since the separation of the crowns of *Portugal* and *Spain*, the governors of the *Philippines* have applied themselves more to the proper business of their charge, which however they have found sufficient to exercise their utmost abilities; insomuch that the best writers agree, that their power is not owned at all in the tenth part of the islands which compose that numerous
 e archipelago: and that not a twelfth part of the people have submitted to them, even in those islands of which they are possessed. Yet, all things considered, this may be well excused; for, having no direct communication with *Spain*, lying at such a vast distance from *Mexico*, on the viceroy of which the government of the *Philippines* depends, and having so many concerns of different kinds to exercise his thoughts, it is no ways strange that the person intrusted with the supreme power here is not able, though he holds the reigns of government a long time, to do much towards reforming the evils that have grown by degrees, or attempting any good in a place where of necessity many of his hours must be employed in providing for his own safety. The removing these obstacles, to his doing what ought to be done for the king’s service, is the business of the ministry.
 f **I**n order to justify what has been advanced, and to dispel that cloud of uncertainties which the differing opinions of various writers have thrown upon this subject, which in itself is infinitely more curious and entertaining; more useful and more instructive, and of far greater consequence, than is commonly imagined; we will first give as clear an account as may be of the principal island, its capital, and whatever else is remarkable therein; after which, we

An account of the method and intention of the remaining part of this chapter.

b DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTEALCON Justification, &c. * ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.
 c D. F. NAYARETTE Tratado historico de la monarchia de China.

will proceed to the government ecclesiastic and civil; and this will open the way to speak of the dependencies of this government, and of the many islands that are subject to, or dependent upon, it; we will then discuss the famous point of the annual ship that traverses the vast *Atlantic* ocean, from the port of *Manila* to that of *Acapulco*; and conclude with some remarks upon the commerce of the *Spanish East Indies*, and what grounds there are to suppose that it may gradually increase or decay; whence the reader may form a better judgement of the *Spanish East Indies* than could be easily made by the perusal of any book yet extant in our own or in any other language; since we may venture to affirm, that there is hardly any point of general history that has been so little considered as this, and we shall therefore esteem ourselves happy if we can bring the materials relating to it into any tolerable order (I).

The sense and etymology of the name of Luzon, or Luçon, the largest of these islands.

THE principal island of the whole archipelago is called *Luçon*, or *Luçon*, from the name imposed by its inhabitants, which is pronounced *Luçon*; the *Spaniards* call it *Manilla*, or, as it is generally written, *Manila*, from its capital. As for the etymology of its antient name, it stands thus: The people of this and of the adjacent islands lived chiefly upon rice, which they were accustomed to bruise before they either boiled or baked it; in order to this, they made use of wooden mortars about eight inches over, and sometimes they had two or three of these cut out of the same piece of wood, which they set before the doors, that so many persons might beat rice for the family together: such a mortar they called *Luzon*, and, in the plural number, *Luzones*; so that from this particular usage they derived the name, meaning to express thereby the island where the people bruise their corn in mortars*. As for the *Spanish* name *Manilla*, it signifies properly a bracelet, but is supposed to have been applied to this island from a notion, very indifferently founded, that it was antiently so called by *Ptolemy*†. As to its situation, it is remarkably happy, having the continent of *China* on the north, at the distance of about sixty leagues; the famous island of *Japan* to the north-east; the sea between them, of the breadth of two hundred and fifty leagues; on the east it has no other boundary than the ocean; to the south lie the rest of the islands of this great archipelago, the number of which, great and small, some affirm to be eleven hundred; on the west lie *Malacca*, *Patana*, *Siam*, *Camboja*, *Cochinchina*, and other provinces of *India*, the nearest at the distance of three hundred leagues‡ (K).

* GEMELLI CARERI *Tour du Monde*, l. iv. c. vi. mistake.

† Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

‡ CABRERA, lib. vii. cap. 8. p. 422. but certainly a

(I) We could have inserted a great many other particulars relating to these islands, of which there is hardly any notice taken by those who have hitherto described them; but the nature of this work, and the necessity of keeping within bounds, obliged us to be content with inserting only so much as might render our account of the present state of the *Philippines* clear and intelligible. The *Dutch* as might be naturally expected, before the conclusion of their peace with *Spain*, made several attempts upon this country, but without any greater success than taking sometimes rich prizes, and at others plundering towns and villages upon the coast by surprise (11). If the memorials we have so often mentioned had been regarded; if due care had been taken in the choice of governors; if they had been enabled to build and keep in pay a competent fleet of galleys, and had entered into an alliance with the king of *Macaſſur*, and some of the *Indian* monarchs on the continent, as the patriots in these islands proposed; and, above all, if they had excluded the *Chinese*, and suffered other nations to trade openly and freely at *Manila*; they had long ago made a much better figure than they do now: for though there is, and has been always a vast commerce carried on here, yet, being contraband and clandestine, it has never turned to the general benefit of the people, as it might have otherwise done, but has filled the coffers of their governors, and other persons in power, who, at their departure, found means to carry it from thence, though but very few have been so lucky as to get it safe home (12).

(K) It may not be amiss to put the reader in mind here, that the eleven hundred islands above mentioned refer to the *Philippines*, and not to the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, which, as has been observed, is supposed to contain ten times as many; but however we do not make

ourselves accountable for either computation. It is not impossible, that, considering the received opinion of the island's resembling an arm, there may be some allusion thereto in giving the name of *Manila*, or a *Bracelet*, to the capital, as fancies of this kind are very confirmable to the *Spanish* genius. All the writers of voyages agree, that, from the port, this city has a most agreeable appearance; and that the better sort of the inhabitants live, as far as the climate will permit, in great plenty and magnificence; though in some respects this is not very acceptable to *Europeans*, who are apt to treat as idle and ridiculous every system of folly but their own. Yet some there are who affirm, that it is not the beauty of the town that induced the *Spaniards* to call it *the Bracelet*, but quite the contrary: that the *Indians* themselves called the spot of ground *Mainila*, that is, a *Morass*, which the *Spaniards* called *Manila*, preserving the sound as near as they could (13). In the same manner we are told, that the name which the *Spaniards* give to a *Chinese*, *Sangley*, is derived from a mistake made by themselves the first time the *Chinese* came among them; for, inquiring of each of them, as they met them, who they were, and whence they came, they constantly answered *Xang-lai*, which therefore they understood to be the name of their country, or of their profession; whereas the *Chinese* apprehended they asked them why they came thither, and therefore answered, *Xang-lai*, *We come to trade*. It is farther asserted, that the name of the island *Luzon* is taken from the *Chinese*, who call this country *Liu-zun* (14); but as those words are very differently written, and as we are not told the import of them in the *Chinese* language, it is not at all improbable that they derived this name from that of the natives, which, as we have shewn, signifies a kind of mortar.

(11) See some account of these in the next chapters.

(12) D. Juan Grau y Montfalcon *Justification*, &c.

(13) D. F. Navarrete *Tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*, lib. i. cap. 1.

(14) The *Chinese* in like

manner call *America*, in their own language, *Ya-me-li-kia*, which at first sight looks like another word, but in truth is the same, as well expressed as their orthography will permit.

- a THE middle of the island is in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, the east point in thirteen degrees thirty minutes, and the most northern point is in the latitude of nineteen degrees. The shape of it is said to resemble that of an arm bent, but it is very unequal in compass. The eastern point, running into the ocean, is not above a day's journey over; but in the northern part it is, where narrowest, between thirty and forty leagues from sea to sea. The whole length is about one hundred and sixty *Spanish* leagues, and the circumference is about three hundred and fifty, at the elbow of this arm, looking towards the south-east, a large river falls into the sea, and makes a noble bay thirty leagues in compass, to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Babia*, because the river runs out of the great lake *Babi*, which lies at the distance of about six leagues behind it^b. *In situation and extent*
- b THESE points are settled from the best authorities that could be procured, and more especially from a *Dutch* map, drawn at a time when they had some views upon these islands, and were for that reason most likely to be as accurate in their descriptions and draughts as possible. In respect to the longitude there are great variations, occasioned chiefly by the disputes which *Magellan* raised in order to justify his scheme. If the map before-mentioned may be depended upon, the middle of the island lies in the longitude of one hundred and thirteen degrees east from *London*; which however does not very well agree with *Magellan's* chart, according to which it should lie in the longitude of one hundred and sixty degrees from the famous line settled by the courts of *Castile* and *Portugal*, for the division of their discoveries^c. It is allowed, that this is not a matter now of any great importance, if we except the knowledge of the truth of things, which is always of importance; and with respect to which, those who read for information and instruction, and not merely from curiosity or amusement, will be always solicitous. *Magellan* asserted, that his charts were settled from astronomical observations; and, according to him, all the countries to the east of the peninsula of *Malacca* were within the bounds of *Spain*, upon which the title of the *Spaniards* to all that they possess in the *East Indies* is grounded, that is with regard to the crown of *Portugal*; for, as to the other princes, and states of *Europe*, they have as little to do with these treaties as with the pope's bull, to which no reverence can be expected but from princes in communion with the church of *Rome*; and from what has been said it appears, that even by them they have not been very scrupulously regarded; if they had, none of these disputes would have happened^d. *The longitude of this island from the Dutch charts, and from those of Magellan.*
- c As to the climate of *Manila*, it is, as might be expected, hot and moist; yet we are assured by a native of *Italy*, who was certainly the best judge, that the heat is not so violent there as in the dog-days at *Naples*^e. The moisture is occasioned by the vast abundance of waters of all sorts; wells, lakes, springs, rivulets, and great rivers; and the sun being in their zenith twice a year, that is in *May* and in *August*, it may be easily conceived that the vapours raised must be very copious and humid. One thing is held very extraordinary, that in stormy weather there is much lightning and rain, and that thunder is seldom heard till this is over. During the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and part of *September*, the west and south winds blow, which they call *Vendavales*, bringing such rains and storms that the fields are all overflowed, and they are forced to have little boats to go from one place to another. From *October* till the middle of *December* the north wind prevails; and from that time till *May* the east and east-south-east, which winds are there called breezes. Thus there are two seasons in those seas, by the *Portuguese* called *Monzoens*, whence our word *Monsoons*, that is the breezes half the year, with a serene dry air; and the *Vendavales* the other half, wet and stormy^f. It is further to be observed, that in this climate no vermin breed upon *Europeans*, though they wear dirty shirts, whereas it is otherwise with the *Indians*. In this country the weather can never be said to be cold, for the cause before assigned, and because the days and nights are there always of an equal length; for which reason at *Manila* they never change the hour of dining, supping, doing, business, studying, or praying; or their cloaths, or wear cloth, but only against the rain^g. *The climate of Manila, its advantage, and disadvantages, and the age of the inhabitants.*
- d THE air, being here, as has been said, very hot and moist, is not wholesome, and hinders digestion, yet is worse for young men that come from *Europe* than for the old: Providence, however, has obviated this inconveniency in a very great degree, by furnishing the natives with provisions easy of digestion. They use no other bread but rice, but that not so nourishing as what we have in *Europe*. The great dews that fall in fair weather is one of the principal causes why hardly any season can be called wholesome; but as it is perceived that the higher grounds are the most healthy, so persons of distinction, and such as are wealthy, have their country houses in the mountains, to which they retire about the middle of *March*, and continue there to the end of *June*. As for the natives, without using many precautions, they live to fourscore or an hundred; but it is very rare to see an *European* above sixty,

^b GEMELLI CARERI Tour du Monde, lib. iv. c. 7. ⁱ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNANDEZ DE LOS RIOS CORONEL. ^k LUYTS Introduct. ad Geographiam, sect. iii. c. 13. ^l GEMELLI CARERI Tour du Monde, P. i. l. i. c. 10. ^m D. P. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchie de China.

unless he came there * pretty much in years; and for this reason it has been thought that few persons of great quality have accepted this government (L.).

Fertility of the soil, its produce; and by destitute of corn, tho' very capable of bearing it.

THE soil is famous throughout the *Indies* for its fertility, and that to a degree, which, if we were to insist on it particularly, would appear incredible. One observation will make it sufficiently appear: rice, which elsewhere requires much cultivation, grows in every part of this island with little or no care at all, even on the tops of the highest mountains, without being watered; and this makes it so plentiful, that the *Indians* value gold so little as not to pick it up, tho' it lies almost every-where under their feet^p. Wheat is sometimes so scarce, as to be sold for ninety pieces of eight a bushel, because they have none but what is imported; yet the soil is very capable of bearing it, as appeared by an experiment that was made, when one bushel produced one hundred and thirty (M). As for rice, which is the corn of the country, it is of different kinds, some requiring four or five months between the sowing and harvest, and some is sown and reaped within the space of forty days^q. What has been said is barely to shew how excellent a country this is in itself, notwithstanding that some writers represent it as poor, because fewer *Spaniards* return rich from thence than from any of the countries subject to his catholic majesty; which, in fact, is partly owing to the pleasantness of the place, that attracts the affections of the people, and engages them to live there; and partly from the great difficulty of returning, the very expence of which amounts to a moderate fortune, requires a great deal of time, and forces a man to pass through some of the most unwholesome places upon earth, and that too at seasons none of the most favourable^r.

But exposed, with all these advantages, to many and great inconveniences.

IT must not, however, be concluded from hence, that, with all its fertility, *Manila* is not subject to great disadvantages; the very worst of these are earthquakes, to which no country is more subject, since they are here both frequent and terrible; and next to these may be reckoned their burning mountains, of which there are several, some that throw out flames still, others that were extinguished long ago, and several that have been but lately exhausted. Notwithstanding all this, the face of the island is far from being disfigured by them, or by the consequences of their explosions (N). On the contrary, there is no soil more pleasant or fruitful: the grass grows, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit at once, all the year round, and this as well on the mountains as in the gardens; and the old leaves seldom fall before the new ones come. For this reason the *Tinguiani*, that is, mountaineers, have no particular place of abode, but always live under the shelter of the trees, which serve them instead of houses, and furnish them with food; and when the fruit is eaten up, they remove where there is a fresh sort. The orange, lemon, and other *European* trees, bear twice a year: if they plant a sprig, in a year it becomes a tree, and bears fruit^s.

The richest fruits, spices, and drugs in the Indies, are in this island:

IT is not within our intention to describe at large the produce of this rich country, since that would require a small treatise. It will answer our purpose sufficiently to observe, that the richest fruits of the *West Indies*, as well as the *East*, grow plentifully, and some that are to be

* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL. CARRERI, LUYTS.
GEMELLI CARRERI.

^q Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.

^r Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^p NAVARETTE, GEMELLI

^s D. F. NAVARETTE,

(L) This account deserves to be well considered; for though none of the writers we have met with have made the observation, yet it appears from their concurring relations, that there is a very apparent difference in stature and strength between the natives who inhabit the vallies, the sides of the mountains, and the tops of them. These last, who are absolutely free, are tall, active, and stout men; notwithstanding, as the reader will hereafter see, they fare worse, and are more exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, than any of the rest (15). There might be much said upon this subject; but the nature of this work requires, that we should satisfy ourselves with giving a short hint only, and leave the rest to the reader's own speculations.

(M) There is something so strange in this, that it looks like an absurdity; and it is for want of inquiring into points of this nature that the veracity of the best authors is frequently called in question. In the present case, the truth of the matter is this: if the *Indians*, subject to the *Spaniards*, sow corn, the governors often take it from them, for the king's use, at a low price, paid at a great distance of time, and often not at all, and therefore

they will not cultivate their ground; which affords a clear reason for scarcity being so frequently felt in this land of plenty (16).

(N) It is not at all difficult to distinguish the causes from whence these dismal effects proceed: the soil is every-where full of mineral sulphur; and the great heats having opened the body of the earth, when the rainy season comes on, the waters find an easy passage to these sulphureous veins; and, by the fermentation this occasions, earthquakes are produced, where the surface is solid and tight; and, where it is lighter and porous, the air insinuating itself, these heated vapours take fire, and are exploded with great violence, so long as the combustible materials last. It may not be amiss also to observe, that the great heat, and the situation of these countries, surrounded on every side by the ocean, and its abounding also with hills and woods, are the principal causes of its being so moist, as this moisture, joined with heat, is of its extraordinary fertility, as well as the soundness and solidity of the timber, which is excellent for all sorts of uses (17).

(15) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri, Navarette.

Malucas. D. F. Navarette Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China, l. vi. c. 6. Gemelli Carreri.

(16) Coronel. Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas. D. F. Navarette Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China, l. vi. c. 6. Gemelli Carreri. (17) Varrin. Geograph. universal. Luyts Introd. ad Geograph. Navarette, Gemelli Carreri, Hook's Lectures upon Earthquakes.

a found no-where else. They have forty different sorts of palm-trees, the most excellent cocoas, and the best cassia in such plenty, that they feed their hogs with its fruit. In the mountains they have wild cinnamon, wild nutmegs, and, some say, wild cloves also; ebony, sandal-wood, together with excellent timber for building and shipping. All kinds of cattle they have in the greatest abundance; so that a large fat ox does not cost above four pieces of eight. Civet-cats are very common here, and their civet highly valuable: amber is thrown upon their coasts, and frequently ambergris in prodigious quantities; sometimes there are pieces found of forty, fifty, and even sixty pounds weight. After this, it will be thought stooping very low to observe, that hardly any country yields more or better wax, which is made without any trouble to the inhabitants, farther than that of looking for it in the woods¹.

b LAST of all let us observe, that this country abounds with gold to a degree that can hardly be affirmed of any other, except the adjacent islands; for though in some provinces there is more, in others less, yet in every part of *Manila* gold is to be found on the tops of their mountains, washed out of the earth by the heavy rains; in the mould of their vallies, washed down thither by their rivulets; and in the sand and mud of their lakes, brooks, and rivers. When the *Spaniards* came first hither, the *Indians* were much more industrious in gathering this precious metal than they are at present, for the sake of the ornaments they made of it, about which they are now become very indifferent, because they are commonly taken from them; neither would they gather it all, if in some places they were not obliged to pay their tribute therein, and in nothing else². It is by this means that the *Spaniards* obtain about a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds weight every year, but without the use either of fire or quicksilver; whence it is easy to conceive what immense sums *Manila* would produce, if they could oblige its inhabitants to work as in *Chili* and *Peru*; but they have found by experience, that, in the sentiments of these people, death is much more eligible than such a slavery; and from hence it proceeds (as one of their own writers observes) that there is no part of the *Indies* into which these people have not fled for fear of it³.

WE will next speak of the people inhabiting this country when the *Spaniards* came hither. Upon the coast they found a nation of *Moors*, who called themselves *Tagalians*, or *Tagaleze*, who certainly came from *Malacca*, or perhaps more immediately from *Borneo*, whether driven by tempest, or of their own free choice, is more than can be determined. That they are really *Malayans* by descent, is evident from their colour, shape, habit, manners, and language. They are, for the most part, a modest, tractable, and well-disposed people⁴. In some provinces they found *Pintadoes*, that is, painted negroes; persons tall, straight, strong, active, and of an excellent disposition. Lastly, blacks, who lived in the mountains and thick woods, on whom the *Spaniards* have bestowed the name of *Negrillos*⁵, who are held to be the *aborigines* of the island, and are the most enthusiastic lovers of liberty in the world. Their sole principle is an abhorrence of submission; whence there is no government amongst them, and scarce any society: those who inhabit the foot of a mountain are mortal enemies to those who dwell at the top of it; and both are equally hated by those who live in the middle. When they kill a *Spaniard*⁶, they make a cup of his skull, and drink out of it: in other respects they are barbarous and brutal to the last degree. Neither is this character taken wholly from the *Spaniards*: for, before their time, the *Tagaleze* and the *Pintadoes* found them as incorrigible, and dealt with them no otherwise than by knocking them on the head⁷. In the mountains, near springs, and in caves pleasantly situated, live a nation called the *Ilayas*, or *Tingbianos*, whom some suppose to be descended from the *Japoneze*, as free as the *Negrillos*, but agreeing with them in no other respect; for they are very brave, and yet very courteous and humane. They live intirely upon the gifts of nature, and never sleep under any other shelter but that of the trees or a cave. They never hurt either *Spaniards* or *Indians*, unless they attempt to deprive them of their liberty; but they shew no mercy to the poor *Negrillos*, from a principle of self-defence⁸. It is generally believed, that, for these black people, they are the same that inhabit *New Guiney*, and several islands between that country and the *Philippines*. In saying this we say very little, but at the same time all that is to be said; for though it is now two hundred years, or more, since the *Europeans* had some knowledge of that country, yet are we still ignorant whether it be a continent or an island; whether under the power of one prince or of many; and whether the people are disposed to trade, or are of the same intractable humour with the *Negrillos* in the island of *Manila* (O).

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¹ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

² L'Amirante D'HIERONIMO DE BANVELO Y CARILLO Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI.

³ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARETTE.

⁴ CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. ⁵ D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados historicos de la Monarchie de China.

⁶ Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, c. vi. ⁷ D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados historicos de la Monarchie de China, l. vi. c. 4.

⁸ Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI.

(O) There is no doubt that the accounts, given by the missionaries, are to be read with great caution in many respects; but at the same time it must be allowed, that, if it were not for their relations, we could have no certainty

Of the provinces of Balayan, and that of Camarines, the cities, ports, produce, &c.

It is now necessary to speak of the provinces into which this island is divided: that of *Balayan* ^a is next the city of *Manila*, and extends along the coast, on the east side of the island, a little beyond the bay of *Batangas*. There were in it formerly gold mines; but they have been long since abandoned. It is inhabited by about two thousand five hundred tributary *Indians*, and abounds in cotton, rice, and palm-trees. This province is well cultivated; and the *Spaniards* have, generally speaking, their country-houses in it. Adjoining to this is the province of *Calilaya*, or *Tayabas*, which reaches to *Cape Bondo*, and up the country to *Mauban*, on the opposite coast of the island: it has more inhabitants, and is larger than the other. Next is the province of *Camarines*; in which are *Bondo*, *Passacao*, *Ibalon*, metropolis of the government of *Catanduanes*. *Bulan*, where the ship called *The Incarnation* was cast away returning from *New Spain* in 1649. *Sorsocon*, or *Bagatao*, where the king's ships are built; and *Albay*, ^b a large bay without the streights, where there is a high burning mountain seen at a great distance by the ships coming from *New Spain*: in this mountain there are some springs of hot water. Beyond *Albay*, eastward, is the cape of *Buyfaygay*; and then the island runs northward, leaving the isles of *Catanduanes* on the right hand. Coasting from thence westward, they meet the river *Bicor*, which flows from a lake, and runs by the city *Caceres*, founded by the second governor and proprietor of these islands, *Don Francis de Sande*. Here resides the bishop of *New Caceres*, under whom are the provinces of *Calilaya*, *Camarines*, and *Ifalon*.^c

Of the province of Paracale, and that of Cagayan.

Next to the province of *Camarines* is that of *Paracale*, where there are rich mines of gold, and other metals, and of excellent loadstones: in it dwell about seven thousand tributary *Indians*. The soil is good, and very level, producing cacao and palm-trees, from the last of which they ^c get much oil and wine. Three days journey from *Paracale*, along the coast, is another bay called *Mauban*, where the island winds, and makes as it were the bowing of the arm opposite to the elbow where *Manila* stands. Sometimes the ships coming from *New Spain* have left their money here, to be sent to *Manila*. Without this bay is the port of *Lampon*, like that of *Mauban*. From *Lampon* to *Cape Engano* the coast is inhabited by none but *Negrillos*, or barbarians. Here begins the province and district of *Cagayan*, which is the largest in the island, being eighty leagues in length, and forty in breadth. The metropolis of it is the city called *New Segovia*, founded by the governor *Don Gonzalo Ronquillo*, and in it the cathedral church. The city stands on the bank of the river of the same name, which runs almost across all the province. There resides the chief alcaide, with a garrison of *Spanish* foot. A stone fort was ^d built here, and other works made of gabions and wood, for a defence against the revolted *Indians*, called *Ilayas*, who live on the sides of high mountains, which divide the whole island. In this province the parishes belong to the *Dominicans*.^d

THE most northerly cape is that called *del Engano*, dangerous by reason of the northern winds, and great currents. Fifteen leagues from *New Segovia* eastward is *Cape Bojador*; and then doubling the cape, and coasting along from north to south twenty leagues, ends the province of *Cagayan*, and begins that of *Illocos*. The peaceable *Cagayans*, who pay tribute, are

^c Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI.

^d D. F. NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.

tainty at all as to the temper, inclination, and genius of the *Indians*. The *Spanish* historians treat the *Tagalese* as a rude, stupid race of people, and consequently fit to be made slaves. A very learned jesuit, who resided long in *Manila*, assures us, on the contrary, that they are not only an honest and tractable, but also a very sensible, courteous, and well-bred people (18). A *Franciscan*, who wrote some remarks upon the jesuit's book, differs with him a little upon this head of good breeding; more especially as that reverend person had chosen for an instance of it their speaking to those whom they address, not in the second, but in the third person; so that, instead of saying, *How dost thou do?* they say, *How does Mr. Such-a-one do?* naming the person to whom they speak. Upon this our critic makes these remarks: "I was a missionary amongst the *Tagalese*, whose language, tho' I have been from thence eighteen years, I have not forgot, I exercised the mission among them, heard thousands of confessions, and preached some hundreds of times. I do not say but several of them, and particularly the best sort, use that manner of speaking the author mentions, yet I cannot grant it to be universal: they use a thousand *thou's* and *thee's* to the fathers that assist them. They have learnt some

" some breeding of the *Spaniards* they converse with; " and therefore those about *Manila* are more civil than " the rest. Discoursing on this point upon a time with " some *Indians*, one of the chief of them then present " said, If the *Spaniards* had not come to our country, " we had been all mere brutes; the light of the Gos- " pel, religion and conversation, have made us men. " He spoke the truth, and shewed himself a man of sense " and reason; by which it appears the *Tagalese* are not " of themselves so courteous and well-bred as some will " make them" (19). One sees, that, in effect, this confirms rather than refutes what the jesuit had delivered; but in this point they both agree, that the *Tagalese* are much better Christians than their masters: that the men are just, charitable, and industrious; the women chaste, prudent, and remarkably modest; and both writers complain, that they are miserably oppressed and ill used: and in this, to say the truth, they affirm no more than their predecessors have ever done, representing continually to the crown of *Spain*, that, if they would treat these people not as slaves, but as subjects, they might be as powerful in the *Philippines* as they could wish; but that, it seems, is not the interest of persons in authority (20),

(18) P. Letona Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Historia de la Compania de Jesus an las Islas Filipinas, por F. Colin, c. xiii. p. 37. (19) D. F. Navarette Tratados historicos de la Monarchie de China, l. vi. c. 32. (20) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

a about nine thousand, besides those that are not subdued. The whole province is fruitful; the men able of body, inclined to tillage and arms; and the women to several sorts of work in cotton. The mountains produce plenty of wax, there being such abundance not only in this province but through all the island, that wax is exceeding cheap, and all the poor burn it instead of oil. They make their candles after this manner: they leave a small hole at each end of a hollow stick for the wick to run through, and then stopping the bottom, fill it with wax at the top; and thus the candle is made in a moment of any size whatever, which when cold, they break the mould, and take it out. On the mountains there is abundance of brasil, ebony, and other sorts of wood of great value. In the woods store of wild beasts, as boars, but not so good as those in *Europe*, and deer, which they kill for their skins and horns, to
b sell to the *Chinese* ^c.

THE province of *Illocos* is the richest and best peopled in the island; its coast runs forty leagues. On the bank of the river *Bigan*, the governor *Guido de Laccazaris*, successor to the *Adelantado*, in the year 1574, built the city of *Fernandina*. Up the country, the province is not above eight leagues in breadth, being intersected by mountains and woods inhabited by the *Igolotti*, a tall warlike people, and by blacks not subdued: yet the extent of the whole country was viewed, when the army marched seven days, travelling three leagues a day thro' woods of wild nutmegs and pines, and at length came to the top of the mountain, where were the principal habitations of the *Igolotti*. They live there because of the rich gold mines in those parts, which they gather, and exchange with the inhabitants of *Illocos* and *Pangasinan*, for tobacco, rice, and other commodities. Besides gold, this province produces much rice and cotton, of which they make quilts and other furniture ^d.

ADJOINING to this is the province of *Pangasinan*, for about forty *Spanish* leagues along the coast: its breadth is about eight or nine leagues, and very like *Illocos*. The mountains and plains produce much brasil wood, by the *Indians* called *sibucan*, used in dyeing red and blue. The inland parts are full of wild *Indians*, who, like brutes, wander naked up and down the woods and mountains, only covering their privities with a leaf. They sow a little rice in their vallies; and what more they want they get in the conquered country, in exchange for small bits of gold they gather in the rivers. In the province of *Illocos* there are nine thousand that pay tribute, and seven thousand in that of *Pangasinan*. On the coast of this province is the port of *Bolinao* and *Playabonda*, famous in the *Philippine Islands* for the victory there obtained by the *Spaniards* over the *Dutch*. Next to this lies the province of *Pampanga*, where the diocese of *New Segovia* ends, and that of the archbishop of *Manila* begins. This province is large, and of great consequence; because the natives, being well instructed by the *Spaniards*, help to defend the island, and have stood by them upon all occasions, not only in *Manila*, but in *Ternate* and other provinces. Besides, the soil is very fruitful, particularly in rice; so that it furnishes *Manila*. It also yields timber for building of ships, the woods being on the bay, not far from the port of *Cavite*. It contains about eight thousand *Indians*, who pay tribute in rice. In the mountains of this province dwell the *Zambali* and *Negrillos*. These are always fighting among themselves, to defend their woods from their neighbours, and
e secure their game and pasture ^e (P).

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^c Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. ^f GEMELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde. P. iv. l. i. c. 7. ^e Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.

(P) We have, in the author last cited, in his correction of another writer, a very distinct and agreeable account of these nations, which, as it is but short, we will give the reader in his words (21): "F. Latona says he asserts, that within the archbishoprick of Manila there were certain heathen blacks, natives of the island unconquered, called *Zambales*, and very barbarous. But they deceived him who said they were the same as the *Zambales*; for these *Zambales* are mortal enemies to the blacks, and extremely dreaded by them. There are very good Christians among them. Their towns are on the skirts of the mountains, to hinder the blacks from coming at the towns of the *Indians*. For these, and other reasons, the *Zambales* are exempt from contributions and personal duty: they pay their taxes in unwrought silver, not in specie. The blacks have frizzled hair, like the *Cafres*; the *Zambales* have not. The blacks are not conquered; nor is it possible to subdue them, though one hundred thousand men were gathered together to that purpose: first, because the

" mountains are inaccessible, and so thick wooded, that, unless the shelter be destroyed, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* can advance a step, and the blacks run in and out at every hole, like hares: secondly, because they, standing behind the trees, with their arrows shoot as many as they please, without being seen, by reason their colour cannot be distinguished from that of the tree. If the *Indians* and *Zambales* go into the mountains, they have generally the worst, and therefore they endeavour to catch the blacks in open fields; but that is no easy matter. I knew them sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war, with the *Indians*: when they were at peace, whole troops of them would come down to the towns: we gave them tobacco, rags, and wine, which pleased them very much, and some of them helped the principal *Indians* in their tillage. We admired to see them so fat, tall, and strong: they eat nothing but wild mountain roots, some fruit, and raw flesh, without any clothing but their skin, or any other bed but the ground. Every one of them has his bow
" and

(21) D. F. Navarette *Tratados historicos de la Monarchie de China*, l. vi. c. 31.

Of the provinces of Bahi and Balacan.

THE province of *Bahi*, lying east of *Manila*, is no less important for building of ships. About the bay of this name, and in the neighbouring farms, grows the best fruit that is eaten in *Manila*, especially the *bonga* or *arecca*, and the *buyo*, which is the same as *bette*. This is an aromatic and delicate fruit; but it must be observed, that this of *Manila* exceeds all other; and the *Spaniards* from morning till night never cease chewing of it: the fruit this plant bears is called *taclove*. This province suffers very much by the continual labour the natives are put to in felling timber for building of ships, two hundred, and sometimes four hundred, being employed every month in this work on the mountains, or at the port of *Cavite*. The king allows them a piece of eight a month, and rice enough. The whole province contains six thousand tributary natives. The province of *Bulacan*, lying between *Panpanga* and *Tondo*, is small, its inhabitants *Tagalians*, and abounds in rice and palm-wine: the number that pay tribute three thousand. It remains to say something of a small province near the mouth of the chanel; because, though its metropolis be on the main land of *Manila*, yet the rest of it is made up of several islands, as *Catanduanes*, *Masbate*, and *Burias*. *Catanduanes* is thirty leagues in compass, ten in length, and its shape is almost a triangle. It is one of the first met with in the way to the islands, and so near the *embocadero*, or mouth of the chanel of *St Bernardin*, that some pilots, mistaking it, have lost their ships; for, believing they were entering the mouth of the streight, they found themselves among dangerous flats, which are all round the island a musket-shot from the shore. Its being exposed to the north wind makes it always stormy; for which reason there is no sailing thither but from the fifteenth of *June* to the middle of *September*^h.

Of the island of Catanduanes.

It abounds in rice, oil of palms, cocoas, honey, and wax. There are several rivers, dangerous to cross, in the chanel of which there is gold found, brought down from the mountains by floods, which have worn deep channels down their sides. The biggest of them is called *Catandangan*, and by the *Spaniards* *Catanduanes*, whence the island took its name. The chief employment of the natives is carrying wood, making very light boats, and carrying them to sell at *Mindora*, *Caleleya*, *Balayan*, and other places. They first make one very large, without any deck, and not nailed, but sewed together with *Indian* canes; and then others less and less, one with another, and thus they transport them an hundred leaguesⁱ. The people are warlike, and paint themselves like the *Bisayas*. They are excellent sailors; and, leaping into the water, turn a boat again in a moment that has been overset. For fear of such accidents, they carry their provisions in their hollow canes close stopped, and tied to the sides of the boats. Their habit is only a waistcoat, which reaches down to the knees. The women are of a masculine size, and apply themselves as much as the men to tillage or fishing. They are modestly clad in a coat or jerkin, after the manner of the *Bisayas*, and a long mantle. Their hair is tied on the crown of the head, making a knot like a rose. On their forehead they wear a plate of gold two fingers broad, lined with taffeta; in their ears three gold pendants, one in the place where the *European* women use it, the other two higher^k. On their ancles they have rings, which make a tinkling noise as they move. We are next, after thus making the tour of the whole island, to give a short description of its capital, which is also that of the *Philippines*, and the dominions of his catholic majesty in the *East Indies*; neither is it in any respect beneath that notion one would naturally form of a place honoured with those titles.

A description of the city of Manila, the capital of the island of Luzon, and the Philippines.

THE city of *Manila*, as has been already hinted, stands upon that point of land where the river that comes out of the lake runs into the sea, and whence *Ragia* the *Moor*, who had fortified himself with ramparts upheld by palm-trees, and furnished with small guns, was beaten by *Michael Lopez Legaspi* on the nineteenth of *June* 1571. In compass it is two miles, in length

^h Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI.

ⁱ CORONEL, NAVARETTE, LUYTS.

^k NAVARETTE,

“ and arrows: the bow is as long as he that uses it;
 “ they make them of a palm-tree as hard as iron: the
 “ string is made of the barks of trees, so strong, that no-
 “ thing can exceed them. Besides these, they use ano-
 “ ther little iron weapon, broader than one's hand, a
 “ quarter of a yard long, the handle very fine, which,
 “ they said, was made of burnt oysters and snails: it
 “ looked like delicate marble. This weapon serves
 “ them when in close fight; and they will cut off a man's
 “ head at the mouth very dextrously. All the people
 “ along those mountains, as far as *New Segovia*, value
 “ a skull mightily to drink out of; so that he who has
 “ most skulls is the noblest among them; and they go
 “ out to cut off heads for this honour, without any other
 “ prospect. In some places they make use of the teeth
 “ out of those heads they cut off, stringing and making
 “ garlands of them, to wear on their heads: he that

“ has most is best looked upon. There are a great many
 “ of those people on the mountains of *Orion*, upon the
 “ bay of *Manila*; but they are peaceable. All the time
 “ I was there they never did the least hurt.” This pas-
 “ sage is very curious, and acquaints us with several parti-
 “ culars that occur no-where else. It shews us, that, in
 “ these islands, there are two distinct races of black people;
 “ one that are perfect negroes, and another that have long
 “ hair, like the *Camarins* in the neighbourhood of *Goa*;
 “ that these are naturally enemies to each other; that the
 “ former are fierce, and more barbarous than the latter; and
 “ that tho' one is more easily civilized, yet the other kind
 “ of people are far from irreclaimable, as most of the *Spa-
 nish* writers, and those who copy from them, commonly
 “ represent these miserable creatures, that they may justify
 “ their usage of them.

- a one third of a mile; the shape irregular, being narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle. It has six gates, which are called *Delos Almazanes*, or, *Of the magazines*; *Santo Domingo*, or *St. Dominic*, opening on that suburb; of *Parian*; of *Puerta Real*, or, *The royal gate*; of *St. Lucia*; and the *Postigo*, or, *The postern*. The wall, on the side next *Cavite*, is strengthened with five little towers, with iron guns; but on the angle next the land is a noble bastion, called *la Fundizion*, or, *The foundary*; and beyond it another not inferior to it, between which is *Puerta Real*, or the royal gate, well furnished with brass guns, and good outworks. Further is the gate of *Parian*, over which there is a battery of breast artillery. Proceeding still by the river side, the next is *St. Dominic's* bastion, as being near the monastery of the *Dominicans*; and thence you go on to the castle, which terminates the city, which, on the south, is washed by the sea, and on the north and east by the river, over which there are drawbridges to enter at the royal gate, and that of *Parian*. The palaces of *Manila*, though all of timber above the first floor, yet are beautiful from their handsome galleries. The streets are broad; but frequent earthquakes have spoiled their uniformity, several houses and palaces being overthrown, and little hope of rebuilding them¹.

MANILA contains about three thousand souls; but these of such different mixtures as to qualities and colour, that they are distinguished by several strange names. This has happened by the conjunction of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Chineses*, *Malabars*, *Blacks*, and others inhabiting that city, and islands depending on it, as is also fallen out in the *Portuguese* conquests in the *East Indies*, and the kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* in *America*. Though *Manila* be so small, if we look only on the circumference of its walls, and the number of its inhabitants, yet it will appear large if we include its suburbs; for within a musket-shot of the gate of *Parian* is the habitation of the *Chinese* merchants called *Sangleys*, who, in several streets, have rich shops of silk, porcelain, and other commodities. Here are found such as exercise all arts and trades; so that whatever the citizens are worth runs through their hands, by the fault of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who apply themselves to nothing (Q). There are about three thousand of them in this suburb, and as many more throughout the islands; which is permitted them, if not as Christians, at least in hopes they may become such, though many are, or pretend to be, converted, for fear of being banished^m.

- d THERE were formerly forty thousand; but abundance of them were put to death in tumults they raised at several times, and particularly that on *St. Francis's* eve in 1603, as the reader has seen; and they were afterwards prohibited staying in the island by his catholic majesty. This order is very little observed; for there always remain behind hid many of those that come every year in forty or fifty *chiampans* loaded with commodities; the profit being very great at *Manila*, which they could not find in *China*, from the small price manufactures bear. The merchants or *sangleys* of *Parian* (R) are governed by an alcaide, to whom they allow a good salary, as they do to the king's solicitor their protector, to his steward, and other officers, besides all the duties and taxes to the king. They pay his majesty ten thousand pieces of eight a year for the privilege of playing at *metua* at their new year; and yet this permission is

¹ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. ^m Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.

(Q) This arises from laziness in the *Spaniards*, and from poverty and diffidence in the *Indians*, who, as on the one hand they have very little to trade with, so, on the other, they are very much afraid of having that little taken from them; which would probably be the case, if they engaged themselves in traffick. As it is, their misery is their greatest protection, the reputation of indigence serving to keep them quiet, and free from those inares which would certainly be laid for them if they either had, or were supposed to have, wealth. By this means all comes to the hands of those industrious people, who think nothing mean, troublesome, or laborious, that is attended with profit. As to the name, by which they are distinguished in the text, the origin of it has been already mentioned. What the *French*, in their southern provinces, are to the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, the *sangleys* are to the *Spanish* inhabitants of the *Philippines*; they supply their wants, do their drudgery, flatter their vanity, bear their ill usage, and carry away their money, but not till they have a better title to it than themselves; and, to speak out, in this only lies the grievance. These facts are literally true; and yet are an allegorical picture of the different kinds of intercourse by which some nations are enriched, and others beggared.

(R) The industry and address of these people are so great, and they have the art of managing the passions and attacking the foibles of those they deal with so dexterously, that they constantly carry away almost all the silver that comes by the annual ship from *Mexico*. In short, they are the keenest traders in the world; and as they constantly outwit others, so it sometimes happens that they outwit themselves. A very diverting instance of this is preserved in one of the *Spanish* memorials, which, for the reader's amusement, we will transcribe: A certain *Spaniard* had the misfortune to lose a part of his nose, which exposed him in so disagreeable a manner to public notice at *Manila*, that he sent for a *Chinese* toyman, and asked him if he could not supply that defect by an artificial nose. The *Chinese* readily undertook, and effectually performed, what was required of him; with which the *Spaniard* was so well pleased, that he gave him twenty ducats. This was so acceptable to the trader, that, when he returned the next year from *China*, he brought with him a whole cargo of false noses, not considering that such accidents were not frequent enough to furnish him with customers; so that, with all his quickness and ingenuity, he had only his labour for his pains (22).

(22) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, written by an ecclesiastic, who had resided in *Manila* eighteen years.

but for a few days, that they may not throw away other men's money. *Metus* is the game of even or odd, at which they play, laying down small heaps of money, to be won or lost by guessing right^a. They that use this sport are so expert, that they know the number by the dimensions of the heap; and sometimes they sharply withdraw a piece to make their number fall right. The *Spaniards* keep the *Chinese* very much under, not suffering them to be in Christian houses at night, and obliging them to be without candle-light in their houses and shops (S).

Of the other suburbs of Manila, and their people.

Of the buildings in Manila, and in the country round about that capital.

OVER the bridge adjoining to *Parian* are the suburbs or hamlets of *Tondo*, *Minondo*, *Santa Cruz*, *Dilas*, *S. Miguel*, *S. Juan de Bagumbaya*, *Santiago*, *Nuestra Señora de la Hermita*, *Malati*, *Chiepo*, and others, to the number of fifteen in all^b, inhabited by *Japonefe*, *Tagali*'s, and other nations, under the government of an alcaide.

THE houses are generally of wood, near the river, and standing on pillars, with steps going up to them, after the manner of *Siam*. The roofs are covered with *nipa*, or palm-tree leaves, the sides of cane, and they go up ladders to some of them, because the ground is moist, and sometimes full of water. In the time of the petty king *Matanda*, *Tondo* was fortified with ramparts and cannon; but could make little resistance against the *Spaniards*. In the space between these hamlets, on both sides of the river, as far as the lake of *Babi*, there are gardens, farms, and country-houses, pleasant enough to behold; so that, looking on it altogether, it is much like the large villages in the neighbourhood of *Siam*. As to the public edifices, they were formerly much more magnificent than at present, experience having taught them, that wood or cane are far better materials for building in that country than brick or stone; but the magnificence which reigns within, shews sufficiently that they are not either strangers or enemies to splendor^c. The jesuits college is by far the most considerable building in the city in all respects: it was founded in 1581, and, like other houses of that society, has been encreasing in wealth, as the fathers who inhabit it have done in credit and power ever since. There are, besides, a vast number, in proportion to the size of the place, of churches and religious houses. The castle or fort stands, as we have before observed, at the west end of the city, having the sea on one side, and the river on the other. It is styled the citadel of *St. James*, and was originally fortified in the shape of a triangle, having one bastion towards the sea, another towards the river, and a third at the west point, to cover the port, which is only fit for small vessels. And now, having said so much of the city, let us step out a little, and take notice of another place of consequence, which is generally considered as the sea-port, because, as we observed, small vessels only come up to *Manila*^d.

THIS town is called *Cavite*, a name bestowed upon it by the *Tagalians*, or *Tagalese*; it lies three leagues south of *Manila*, on a long narrow neck of land, on one side of which is the sea,

^a *Tout du Monde*, par GEMELLI CARRERI. cap. ii. GEMELLI CARRERI, *Tout du Monde*, P. iv. b. i. c. 2.

^b MENDOZA Descript. de l'Isle de Luçon. CORONEL, NAVARETTE, LUTTS.

^c GE-

(S) The great inconveniency, and the apparent danger, of having these people in such numbers about the capital, have been the subject of remonstrances to the *Spanish* government almost ever since they were possessed of the island, but without any tolerable effect; for tho' the mischief has been sometimes moderated, yet it has been never extirpated: the reason of this is, that the governor, and the persons in power, find their account in continuing, and the public only would be benefited by the redressing this evil. In answer to the remonstrances, therefore, they never failed to acquaint the court, that the ordinary and extraordinary taxes upon the *Chinese* amount to a third part of the whole revenue of the *Philippines*; and that consequently this would be lost if they were banished; and this, tho' a very poor reason, has hitherto prevailed. In one of the *Spanish* memorials so often mentioned, the writer reasons upon this subject thus: the trade of the *Philippines*, as it is managed at *Manila*, is the richest in the universe; and yet his catholic majesty gets nothing, and his subjects very little. How happens this? As wealth is the object of commerce, it may be considered as a kind of gaming; but then it is a game of skill, and not of chance: those therefore who have knowledge and industry must in the end carry off all; and these at *Manila* are the *Chinese*: they hold the box, and, in the long run, all that is played for comes into their pockets; only the governors, and the great ones

from whom they derive this privilege, share in the spoils. The remedy is plain and easy in all respects but one, and that is, the fixing upon three honest governors in succession; men who would prefer honour and reputation to the uncertain hopes of carrying a fortune to *Spain*, which, tho' it has misled so many, is in reality a thing in which very few have succeeded. If such a succession of governors would treat the native *Indians* gently, encourage their manufactures, and suffer them to enjoy the fruits of their industry without molestation, the *Chinese* would be quickly beat out of this trade, in spite of all their cunning, a great part of the silver that comes from *Mexico* would remain in the island, shipping would increase, new markets would be opened, his catholic majesty's revenue would, in a few years, be ten times what it is, and the number of his subjects doubled, nay trebled; for multitudes of the *Indians* are Christians in their hearts, who will not receive baptism, that they may not fall under the yoke of a government which has not either justice, economy, or tenderness to recommend it; in which rapine and fraud have reigned for two hundred years, driven some hundred thousands from their native country for want of subsistence, and destroyed millions that remained behind, in spite of that beneficence with which Providence has bestowed upon these islands all those things that mankind concur in calling temporal blessings (23).

- a and on the other the bay that forms the port. It is defended by the castle of *St. Philip*, which commands the port, and is by much the best fortress in the island, being a regular square, with four good bastions well supplied with cannon; and here are the principal magazines for military and naval stores. The bay is for the most part very deep, there is in it plenty of good fish, and the sides of it are sprinkled with very pleasant villages'. Directly against the mouth of this bay lies the island of *Maribeles*, about three leagues in compass, and half a league in length. It is about twenty-four miles distant from *Manila*; and, though a place of very great consequence, has but a small guard under the command of an officer, who is also the Corregidore, or civil magistrate in the village. There are three mouths or entrances from the sea into the bay, the first between that island and *Punta del Diablo*, or *The Devil's Point*, which is about a mile and a half over, very deep, and therefore most used; the second lies between the opposite shore and the rock called *De los Cavallos*, or *The Horses*, it is scarce a mile over, shallow, and with many rocks in the passage, so that it is very unsafe; the third lies between the rock before-mentioned and the point of *Marigondon*, it is nine miles over, but encompassed with flats and shoals, so that it is dangerous to sail through it without a good pilot. The port itself is in the form of a semicircle, very well defended from south winds, but not so well sheltered from the north. On the same point with the castle of *St. Philip* stands the arsenal, where the galleons are built, for which service there are from three to six or eight hundred *Indians* constantly employed, who are relieved every month, and, while upon duty, are maintained at the king's expence. To the town, or, as some call it, city, of *Cavité*, belongs the suburb of *Saint Roch*, inhabited by *Indians* and *Chinese* as well as *Spaniards*, and more populous than the town itself. There are likewise upon this coast several other ports, but far less considerable; and yet of great use, as they afford shelter to the *Japanese* junks, and the vessels of other eastern nations, that at the proper season of the year resort thither annually in great numbers' (T).

- In respect to the government, we will, for the sake of decency, begin with the church. *Manila* was erected into a bishoprick in 1581; and seventeen years after became an archbishoprick, through the favour of the pope and the king of *Spain*: to this prelate all the clergy in these islands are subject, as their metropolitan. He receives yearly out of the king's treasury six thousand pieces of eight; and the twelve canons or prebendaries of his cathedral church have a clear income of between four and five hundred crowns each, paid them in like manner. Besides *Manila*, there are three other bishopricks in the *Philippines*; viz. *Zebu*, *Camarines*, and *Cagayan*; each of these prelates have 5000 pieces of eight a year, together with the bishop, without any declared fee, who succeeds in the first vacancy, to prevent the inconveniencies that might ensue from waiting the best part of six years, till the successor could be sent from *Spain*. The inferior clergy are very numerous; and, as all of them receive more or less from the royal treasury, this is a great burden on the state: yet we must not hastily pronounce it a useless burden, since it is very certain that the natives are retained within the bounds of their duty rather by the exhortations and influence of the ecclesiastics than by any other method (U). As to the civil government, the city of *Manila* is governed by two Alcaldes;

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 102.
 * Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Voyage de Compagnie, tom. viii. p. 98.
 Monde, P. v. b. i. c. 5. GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du

(T) The very best accounts we have of these parts are not of so fresh a date as to enable us to speak with absolute certainty of their present condition; and for this reason we cannot venture to assure the reader, that the *Japanese* junks regularly visit the coasts of *Luçon* at this day, but that they frequently come with the *Chinese* vessels, and now-and-then venture alone amongst the adjacent islands, is generally agreed. The *Chinese* fleet arrives annually from the opposite coast from the middle of *December* to the end of *January*. About two months are spent by the merchants in dispatching their affairs; but they generally return to *China* towards the close of the month of *March*, or the beginning of *April*, after which, the navigation of these seas is reputed dangerous; and indeed, considering the nature of the vessels that sail in them, shipwrecks would be more common than they are, but for the numerous ports and creeks in the islands that lie in the neighbourhood of *Manila*, where at all times they can take shelter upon the first appearance of bad weather (24).

(U) There are not many secular priests; but these islands in general swarm with regulars of different orders, such as *Dominicans*, *Cordeliers*, *Jacobines*, *Augustines*, and *Jesuits*, who are intrusted with the care of the parishes into which each diocese is divided. They agree very well with each other, the last order only excepted, who agree amongst themselves, but with nobody else. It is to these missionaries that his Catholic Majesty owes all the *Indian* subjects that he has; and might be indebted for many more, if errors in the civil government did not deter them from making an open profession of Christianity. It appears plainly from the books they have written, and the memorials they have presented to the *Spanish* court, that they are the best patriots in the *Philippines*, and in many respects shew themselves to be very disinterested, in declaiming against sine-cures, and the unnecessary grandeur of some clergymen, while the people are in other places without spiritual guides, for want of having wherewithal to subsist them (25). Father *Navarette*, in whose work there are a thousand cu-

(24) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Molucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. Carreri, Combes.

(25) Navarette, Gemelli

Alcaides ; the rest of the cities and great towns in the island have each an Alcaide ; and in every a village there is a Corregidore. Appeals from their sentences are made to the royal court at *Manila*, in which there are four judges and a fiscal or attorney-general ; each of these judges has a salary of three thousand three hundred pieces of eight *per annum*. The viceroy is president, and, in that quality, has an income of four thousand pieces of eight, but he has no vote ; yet, if the judges are divided equally, the president names a doctor of the civil law, who, in virtue of his appointment, has a decisive voice. The attorney-general, in right of his office, is protector of the *Cbinese*, in consideration of which he receives six hundred pieces of eight every year *.

In what manner the Indians are governed, and the nature of Encomiendas.

As for the *Indians* that are in subjection, they pay tribute in the following proportions : young men from eighteen, and from thence, if they continue single, to the age of sixty, pay b five rials of plate by way of capitation ; as single women likewise do from twenty-four to fifty ; married men pay ten rials. It is computed that there are within the compass of this government two hundred and fifty thousand *Indians*, subject to his Catholic Majesty, of whom two fifths hold immediately from the king, and the rest from lords or proprietors. Such a lordship is called, in *Spanish*, *Encomienda*, and the proprietor *Encomendado* ; but out of these there are considerable deductions, such as two rials for every head for the maintenance of the forces, and the like sum for the parish priest *. The royal revenue is computed at about half a million of pieces of eight, exclusive of casualties. In reference to the military force, the garrison of *Manila* consists of about eight hundred or a thousand men, and there are about three thousand more in the *Philippines*. The viceroy is by his office captain-general, with a salary of about c four thousand pieces of eight *. We shall speak hereafter of the extent and value of his authority and employment, considered under his highest title. And, having thus run through the several points proposed to be explained in relation to the island of *Luçon*, and its capital the city of *Manila*, we are next to attempt a short description of the rest of the *Archipelago*.

* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.
Molucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI, NAVARETTE.
GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c.

* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y
Don JUAN

rious particulars, affords us a strong proof of this, when he reasons in the following manner against the Jesuits, who are the only preachers employing a military assistance in conjunction with spiritual messengers (26). " In *Japan*," says this venerable writer, " there was a great increase of Christianity without arms ; and if it fell to nothing, it was not for want of soldiers, but other things that might have been well avoided. The two general persecutions in *China* proceeded from other causes. I find there is something amiss every-where. The fathers of the society, carrying soldiers into *Ethiopia*, were expelled, without hopes of ever returning. In *Tanquin*, *Cochin-China*, and *China*, they were looked upon as spies : this is not so bad as the other. Nor does our going from *Manila* to *Luí* with soldiers make out any thing ; it was the particular opinion of one man, disapproved by others, and the ill success foretold. Whilst there were only three fathers in that province, they made some advance, and preached in peace and quietness : as soon as ever the soldiers came, the natives were alarmed, ran to arms, burnt, killed, and wounded, and all was lost. What happened in the islands called *Marianas* is well known, so that there is no ascertaining any thing in this matter. Another difficulty occurs to me, which is, that if missions must be carried on under the protection of an armed force, there will be very few ; therefore they must be either left off, or continued in the

" same manner the apostles followed them ; for
" whence shall we have a force to support those that
" preach in *China*, *Japan*, and the *Mogul's* country ? I
" only mention these, without speaking of many other
" vast kingdoms. Now if all the soldiers in the church
" will not suffice for three places, how must we relieve
" the rest ? I am persuaded one Christian converted and
" instructed peaceably, is worth twenty made with the
" shew of force. They who talk of the protection of
" Christian forces, imagine the soldiers will do nothing
" nothing but aid and protect ; but I say they will do
" more mischief with their lewdness in one day, than
" twenty religious men can repair in a year. But if
" there be no soldiers, say these folks, they will kill the
" religious men before they have done any good. Let
" them kill : Christ himself and his apostles were killed ;
" and it is enough done to sprinkle that country with
" blood, that it may afterwards yield a more plentiful
" harvest." This, we must allow, is very honest, and
very heroic. Other procurators (for to this dignity Father Navarette was advanced) insisted on the same points ; maintaining, that without troops they could subdue thousands to his Catholic Majesty's service, make these new subjects industrious without the help of any laws but those of the gospel, and the country rich and flourishing, if their converts were but secure from spiritual and temporal oppression.

(26) D. F. Navarette, *Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China*.

S E C T. IV.

A like detail of the other islands dependent upon it, their situation, commodities, tribute, advantages and disadvantages, with the manner in which their inhabitants are treated, and their obedience secured by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the small force they have in this part of the world, and the many errors and imperfections in their government, which have more than once brought it to the brink of ruin.

- T**HE easiest, most natural, and useful manner, of describing the small islands in the immediate vicinity of *Luçon*, or *Luzon*, is to speak of them as they lie along the channel through which the galleon always passes in her voyage to *New Spain*, first; and then of those that lie south, west, and north, of that island. The nearest of these is *Capul*, three leagues in compass, the soil fruitful, pleasant, and commodious, for the *Indians*, who live after the manner of the *Bisayas*. A few leagues north-west from the mouth of the streight lies *Ticao*, eight leagues in compass, inhabited by free *Indians*, or, as the *Spaniards* style them, savages. There is in it a good port, with the conveniency of fresh water and wood, and it is therefore the last land touched at by the galleons⁷. Four leagues west of *Ticao* is *Burias*, five miles in compass. It has but few tributary *Indians*, who are comprised in the parish of *Masbate*, which is another larger island south of it, and not far distant from *Ticao*. This island of *Masbate* is thirty leagues in compass, eight in breadth, and proportionably long. Its ports are commodious for their ships to take in water. Here are about two hundred and fifty *Indian* families, who pay tribute in wax, salt, and civet. But those that dwell in the mountains, and originally came from other parts, are numerous. The gold mines produced formerly considerable quantities of that metal, twenty carats fine⁸: they do not at present work in these mines. As for the *Indians*, if they have but a dish of rice, they never mind that metal; and if ever they gather any in the rivers, it is when they are pressed for their tribute, and then they gather just as much as serves to pay it. The shores of these islands are often enriched with ambergrise, cast up by the current of the channels that run upon them⁹.
- LEAVING** *Ticao*, *Masbate*, and *Burias*, behind, and holding on the same way, is the island of *Marinduque*, fifteen leagues from *Manila*. It is eighteen leagues in compass, high, and abounding in cocoa and other fruit-trees, on which the inhabitants live, because there is but little rice. There is a great deal of pitch made, but little wax. *Mindoro* is about eight leagues from *Manila*, and five from *Marinduque*; fifteen leagues long, eight in breadth, and seventy in compass. The broadest part of it is that which looks towards the south, where, together with another high and round small island called *Ebin*, it makes a streight between it and *Panay*, which they call *Potol*. There is another known by the name of *Calabite*, between it and *Luban*. The land of *Mindoro* is high and mountainous, abounding in cocoa and all sorts of fruit-trees; but rice grows only in some parts. Along its channels, and the mouth of its rivers, there dwell those *Indians* who pay tribute; and on the east, north-east, and on the side opposite to *Manila*, are *Tegalians*, and so towards *Panay* and *Bisay*. Up the country live the *Mangbiani*, who, tho' differing in language, agree in having no form of government; they go naked, only covering their privities; and change their habitations according to the season of the year, because they live upon wild fruit. Though they are not far from *Manila*, they have not yet lost their simplicity, exchanging the wax of their mountains for nails, knives, needles, rags, and other baubles¹⁰.

A succinct account of the Philippine Islands, in their natural order.

The islands of Marinduque, Mindoro, Ebin, &c. described, with an account of their produce and people.

An account of the island Luban, and the produce and people of that and the adjacent isles.

- BACO** is the metropolis of the island, where the Alcaide, or governor, resides. Not far from *Baco* is a place they call *Old Mindoro*, from which all the island took its name. *Cape Varadero* stretches out towards *Tal*, a village on the coast of *Manila*, between the two bays of *Bombon* and *Batangas*; and a small island called *Verde*, or *Green Island*, lying between them. The channel for the ships going to and from *Cavité* is not above a mile over; and this narrowness is the cause of the whirlpools and currents, which endanger ships when they have not a fair wind and current at their entering the channel. In *Mindoro* and *Luban* they reckon there are one thousand seven hundred inhabitants, who pay tribute in wax, and black hemp which the cocoa-trees produce; the last of which serves to make cables for the king's ships. *Luban* is a small low island, five leagues in compass; near it is the little isle of *Ambil*, in which is a high mountain, seen at a great distance, by reason of the flames it throws out. On the other side *Luban*, northwards,

there

⁷ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 90, 91.
⁸ GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du Monde, P. v. b. i. cap. 8. ⁹ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.
¹⁰ GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du Monde, P. v. l. i. c. 3.

there is no island of note; only beyond *Cape Bajador*, opposite to *New Segovia*, at eight leagues distance from it, are the low little islands of *Babuyanes*, stretching out towards the islands *Formosa* and *Lequios* (X). In the nearest, which is conquered, there are about five hundred natives that pay tribute. It produces wax, ebony, botatas, cocoas, plantanes, and other things for the maintenance of the inhabitants. Fourteen or fifteen leagues south-west of *Luban* are the *Calamines*, a province made up of seventeen islands, all subdued, besides many others not yet reduced; among the first of which is a great one called *Paragua*, part belonging to the *Spaniards*, and part to the king of *Borneo* ^c.

Of the isles of
Paragua, and
the flat islands
which lie be-
tween that
and the great
isle of Borneo.

THIS island of *Paragua* is the third in bigness among the *Philippines*. The compass of it about two hundred and fifty leagues, the length one hundred; but the breadth not above twelve in some places, and fourteen in others. The middle of it lies between nine and ten degrees of latitude: its furthest cape, called *Tagusau*, towards the south-west, is fifty leagues distant from *Borneo*, in which interval there are many low islands that almost join the two great ones. The inhabitants of the coasts of these islands, and of *Tagusau*, are subject to the *Mohammedan* king of *Borneo* ^d; but up the country are *Indians* unconquered, barbarous, subject to no king, and therefore all their care is not to be subdued by the *Borneans* or the *Spaniards*; half the lands of this island are in their possession. The *Spaniards* have in it about twelve hundred tributary *Indians*, blacks, like those of *Afric*, who range about from place to place, without any certain abode (Y). They are very faithful to the *Spaniards*, who keep a garrison there of two hundred men, part *Spaniards*, and part *Indians*, with an Alcaide, or governor, whose residence is at *Taytay*, on the opposite point of *Borneo*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Bornei*, where there is a fort. The *Lampuan*, or governor for the king of *Borneo*, resides at *Lavo*. The island is almost all very high land, and full of trees and wild beasts, and produces abundance of wax on the mountains, but very little rice ^c.

AT a small distance from the northern cape of *Paragua*, and west from *Manila*, are three islands, called *Calamianes*, which give their name to a province or government. These, and nine others near them, are comprehended in the same province, but are all small, and inhabited by peaceable *Indians*. In some of them there are one hundred and fifty, that pay tribute,

^c Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI, NAVARETTE. ^d Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 8. ^e Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, LUYTS.

(X) It was to the eastward of these islands, but in a latitude not determined with any certainty, that towards the beginning, and even to the middle, of the seventeenth century, the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* sent several ships to find a small island called *Riccadoro* (27), the history of which, in few words, was this: A *Portuguese* vessel, bound from *Macao* to *Japan* (28), after a violent storm, put into a small unknown island for shelter; and, finding that the hearth was loose, they made use of a kind of red earth, which they found there, to form a sort of bed under it, and, as soon as it was possible, continued their voyage. In a few days they found the hearth loose again; and, when they examined it, perceived that the red earth was partly consumed, and the rest turned into a large plate of gold by the heat of the fire, whence they bestowed the name of *Riccadoro* upon this island; which could never afterwards be discovered, by reason, as is generally believed, of the violent tempests to which ships are exposed in those seas (29). One of the last vessels employed for this purpose was sent by the viceroy of *Mexico* from *Acapulco*, under the command of one Captain *Sebastian*; which being driven by a storm on the coast of *Japan*, the government in that island, either from the suspicion natural to their councils, or from the insinuations of other *Europeans*, took umbrage at this expedition, and persuaded themselves that this ship was sent to discover a safe port upon their coast, to which *Spanish* forces might be transported, was one of the principal causes of the general persecution raised against the Christians, and the total prohibition of any commerce with

the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese* (30), of which we have already given an account in the foregoing chapter.

(Y) It may not be amiss to observe here, that no satisfactory account has been hitherto given of these two different races of blacks that inhabit most of the islands in this *Archipelago*; the one having flat noses, thick lips, and frizzled hair, like those from the coast of *Guinea*; and other, handsome features, with long black hair flowing in natural curls. The first of these pretend to be the original inhabitants of these islands; and in *Luzon*, particularly, they have told the missionaries, that the *Tagalese*, or *Tagalians*, were their slaves. The *Spaniards* distinguish these blacks by the name of *Negrillos* and *Sambali*; but acknowledge themselves at a loss to account for the distinction between them, or how either of these nations came into these islands. As to the *Negrillos*, it is most probable that they came from that country which has been so long, and yet is so little, known by the *Europeans*, and to which, from its being intirely inhabited by these people, they have given the name of *New Guinea*; and this is so much the more probable, because that *Archipelago*, composed of innumerable islands, discovered in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and called the *New Philippines*, lies in a sort of semicircle, between *New Guinea* and *Mindanae*, the most southern of the *Philippines*, and in which the number of these *Negrillos* is much greater than in any of the rest. On the other hand, the *Sambali*, or *Zambales*, are most numerous in the northern islands; and therefore it is likely, that they came from the continent of *Asia* (31).

(27) What is here said is on the faith of an old *Spanish* chart. (28) L'Amirante D. Hieronimo de Banuelos y Carillo, Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, on the margin of his discourse, where he also says he once met with a dreadful storm in the height of that island.

(29) Gemelli Carreri, Tour de Monde, P. v. l. iii. c. 6. But he says it was discovered by a galleon sailing from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, which would be more probable, if he did not confound the islands *Riccadoro* and *Ricca Plata* with the islands of *Solomon*.

(30) L'Amirante D. Hieronimo de Banuelos y Carillo, Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

differently written.

(31) The same nation under different names, or the same name

a in others fewer. The chief product of their mountains is wax, which they gather twice a year. In the rocks over the sea, are found those so much esteemed and high-prized birds-nests^f; and on their coasts also are very fine pearls^g.

BEYOND the *Calamianes*, in sight of the high mountain of *Mondoro*, are the five islands of *Cuyo*, not far distant from one another. In them are about five hundred tributary families, still more civilized, and better affected to the *Spaniards*, than those of *Calamianes* and *Paragua*. They are very laborious, and therefore gather abundance of rice, grain, and fruit. The mountains abound in all sorts of beasts and fowls. At these islands ends the province of *Calamianes*, and begins that of *Panay*, the first land whereof is *Potol*. As *Paragua* is the biggest next to *Manila* and *Mindanao*, so *Panay* is the best peopled, and most fruitful in all the *Archipelago*^h. Its shape is triangular, and its compass one hundred leagues. The names of its principal capes are *Potol*, *Naso*, and *Bulacabi*. The coast from *Bulacabi* to *Potol* lies east and west; from *Potol* to *Naso*, north and south; from *Bulacabi* to *Iloilo*, another cape, less than the great ones, is also north and south; from *Iloilo* to cape *Naso*, east and west. The middle of the island is in the latitude of ten degrees. On the north side, almost in the middle between the two capes of *Potol* and *Bulacabi*, the famous river *Panay* falls into the sea; and the mouth of the harbour is covered by a small island, called *Lutaya*, in which port the *Spaniards* had a safe retreat, before they discovered and conquered *Manila* and *Cavité*. The fertility of *Panay* is caused by many rivers that water it; for there is no travelling a league without meeting a river, but more particularly by the *Panay*, which gives its name to the island, and runs forty leaguesⁱ.

THE island, for the better administering of justice, is divided into jurisdictions; the first, called *Panay*, contains all that lies between Cape *Potol* and *Bulacabi*; the rest of the island is subject to the Alcaide of *Oton*, who resides at *Iloilo*, a point of land running out into the sea, on the south side, between the two rivers of *Tig Bavan* and *Jaro*, and, with the island *Imaras*, forms a streight not above half a league over, or rather an open harbour. On this point the governor Don *Gonzalo Ronquillo* caused a fort to be built, in the year 1681. The island contains about sixteen thousand three hundred and sixty tributary *Indians*, partly belonging to the king, and partly to particular *Encomienderos*, or lords; but they all pay in rice, the island producing one hundred thousand bushels, *Spanish* measure, and but little other grain^k. The inhabitants are stout, lusty, and industrious farmers, and expert huntsmen, the country being full of wild boars and deer. The women make cloth of several colours. There are in the island fourteen parishes, belonging to the fathers of the order of St. *Augustin*, three benefices of secular priests, and one college of the society of *Jesus*, where they administer the sacraments to the garrison of *Iloilo*. Besides the tributary *Indians*, there are here those blacks the *Spaniards* call *Negrillos*, who were the first inhabitants of the island, and afterwards drove into the thick woods by the *Pisayas*, who conquered it^l. Their hair is not so stiff curled, nor are they so stout and strong, as the *Guiney* blacks. They live in the most uncouth parts of the mountains, with their wives and children, all naked like beasts. They are so swift, that they often overtake wild boars and deer. They stay about the dead beast as long as it lasts; for they have no other subsistence but what they reap with their bow and arrows. They fly from the *Spaniards*, not so much through hatred, as from fear. Among the islands about *Panay* lies *Imaras*, opposite to *Iloilo*, and about a quarter of a league distant. It is long and low, ten leagues in compass, and three in length, the soil fertile, abounding in sarsaparilla, and exceeding good water. On the mountains there are wild boars, deer, and good timber. It has also in it the port of St. *Anne*, three leagues from *Iloilo*^m.

TEN or twelve leagues to the northward of the point of *Bulacabi*, is an island, called *Sibuyan*, of the same sort with the last. Two leagues to the northward, are *Romblon* and *Batan*, then the island of *Tablas*, larger than any of the others, and five leagues distant from the point of *Potol*. In it there are many *Indians*, who speak the same language, and are little different from those of *Panay* in other respects. These are all the lesser islands that lie close to the great island of *Manila*; let us next proceed to those which are beyond, and at a greater distanceⁿ.

BETWEEN the two great islands of *Luçon*, or *Manila*, and *Mindanao*, the former the most northern, the latter the most southern, of this *Archipelago*, are those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Bobol*, which, one after another, enter into that large semicircle, which is formed by them all together. The first of the three, and nearest to *Manila*, is called *Samar*, on the side which looks towards the isles, and *Ibabao*, on that side next the ocean. It is like the trunk of a man's

^f See a description of these birds-nests in the 7th chapter.

CARRERI, NAVARETTE.

qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la

CORONEL, LUYIS.

NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI

de las Islas Filipinas.

^h Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. V. L. I. c. 8.

ⁱ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI.

^k MENDOZA, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYIS.

^l Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. GEMELLI

Recueil des Voyages

^m MENDOZA,

ⁿ Relac.

body, without head or legs. Its greatest length from *Cape Baliquaton*, which, with the point of *Manila*, makes the streight of *St. Bernardino* (Z), in thirteen degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, extends to that of *Guignan*, in eleven degrees, towards the south. The other two points, making the greatest breadth of the island, are *Cabo de Spiritu Santo*, or *Cape of the Holy Ghost*, the high mountains of which are first discovered by ships from *New Spain*; and that which lying opposite to *Leyte* westward, makes another streight, scarce a stone's-throw over, and yet a galleon, called *St. Juanillo*, or *The Little St. John*, coming from *New Spain*, passed through it°. The whole compass of the island is about one hundred and thirty leagues. Between *Guignan* and *Cape Spiritu Santo* is the port of *Eorongan*; and not far from thence, those of *Palapa* and *Catubig*, and the little island of *Bin*, and the coast of *Catarman*. Vessels from countries not yet discovered are very frequently cast away on the before-mentioned coast of *Palapa*. Within the streights of *St. Bernardini*, and beyond *Baliquaton*, is the coast of *Samar*, on which are the villages of *Ibatan*, *Bangahon*, *Cathalegan*, *Paranos*, and *Calviga*. Then follows the streight of *St. Juanillo*, without which, standing eastward, appears the point and little island of *Guignan*, where the compass of the island ends. It is mountainous and craggy, but fruitful in the few plains there are. The fruits there are much the same as that of *Leyte*; but there is one peculiar sort, called by the *Spaniard Chucoy*, and by the *Chinese*, who put a great value on it, *Seyzu*, without kernels^p.

Of the island of *Leyte*, and its situation in respect to the rest of this Archipelago.

THE island of *Leyte* takes this appellation from a village called *Gleyte*, seated on a bay opposite to *Panamao*. From the point of this bay northwards, one side of the island runs as far as the streight of *St. Juanillo*, twenty leagues in length. Then turning down from north to south, is the island of *Panaban*, at about thirty leagues distance, where there are two points three leagues asunder; the first called *Cabalian*, the other *Motavan*, a name taken from a rock directly opposite, now called *Sogor*. *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, the first discoverer of these islands, in 1521, entered through this streight of *Panaban*. He who gave him the best reception, was the lord of the little island of *Dimassavan*, who conducted and guided him to *Cebu*, and there was baptized, together with the king of that island^q. From *Dimassavan*, or *Sogor*, westward, there are forty leagues to the point of *Leyte*, and so ends its compass of ninety or one hundred leagues.

Enjoys an excellent air, and has something peculiar in its seasons, which are very remarkable.

IT is well peopled on the east side, that is, from the streight of *Panamao* to that of *Panaban*, on account of the fruitful plains; but there are vast high mountains, which cut it almost through the middle, and occasion so great an alteration in the air, that when it is winter on the north side, at the same time as with us in *Europe*, it is summer on the southern coast. Thus, when one half of the island reaps, the other sows, and they have two plentiful harvests in a year, to which several rivers running down from the mountains not a little contribute. These mountains abound in game, as deer, wild cows, and boars, and several sorts of fowl. The earth produces great store of roots, on which the inhabitants feed as much as upon bread, grain, cocoa-trees; and good timber to build ships. Nor is the sea inferior to the land, yielding plenty of good fish. The island contains about nine thousand *Indians*, that pay tribute in rice, wax, and quilts. The people are susceptible of any learning; and have two good customs; the first, to entertain each other interchangeably, when they travel; the second, never to alter the price of any provisions upon any dearth, and this under severe penalties^r.

Its produce and revenue.

THE air is fresher in *Leyte* and *Samar* than at *Manila*, and consequently these islands are more pleasant. On the side of *Bay-bay* and *Ogmua*, *Leyte* is, next to *Bobol*, the third island,

° NAVARETTE, CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI. ARGENSOLA, CORONEL.

^p Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^q PIGAFETTA,

^r GEMELLI CARRERI *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. i. c. ix.

(Z) This is one of the most famous streights in the known world; and, as the difficulty of passing it is, in some measure, beneficial to the city of *Manila*, as it would scarce be practicable for a Squadron to sail through it, without having a pilot from the shore, so it is not a little troublesome and dangerous in its passage to the *Spaniards* themselves, as the reader will perceive from the description in the text, which is copied very exactly from an author who passed it himself, and who had the assistance of several *Spanish* accounts of the *Philippines*, of which he made very good use. The little island of *St. Bernard* lies in the latitude of twelve degrees forty-five minutes north, and the *Cape of the Holy Ghost* is in the latitude of twelve degrees forty minutes. In most of the *Spanish* maps it is called *Embocadero de St. Bernardini*; in some it is called *Esfricho de Manila*, that is, *The Streight of Ma-*

nila, to distinguish it from the other streight, which is likewise to be passed, before they reach the port of *Cavite*, which is called *Esfricho de Mindoro*, the whole passage being incumbered with small islands, that render it very difficult and dangerous (32). It has sometimes happened, that the annual ship from *Acapulco* could not enter the streight of *St. Bernard* for want of a wind, and then they are forced to put into the port of *Lampoon*, on the east side of the island of *Luzon*, from whence the cargo has been carried by parcels upon mens backs; and this has cost the lives of a thousand *Indians* at a time. Sometimes the annual ship has put into *New Segovia*, in the north part of the island, which being at a greater distance from *Manila*, twice the number of *Indians* have been killed, in conveying the cargo thither; and this through their not sailing early enough from *New Spain* (33).

(32) *Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. cap. 1, 2, 3. *The Spanish, Dutch, and English charts have been also consulted.*

(33) D. F. Navarrete *Tratados Historicos de la Monarquia de China*.

- a under the care of the fathers of the society, that is, the Jesuits. Its length, from north to south, is sixteen leagues, its breadth eight or ten, and its compass forty. The south coast, looking towards *Mindanao*, is the best peopled; that is, from *Lobog*, the metropolis, to the little island or peninsula of *Panglao*. There are three others, with fewer inhabitants, but in all they do not make above twelve hundred, that pay tribute. The soil does not produce rice, but is rich in gold mines, and yields a vast abundance of cocoas, batatas, and several sorts of roots, which serve instead of rice. There are multitudes of cattle in the mountains, and fish in the sea, which the natives exchange with those of the neighbouring islands for cotton. The people speak the *Bisayan* language; but are whiter, and have better countenances, than those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Panay*, and are bolder men, both at sea and on shore. Their haughtiness appears by his surname who commanded them before the coming of the Spaniards, which was *Baray Tupueng*, that is, *Incomparable*, or *None such*. But their pride was humbled by the *Ternates*, *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, successively; and this was foretold them by a *Baylona*, or priestess, of theirs, called *Cariapa*, in a lamentable tone, and in no less melancholy verses, as themselves report; and, indeed, all the annals or histories they have throughout the *Philippines*, are a kind of ballads, or poetical chronicles^a.

^a Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

S E C T. V.

Of the island of Cebu, the first seat of the Spanish government. The passage between Lima and that island shorter, and more commodious, than between Manila and Acapulco. The island of Mindanao, rich commodities thereof, and the present state of the inhabitants; as also of Xolo, with the reasons why the Spaniards have not been able to extend their authority farther, or make the revenue of these islands turn to a better account.

- c **C**EBU, *Sogbu*, *Sibu*, or *Zebu*, is but small, not extending above fifteen or twenty leagues, the breadth eight, and the circumference forty-eight. The chief point towards the south-east is called *Burulague*; and hence its two coasts run, the one, from north-east to south-west, to the strait of *Tanay*; and the other, from north to south, to the island of *Matta*, four leagues in compass, and the city of the holy name of *JESUS*^c. This is seated on a point, in the latitude of ten degrees, almost in the middle of the island, and distant from the isle of *Matta* a musket-shot on the east, and a cannon-shot on the west; where *Magellan* was killed, with his father-in-law, the chief pilot, and Captain *John Serrano*. Between these two lands lies a port, sheltered from all winds, and with two entrances; that is, one from the east, and one from the west; but there are shoals at both. Here *Magellan* found many vessels, of several nations, at anchor; and the king of that place demanding of him the duties for merchandize and anchorage, he excused himself; alleging, the greatness of the *Spanish* monarch, and that ships of war paid none (A). There were, at that time, in *Zebu* three thousand families of warlike people; and in it was afterwards founded the first town of *Spaniards*, with all magistrates of note^d.

In 1598, the king made it a city, sending *F. Peter de Agurto*, of the order of *St. Augustin*, to be the first bishop. It was then permitted to *Zebu* to send ships into *New Spain*,

^c Tour du Monde GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.

^d CORONEL ARGENSOLA, GEMELLI CARRERI.

(A) In the neighbourhood of *Zebu* there are some small islands, called *Pintados*, from their inhabitants, to whom the *Spaniards* gave the same name, because many of them had their bodies painted, in a very extraordinary manner. These people are blacks; and there are still many of them in the adjacent islands, that are not under subjection to the *Spaniards*. This painting was performed by incision and burning. Some were painted all over, others only on the breast, the hips, the back, or the arms, with a great variety of figures, such as snakes, dragons, or birds of prey. This was the finery of these naked people, a kind of herald's coat, by which their great actions were declared, since all these figures were emblematical, and consequently not impressed till the person who wore them had achieved such enterprises as these figures denoted (34). A strange way, at least to us, of conferring honour, but a sure one amongst

themselves; because, at first sight, they could read upon the body of a person of distinction, how he became so. It is plain, from the number of ships that *Magellan* found here, there was a greater commerce carried on amongst the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, before they were visited by the *Europeans*; and it is to be regretted, that the first *Spanish* discoverers did not leave us more distinct accounts of the state in which they found the countries they discovered, from whence many things might have been known, about which we are now wholly in the dark. One thing, however, is very certain, that, since the settling of the *Europeans* in these parts, the navigation of the natives has rather declined than increased; and even the *Chinese*, who used to visit most of these islands with numerous squadrons, content themselves now with their trade to *Manila*, and their junks are seldom if ever seen in any of the islands to the south (35).

(34) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

(35) It appears, from the Travels of Marco Polo, that the *Chinese* were formerly acquainted with the country of *New Guiny*; and it is highly likely, that they were better seamen than, than they are now.

At what time
it was erected
into a bishop's
see; and how
it has since
fallen to de-
cay.

as, at this time, only *Manila* can send two; and, for certain reasons that will be hereafter given, they now content themselves with one. In process of time, as the trade of that island increased, and more especially, from the grant of annual ships, the commerce of *Zebu* gradually sunk; insomuch that the chief town, though it still remains a bishop's see, is long ago become very little better than a village*. There are yet remaining, however, some vestiges of its antient grandeur, such as the cathedral, two or three monasteries, and a triangular stone fort, built for the protection of the harbour, and in which there are still kept two companies of *Spanish* foot. There are likewise in its neighbourhood two villages, which were formerly suburbs to the city; one of these is called *Parion*, where the *Chinese* merchants and artificers formerly dwelt, and in which some still remain; and the other inhabited by *Indians*, who are free from tribute, in consequence of their original agreement with the *Spaniards*, to whom they were the first that submitted, and were of very great use to them, in discovering and subduing the rest of the islands. It has been computed, that there are in *Zebu* about five thousand families, warmly attached to the *Spaniards*, in consequence of their being converted to Christianity. The only kind of grain in this island is what they call *Borona*, inferior not only to our corn, but even to rice; in colour it comes nearest to millet, but is much smaller, and of a different taste*. There is also abundance of that kind of plant called *Abaca*, which, when dressed in the same manner with flax, affords a finer and a coarser kind of thread. Of the former they make cloth, which serves for various uses, and, though not very beautiful, is, however, strong and serviceable; and of the latter they make cordage and cables, which are reported to be excellent, as they are not subject to rot by lying in the water, which is the fault of the black cordage made from the cocoa-trees. They have likewise in this island great quantities of cotton, which they manufacture into very fine quilts; and, with a woof of cocoa-thread, and a warp of cotton, they make a sort of cloth, which serves for many uses. As for more valuable commodities, they have not many; yet some they have, such as, a kind of drug resembling *assa foetida*, wax in great quantities, and very good, with some civet†.

The communi-
cation between
Lima and
Zebu easier
and shorter
than that be-
tween *Aca-*
pulco and
Manila.

BEFORE we quit this island, it is necessary to inform the reader of some particulars, of which he will not meet with any account elsewhere. We find very intelligent writers expressing their amazement, that the *Spaniards*, in their traversing the *Atlantic* ocean from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, and from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*, should discover so little, and should never be able to find again those islands that were met with in their first voyages. Now the true cause of this may be very easily explained. The commerce between the *Spanish* dominions in *Asia* and *America*, while it remained fixed at *Zebu*, did not lie between that island and *New Spain*, but to *Peru*, the voyage being made from *Calao* to *Zebu*, and from *Zebu* to the same port. This being almost a direct passage, was much easier and shorter than that between *Manila* and *Acapulco*. Ships have come from *Calao* in two months, and have returned thither in three; and hardly any passage was made, without discovering some new islands, either on the south, or on the north, of the equator. In one of these voyages, as some accounts say, in the year 1507, the islands of *Solomon* were discovered, which were reported to be richer than any countries that had been found before that time‡.

Discoveries in
that passage.

THIS induced the licentiate *Castro*, when he was governor of *Peru*, to send a fleet, in 1579, under the command of Don *Alvaro Mendoza* and Don *Pedro Sarmiento*, to complete that discovery. They sailing from the port of *Calao*, eight hundred leagues west, found certain islands, in eleven degrees of south latitude, inhabited by people of a tawny complexion, who had in their huts cloves, ginger and cinnamon. The first island in which they landed they called *Isabella*, where they fitted up a pinnace, with which, and their ship's boat, they discovered eleven great islands, between nine and fifteen degrees of south latitude, all of them rich, well peopled, and abounding with spices, of which they brought back with them a considerable quantity. But Sir *Francis Drake* coming through the *Streights of Magellan* into the *South Seas*, very soon after this, orders came from *Spain*, forbidding any farther search after these islands. However, in 1595, the then viceroy of *Peru* equipped another fleet, or rather squadron, consisting of four sail, under the command of *Alvaro de Mandana*, who, missing the islands of *Solomon*, discovered, between nine and ten degrees of south latitude, several islands, in which, chiefly through their own fault, the *Spaniards* were very roughly handled, lost two of their ships, and the other two, with the greatest difficulty, arrived one of them at *Mindanao*, and the other at *Manila*§. This is a distinct and clear account of the several attempts made to recover these famous islands, and will fully convince the in-

* MENDOZA. *Tour du Monde*. par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9. LUYTS,

du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.

† PURCHAS'S *Pilgrims*, vol. iv. p. 1432. 1447.

‡ MENDOZA, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.

§ History of Navigation, prefixed to the first volume of

CHURCHILL'S *Voyages*, p. 74. P. CHARLEVOIX *Traité Chronologique du Nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 33.

a telligent reader, that the *Spaniards* have been no great gainers by the alteration of their route to the *Philippines* (B). Let us now describe the remaining part of this *Archipelago*.

The islands lying next to *Zebu* are on the north-east, near *Cape Burulaque*, *Bantayan*, a small isle, encompassed by four or five less, in all which there are only three hundred *Indians* that pay tribute; and, for the most part, employ themselves in fishing, and making cotton cloth and hose. Between *Zebu* and the coast of *Ogmach* and *Leyte*, are other islands, called *Camotes*, the chief of which is *Poros*, dependent on *Zebu*. In it the point of *Tanion* stretches out to the island of *Negros*, one hundred leagues in compass, and is separated from it by a small chanel, a league over, but dangerous because of the current. This island extends northward from nine to ten degrees and a half. It is fruitful in rice, in which the inhabitants pay tribute; and it supplies *Zebu*, and other adjacent parts. The mountains are inhabited by blacks with curled hair, who, by reason of their numbers, gave their name to the island, and who live in a kind of brutal liberty, like their forefathers. The land is divided among them, some living on the tops of mountains, others on the sides; but they fight fiercely among themselves, if one party attempts to go into the territory of the other. This happens very often; for it is their custom, that those above can have but one wife, and her they must take by force from them below; and so, on the contrary, those below from those above; consequently, every day there is bloodshed, and some or other killed, commonly with poisoned arrows. These are headed either with iron, flint, bone, or wood hardened in the fire ^b.

At the mouths of the rivers dwell a third sort of blacks, who have no commerce with the other two, and are such enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they give them no quarter. Nevertheless, if the island happens to be invaded by pirates of *Mindanao* or *Xolo*, they run with their arms to defend it; and this done, they retire to the mountains. They behave in this manner, as looking upon themselves to be the old lords of the island. The *Bisays*, 'tis true, as an acknowledgement for having been permitted by them to settle here, supply them with rice, and the blacks requite them with wax. These *Bisays* live in the plain, and they are most numerous on the west side, under the direction of the fathers of the society. In the island there are about three thousand that pay tribute, governed by a Corregidore and a military commander. There grows a great deal of cacao, originally brought to the *Philippines* from *New Spain*, as also much rice, which the mountains produce without watering. The island

^b Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.

(B) There have been frequent applications made to the court of *Spain*, to open a direct communication through the straits of *Magellan*, between that kingdom and the country of *Chili*, and, at the same time, a direct communication also between *Chili* and the *Philippines*. It has been shewn, that both these voyages might be performed in nine months, whereas the people in the *Philippines* are now sometimes six years before they receive any answer to the memorials they send to *Spain* (36). It has been also shewn, that, by this navigation, the richest commodities of the *East* and *West* Indies might be annually brought to *Spain*, with more ease, greater safety, and beyond comparison higher profit, than she has hitherto derived from her colonies in either *Indies*. But, notwithstanding all this, the *Spanish* ministers have been content to hear the same advice often repeated, without ever doing any thing towards carrying it into practice (37). This has been attributed to two causes. First, the danger and difficulty of passing the straits of *Magellan*; and yet those straits, when they were first discovered, were passed in three weeks (38), and have been very often passed since, with little difficulty, and without any danger. The second is, that another route has been long since settled, and constantly used, and which, according to a maxim that prevails in the *Spanish* councils, ought not to be changed, though they are well enough apprised of the many and great inconveniences that attend it. It may be, however, that there is a third cause, not hitherto suspected, and which, it is very probable, is the true one, as being more weighty, and founded upon much better reasons, than the other two. This may be the sense that the council of the *Indies* have of the truth of these suggestions, and the apprehensions they are under, that, if they should accept this

proposal, and carry it into execution with success, other nations might pursue the same course, the consequences of which might be fatal to their possessions, both in the *East Indies* and in the *West*. That the thing is really very practicable, may be inferred from the general consent of the ablest seamen of all nations, who have considered this point with attention, and more especially those who wrote from experience. A *Dutch* writer long ago observed, that the passage to *Batavia* through the *South Seas*, was, in many respects, preferable to that by the *Cape of Good Hope*. First, because, with all advantages of wind and weather allowed to each, it is the shortest by two months at least. Secondly, because it is attended with infinitely fewer difficulties with respect to winds, which are in all seasons fair through the *South Seas*; whereas by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ships have been fifteen or sixteen months in going to *Java*, nay sometimes nineteen months; whereas, by the *South Seas*, they may proceed to the *Philippines*, which is much farther, in nine months. Thirdly, on account of the healthiness, there being instances in some of those long voyages before-mentioned, of upwards of one hundred and sixty dying out of two hundred; whereas, by the *South Seas*, the voyage to the *Indies* has been performed without the loss of a single man. Fourthly, because very important discoveries may be reasonably hoped one way; whereas none at all can be expected in the other. Yet, in the course of one hundred and fifty years, the *Dutch* have not altered their notions in this respect, or made above one attempt of this kind, though that succeeded perfectly well, in every one of the particulars before-mentioned (39). Our famous seaman *Dampier* has said the same thing (40).

(36) Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, P. iv. l. i. c. 5.

(37) Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile y de las Misiones y Ministerias que exercita la Compania de Jesu, por Alonso de Ovalle, Roma 1646. fol. l. ii. c. 4.

(38) Par-chas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 35.

(39) Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes

Orientales, tom. ix. p. 37. 50.

(40) See his expeditions in Harris's Voyages.

Fuegas, otherwise called *Siquior*, is near this, and also to *Zebu*. Though small, it is inhabited by people of valour, and dreaded by those of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*. The island *Panamao* lies west, on the farthest coast of *Carigara*, and not above a musket-shot from *Leyte*^c. It is sixteen leagues in circumference, the length four, and the breadth proportionable. It is very mountainous, and excellently watered by several rivers, and full of silver and quicksilver mines.

What particulars remain to be mentioned in reference to the Spanish empire in Asia.

THESE are what may be called the constituent parts of the *Spanish* empire in the *East Indies*; for, with regard to the smaller islands, some of which are inhabited, and others not, it would require a volume, to give even a succinct description of them. The inhabitants of each speak a different language; and, in some of the larger islands, where, as we have observed, different nations inhabit, there are of consequence as many languages as there are nations. However, many of these are but dialects, occasioned by a different pronunciation, so that they understand each other, at least in some measure, without making use of interpreters. There are besides, two languages which universally prevail; and the accounts we have of these are more than sufficient to satisfy an intelligent reader, that there must have been a time when these countries were in a better condition, their inhabitants more knowing, and much more polished, than at present^d (C). We have now executed all that we proposed, with regard to the provinces under the jurisdiction of the *Spanish* viceroy of *Manila*. But there are two islands still remaining, of which it is but fit we should say something; because, though they have long ago thrown off the *Spanish* yoke, they are still considered as a part of the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, and are, beyond all dispute, of as much importance as any of those before-mentioned, that of *Luçon* only excepted; and having done this, we will conclude this part of the subject, and proceed to those points which will best inform the reader of the motives that induced us to enter into such a copious detail of what relates to all these islands, the value of which has been hitherto very little understood.

Of the noble island of Mindanao, which is the most southern of the Archipelago.

MINDANAO is next to *Manila* in point of size. As to its shape, it appears almost triangular, ending in the three famous promontories of *Samboangan*, *Cape St. Augustin*, in six degrees north latitude, and *Cape Suliago*, in ten degrees thirty minutes. Between *Suliago* and the *Cape of St. Augustin*, which lie north and south, is the province of the warlike nation of *Caragas*. Between *Suliago*, which points to the north-east, and *Samboangan*, is the province of *Illigan*, the jurisdiction of *Dapitan*, and the people called *Subanos*. *Samboangan* and *Cape St. Augustin* lie east and west; and the people of them on the one side and the other border upon the provinces of *Bubayen* and *Mindanao*. The circumference is about three hundred leagues; but this island has so many long points running out into the sea, and deep bays, that a man may go across it any-where in a day and a half. It lies south-east of *Manila*, at the distance of two hundred leagues. About it there are many islands, of different sizes. Among those that are inhabited is *Xolo*, thirty leagues distant from *Samboangan*; *Balisan*, divided by a strait of four leagues; *Sanguil*, the peninsula of *Santranguan*, and others^e. *Mindanao* being so far stretched out and so much divided, enjoys, or participates at least of, several climates, and is encompassed by stormy seas, especially on the coast of *Caragas*. That part which is subject to the government of *Samboangan* is most temperate, the winds pleasant, seldom annoyed by storms, and still less by rain. The provinces of *Mindanao*, and *Bubayen*, subject to two *Moorish* kings, are very marshy, and, the plain country especially, in a manner uninhabitable, by reason of

^c MENDOZA, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

^d ARGENSOLA, CORONEL, COMBES, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas. See also the subsequent sections of this chapter.

^e COMBES Historia de las Islas de Mindanao Iolo, y sus adyacentes. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. vi. p. 48. GEMELLI CARRERI.

(C) These two languages are, the *Tagala* and the *Bisaya*. The latter of these is coarse, ungrammatical, and current only among the vulgar; whereas the former is not only regular and copious, but extremely elegant and smooth. It consists but of twelve consonants and three vowels. They blend the *E* and the *I*, and the *O* and the *U*. They have characters for the consonants only, and distinguish the vowels by a single point, differently placed (41). The missionaries say, that this language has the dignity of the *Hebrew*, the precision of the *Greek*, the correctness of the *Latin*, and in its sound approaches the softness of the *Italian* (42). The people, in general, are better seamen than soldiers; and had, when the *Europeans* first visited them, many more, and

some of them, which they called *Caracwas*, much larger vessels, than are now in use. With these, though they had not the use of the compass, they made long voyages; that is, through the whole extent of the *Archipelago* (43); and carried on a much larger commerce than they do at present. From whence it is very evident, that, if they were better treated, lived more at their ease, and were encouraged to exercise and exert their abilities, they might be made infinitely more useful subjects, without any danger of revolting: and this the missionaries, more especially the Dominicans, have continually represented (44), sometimes in very strong terms; but hitherto, with very little effect.

(41) Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas. Argensola, Navarette. (42) From a memoir written by an ecclesiastic, who resided in these islands almost twenty years. (43) Combes Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo y sus adyacentes. (44) Argensola, Navarette. Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.

- a the gnats^f. There are, throughout the whole extent of this island, about twenty navigable rivers, and above two hundred rivulets. The most remarkable of the former are *Bubayen* and *Butuan*, both flowing from the same spring, but the first runs towards the coast of *Mindanao*, the other towards the north, and falls into the sea, in sight of *Babul* and *Leyte*. The third river, called *Sibuguey*, rises near *Dapitan*, and divides the territory of *Mindanao* from that of *Samboangan*. There are also two lakes here, one called *Mindanao*, which, in that language, signifies a man of a lake, and gives its name to all the country, which is very large, and covered with a sort of herbs they call *Tanson*, that spread themselves over the water. The other, being eight leagues in compass, is on the opposite side of the island, and known by the name of *Malanao*. All the country, except upon the sea-coast, is mountainous; yet abounds in rice, and
- b produces very nourishing roots, as batatas, ubis, gaves, aperes, and others. There are infinite numbers of that sort of palm-trees which are called *Sagu*, of the pith of which, reduced to meal, they make bread and biscuit throughout all the island of *Mindanao*^g, but especially on the coast of *Caragas*, near the river *Butuan* (D).

MINDANAO produces all the sorts of fruit that are to be found in other islands of this *Archipelago*; but the cinnamon is a tree peculiar to this of *Mindanao*, grows on the mountains without any improvement, and has no owner but him that finds it; for this reason, whoever is so lucky as to meet first with such a valuable tree, falls immediately to making his utmost advantage of it; and, with this view, takes off the bark before it is ripe; and so, though at first it be strong, like that of *Ceylon*, yet in a small time, and at farthest in two years, it loses all taste and virtue. It is gathered in twenty-five villages, and about as many rivers, of the coast of *Samboangan*, towards *Dapitan*, on high and craggy mountains, and in one village of the province of *Cagayan*. The inhabitants of *Mindanao* find very good gold by digging deep into the ground; as also in the rivers, making trenches before the floods. There is sulphur enough for all sort of uses, and which may be easily collected in the burning mountains, the oldest of which is *Sanxil*, in the territory of *Mindanao*. In 1640 a high mountain broke out into flames, and so clouded the air, land, and sea, with its ashes, that it looked like the day of judgment. In the sea, between this island and that of *Xolo*, there are very large pearls taken^h.

The cinnamon-tree peculiar to this island, and the reason why it is but of little value.

^f Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. LUYTS, DAMPIER.

^h Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, DAMPIER.

^g GEMELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde, P. v. l. ii. c. 6.

(D) What we have delivered in the text, is supported by the authority of such writers as attest what they saw; but a distinct and accurate account of *Sagu*, or *Sagou*, for so it is pronounced, makes a large and curious article in natural history. Without pretending to enter into this matter fully, we will endeavour to give the reader competent satisfaction, in as few words as possible. The *Sagu* is one of the most numerous species of palms, grows in most of the *Molucca* islands, as also in the island of *Borneo*, which is held to produce the best. It seems designed by Providence to supply mankind with food, in countries where no kind of grain can be cultivated to any degree of perfection. The soil most proper for it is a low marshy ground, where it rises to the height of twenty-five, and sometimes thirty feet, and is as thick as a man can compass with both his arms. The trunk is smooth, for all the leaves rise from the head. They spring at first upright, and pointed, of the thickness at the bottom of a man's arm; by degrees they open, and decline their points, till they become as long as the tree is high. They are thick and strong, and are employed to cover houses, which they do much better than thatch; and for other uses. On the back of the leaf there are strong sharp prickles, that defend them from being eaten by beasts, and more especially by wild hogs, which feed on them greedily, when, as they grow old, these prickles fall off. As new leaves shoot, the old ones decay. The *Sagu* grows thirty years before it produces fruit; and then, instead of new leaves, there shoots out at the top a firm piece of wood, of the size of a man's arm, from whence are produced flowers and fruit. In the latter, which is of the size of a pigeon's egg, is contained a small nut, of a black colour, and sharp sour taste. It bears but once; after which the tree gradually decays. But there are very few of these trees that are permitted to bear fruit, since it is from the body of the tree they procure that meal which is of so great use. They judge of the

proper time for cutting it down from its leaves, which grow white and dry, and are easily rubbed to powder when the heart of the tree is in the best condition. As soon as it is cut down they bark it, and what is thus taken off is about two fingers thick; then they cut it into pieces of five feet long, and split each of these through the middle. Some say the meal is made from the pith; which others deny, affirming that it comes from the body of the tree; and yet this is no more than a dispute about words, since, in fact, the body of the tree is composed of different substances, that is, of a soft spongy matter intermixed with ligneous fibres. The former is carefully separated from the latter; then mixed, tempered, and rubbed, in water, till it is reduced to a flour, in which form it settles to the bottom of the vessels; and then, the water being poured off, is carefully dried, and becomes fit for use. Of this, while it is fresh, they make various kinds of food, grateful enough to *Indian* palates, though but insipid to *Europeans*, who, notwithstanding, by the help of lemon-juice, sugar, and spices, render it very pleasant. The bread made of *Sagu* is baked between earthen pans, in the form of square tablets, six inches long, four broad, and about a finger thick. What is intended to be kept longer, the *Indians* have a method of graining, and it may then be preserved for many years. The flour of *Sagu* is very light of digestion, nourishing and wholesome, exactly suited to the climate in which it is used, and therefore in those countries there is a vast consumption of it; and the *Dutch* transport great quantities to their remote settlements, where the soldiers make it their principal food. Of late years considerable quantities have been brought to *England* and *Holland*, where experience shews that it is a great restorative, and very fit for weak stomachs, which it strengthens by degrees, and in time recovers the lost appetite, and helps digestion (45).

(45) From the information of a Dutch gentleman who visited these islands, and resided some time in the *Moluccas*.

An account of
the island of
Xolo, its cli-
mate, produce,
and dependen-
cies.

THIRTY leagues south-west of *Mindanao* is the famous island of *Xolo*, or *Gilolo*, governed a by a king of its own. All the ships of *Borneo* touch there, and it may well be called the general mart of all the *Moorish* kingdoms. The air is wholesome and fresh, from the frequent rains falling there, which make the land fruitful in rice. This, as is generally reported, is the only island of all the *Philippines* which breeds elephants; and, as the islanders do not tame them, as the manner is in *Siam* and *Camboya*, they are mightily increased: there are also goats with spotted skins like leopards¹. Among the birds, that which builds a nest like a sparrow, which is boiled, and eaten as a restorative, which bird is called *Salangan*, is the most esteemed. For fruit, it produces the *Durion*; abundance of pepper, which they gather green; and a peculiar sort of fruit called *Of paradise*, and by the *Spaniards*, *The king's fruit*, because b it is found no-where but in his garden. It is as big as a common apple, of a purple colour, and has little white kernels like cloves of garlick inclosed in a thick shell like a piece of leather, and is of a delicious taste. The island of *Basilan* is three leagues from *Mindanao*, and twelve in compass. Being opposite to *Samboangan*, it may be called the garden that furnishes it with plantanes, sugar canes, and other kind of fruit with which it abounds* (E).

Of the several
nations inhabiting these
islands, their
customs, man-
ners, &c.

THERE are five nations in *Mindanao*, which are the *Mindanaos*, *Caragas*, *Lutaos*, *Subanos*, and *Dapitans*. The *Caragas* are very brave, when employed either by sea or land. The *Mindanaos* faithless, lazy, and cruel. The *Lutaos*, a new nation in all the three islands of *Mindanao*, *Xolo*, and *Basilan*, live in houses built on the tops of trees, at the mouths of rivers, which at flood cannot be forded; for *Lutao*, in their language, signifies a man that swims on the water. These men are such enemies to land, that they take no pains in sowing or reaping, c but live the best they can upon fishing, wandering about the seas of *Mindanao*, *Xolo*, and *Basilan*: yet they are cunning traders, and wear turbants, and use the same weapons the *Moors* do, as holding correspondence, and being in amity, with those of *Borneo*. The *Subanos*, that is, dwellers on rivers (for *Suba* signifies a river), are the lowest in esteem of any people in the island, as being base and treacherous in a supreme degree. They never depart from the rivers, where they build upon long timbers, so high, that there is no reaching their dwelling with a pike: they climb up at night by a pole fastened to it for that purpose. They are as it were vassals to the *Lutaos*. The *Dapitans* exceed all the nations before-mentioned for courage and wisdom, and were very assisting to the *Spaniards* in conquering the d islands.¹

The barbarous
highlanders in
Mindanao,
and their un-
accountable
passion for li-
berty.

THE inland part of *Mindanao* is subject to the mountain people, who, fond of sloth and liberty, keep there without any inclination to visit the sea, or maintain themselves by tillage; and, being thus grown wild for want of commerce, give strangers an opportunity of pos- sessing themselves of the forsaken shore and rivers. There are also, besides these nations, in *Mindanao*, some blacks like *Ethiopians*, who own no superior, any more than those on the island, or in the mountains of *Manila*; but live like beasts, conversing amicably with none, and doing harm to all they can reach. They have no settled place of abode, and in the worst of weather have no other shelter than the trees. Their cloaths are such as nature gave them, for they never cover so much as that which ought to be hid. Their weapons are bows and arrows; and they reap no other fruit of their barbarity but an useless e liberty^m.

Of the Mo-
hammedans
in these islands,
and the mean-
ness of their
pretensions to
that religion.

THE generality of the inhabitants of these islands are heathens; but from *Sanxil* to *Samboangan* the people along the coast are *Mohammedans*, more especially in the islands of *Basilan* and *Xolo*, which are the metropolis of that superstition, and the *Mecca* of the *Archipelago*, because the first teacher of it is buried there, of whom the giddy-headed *Casikes* tell a thousand fables. The *Spaniards*, at their coming destroyed his tomb. However, to say no more than the truth, they are generally atheists; and those that have any religion, for-

¹ Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. b. ii. c. 6.
CARRERI.

¹ COMBES, GEMELLI CARRERI, DAMPIER.

* COMBES, Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI
^m GEMELLI CARRERI, DAMPIER.

(E) Before the *Chinese* corresponded with the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, they had most, if not all their cinnamon from *Manila*, which the *Spaniards* procured by their commerce with *Mindanao*. There is no doubt that, if this spice was properly cultivated, it might be brought to as great perfection there as in *Ceylon*; but the *Moorish* princes are afraid of every thing of this kind, from an apprehension of drawing upon them the *Spaniards* or the *Dutch*, who, by treating them as if they thought they were born only to be their slaves, discourage all improvements; and, by grasping at more than they can manage, lose much of what, without either danger or difficulty, they might

possess (46). It is reported, that in this very island some excellent clove-trees were discovered; of which the king being informed, he ordered them to be plucked up by the roots, giving this remarkable reason for it: *It is better for us to do it than the Dutch* (47). In this he shewed himself a sound politician, preferring the safety of himself and of his subjects to any temporary profit that might have accrued from so valuable a commodity. As for sugar-canes, they were brought into these islands from *America* by the *Spaniards*, where they have long ago thriven so well, that sugar is there at a very low price, and is exceeding good in its kind (48).

(46) Extracted from a *Memoir* of a person who resided many years in the *East Indies*.
Voyages, in Harris's Collection.

(48) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. col. 891.

(47) Dampier's

- a cerersⁿ (F). The *Mohammedans* know nothing of their superstition besides eating no swine's flesh, being circumcised, and keeping many wives; though they all agree in giving their minds to superstitious omens and auguries upon every accident. They are very temperate, contenting themselves with a little boiled rice, and, where that is not to be had, with roots of trees, without making use of any spice; and this, whatever their condition be, and whether they are rich or poor. The better sort, when they have a deer, goat, or fish, never use any seasoning but salt and water. Their cloaths are plain; for, being enemies to society, every man is his own taylor. One and the same garment serves for breeches, waistcoat, and shirt. By their sides they wear daggers after their fashion, with gilt hilts. Over their breeches they bind about them a piece of their own country stuff, so broad, that it hangs down to their knees; and on their heads they wear a kind of *Moorish* turban^o. The women, in the day-time, wear a sack instead of a petticoat, which at night serves for sheet, blanket, and quilt, upon a very scurvy mat; yet they wear rich bracelets on their arms. Their little wooden houses are covered with mats, the ground is their only seat, the leaves of trees serve them for plates and dishes, the canes for large vessels, and the cocoa-nuts for drinking-cups. As to manners they are more barbarous than other *Mohammedans*; for, if the father lays out any money for his son, or ransoms him out of slavery, he keeps him as his slave; and, which is more unnatural, the son does the same by his father. For any little kindness they do, they deprive him that receives it of his liberty; and their laws, for the crime of one man, make slaves of all the kindred. They do much wrong to strangers that deal with them, and the purse pays for all. They abhor theft: incest in the first degree is punished with death, that is, by casting the criminal into the sea in a sack. Law-suits are soon decided without many formalities, either in civil or criminal cases. The king of *Xolo*, for the administration of justice, has a prime minister whom they call *Zarabandal*, which is the supreme honour in that court. The great ones oppress the poor, because the king has not a proper degree of power^p. There are degrees of nobility, as of *Tuam*, that is, great lord; *Orancayas*, or rich men, lords of vassals. In *Mindanao* the princes of the blood royal are called *Caciles*, or as pronounced, *Cachiles*, the same style that is used in the *Moluccas*^q. In time of war these people have shewn great courage, both by land and sea, against the *Spaniards*, whom they have sometimes grievously distressed by their piracies, and repeated descents upon their coasts; to which they could never have been exposed, if, as they have often been advised, their governors would have built and maintained a small squadron of galleys, which might have been done at a moderate expence^r.
- b down to their knees; and on their heads they wear a kind of *Moorish* turban^o. The women, in the day-time, wear a sack instead of a petticoat, which at night serves for sheet, blanket, and quilt, upon a very scurvy mat; yet they wear rich bracelets on their arms. Their little wooden houses are covered with mats, the ground is their only seat, the leaves of trees serve them for plates and dishes, the canes for large vessels, and the cocoa-nuts for drinking-cups. As to manners they are more barbarous than other *Mohammedans*; for, if the father lays out any money for his son, or ransoms him out of slavery, he keeps him as his slave; and, which is more unnatural, the son does the same by his father. For any little kindness they do, they deprive him that receives it of his liberty; and their laws, for the crime of one man, make slaves of all the kindred. They do much wrong to strangers that deal with them, and the purse pays for all. They abhor theft: incest in the first degree is punished with death, that is, by casting the criminal into the sea in a sack. Law-suits are soon decided without many formalities, either in civil or criminal cases. The king of *Xolo*, for the administration of justice, has a prime minister whom they call *Zarabandal*, which is the supreme honour in that court. The great ones oppress the poor, because the king has not a proper degree of power^p. There are degrees of nobility, as of *Tuam*, that is, great lord; *Orancayas*, or rich men, lords of vassals. In *Mindanao* the princes of the blood royal are called *Caciles*, or as pronounced, *Cachiles*, the same style that is used in the *Moluccas*^q. In time of war these people have shewn great courage, both by land and sea, against the *Spaniards*, whom they have sometimes grievously distressed by their piracies, and repeated descents upon their coasts; to which they could never have been exposed, if, as they have often been advised, their governors would have built and maintained a small squadron of galleys, which might have been done at a moderate expence^r.
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- d descents upon their coasts; to which they could never have been exposed, if, as they have often been advised, their governors would have built and maintained a small squadron of galleys, which might have been done at a moderate expence^r.

A GREAT part of *Mindanao* was formerly subject to his Catholic Majesty, which, however, cost a great deal of trouble in reducing, and was with much difficulty kept. Afterwards they made peace with the *Moorish* sultan, which gave them an opportunity of lessening their gar-risons, and depending rather upon the zeal of their missionaries in converting the *Indians*, who, when they became Christians, attached themselves firmly to the *Spanish* government; and, as they lie at a distance from *Manila*, are less exposed to oppression^s. The city of *Mindanao*, standing upon a river of the same name, and built upon high posts, like the capital of the kingdom of *Siam*, is a place of considerable trade, and where there are large quantities of gold stirring. Captain *Dampier* informs us, that, when he was there, the sultan and his subjects manifested a great liking to the *English*, and would willingly have allowed them a settlement; which, in his judgment, was a thing very practicable, provided ships were sent thither through the south seas; by which course, if they left *England* in *August*, they might arrive there in *February*. The reasons he offers in support of his opinion, that an advantageous

Mindanao originally dependent on the Spanish government in the Philippines, and the people very willing to receive any other European nation.

ⁿ Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^p COMBES, GEMELLI CARRERI, DAMPIER.

^o Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. b. ii. c. 6.

^q ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas.

^r L'Amirante D'HIERONIMO DE BANVELOs Y CARRILLO Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^s Relac. de las

(F) This we say from the authority of the *Spanish* writers, and the judicious reader will understand it in its true sense. It is certain that most of the missionaries give us very dark and absurd accounts of the religious opinions of the natives; of which, in all the eastern countries, the people make a great secret, and that from a very plain and good reason, that what they esteem sacred may not be exposed to the ridicule of those who are of a contrary opinion. However, if this was a proper place, we could, from the inquiries of a learned and judicious writer (49), give a large detail of the religious notions of these people, which would effectually

clear them from the imputation of atheism, but would at the same time prove that they are wonderfully weak and superstitious. Their priests did indeed pretend to conferences with evil spirits, and instituted a multitude of silly sacrifices, which made them intentionally force-rers, though in reality they were groundless delusions, and meer acts of enthusiastic folly. The *Spaniards*, in this respect, have been very useful to them; for, since the introduction of the Christian religion amongst them, even those who do not embrace it have improved their sentiments, and in a great measure not only disuse, but despise, their former superstitions.

settlement might be fixed here, are very plausible, being taken chiefly from the advantageous a situation of the place, the rich commodities with which it abounds, and the trade that might be opened with the neighbouring countries ' (G). But when, on the other hand, we consider the rights of our exclusive companies, which are utterly irreconcilable to such a project, our constant complaisance to the powers that might take offence at our making such a settlement, and the decay of that enterprising spirit which can alone support undertakings of this kind, there is no great reason to suspect that any attempt of this sort will be made, at least in our times.

Not impossible, but some of the new projects for an East India trade may extend to these islands.

YET if, amongst the variety of projects formed by those powers that are endeavouring to raise a naval strength, they should ever fall upon a scheme for traversing the south seas, and entering this way into the *Indies* (which is far enough from being improbable), we shall b quickly be convinced, that the politics of the *Spaniards*, *English*, and *Dutch*, in neglecting and discouraging that route, are but indifferently founded, and that the profits of an *East India* trade, carried on this way, would very much surpass those that arise from that which is now in use. These may at present be considered as meer speculations; but the time may, and certainly will come, when posterity shall be satisfied that the *Indies* are but half discovered; and that countries may still be found, abounding in as valuable commodities, as any that have been hitherto brought to *Europe*, which the inhabitants would be glad to part with for our manufactures, and which commerce would be free from that popular objection of carrying out silver; though if this could be accomplished, there is little reason to believe that it would become more plentiful in *Europe*, because this would lessen the demand, and consequently we c should not receive so much from *America* ".

' DAMPIER's Voyages, in Harris's Collection, as below. p. 1422.

" See PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. iv.

(G) At the time Captain *William Dampier* was here, which was in *July* 1686, he was on board a buccaneer vessel commanded by Captain *Swan*; the account he gives of the island and the city, which, as we have observed in the text, have both the same name, is conceived in the following terms (50): " Some of the old people " of both sexes can speak *Spanish*, because the *Spaniards* " had formerly divers forts in this island; and would " without question have brought it under subjection, had " not the fear they were in of being attacked by the " *Chinese* at *Manila* obliged them to withdraw their " troops from thence; which opportunity the present " sultan's father laid hold on to make himself master of " their forts, and to expel them from the isle. But at " this time, as they are most afraid of the *Dutch*, so they " have often invited the *English* to make a settlement " there, believing them not so incroaching as either of " the before-mentioned nations. The chief trades in " this city are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and " shipwrights, for they build good ships both for trade " and war. Their chief commodities exported are gold, " bees-wax, and tobacco. The two first they purchase " from the mountaineers, and the last grows all over " the isle in vast plenty. These they exchange for calicoes, muslins, and *China* silks. The *Mindanao* tobacco is reckoned not at all inferior to that of *Manila*; " yet you may buy ten or twelve pounds of it for a rial." What he says as to an *English* establishment runs thus in his own words, " *Raja Laut*, and one of the sultan's " sons, came aboard us, and demanded, in *Spanish*, who

" we were; and being told that we were *English*, they " asked whether we were come to settle among them, of " which they had had some promise before, and were " now in hopes to see it effected, and to serve them for " a protection against the *Dutch*, whom they very much " dreaded. Truly, had we considered the matter, it " would have been much for our advantage to have done " so, considering the commodious situation of the isle " of *Mindanao* betwixt the *Spice Islands*; the three isles " of *Macangis*, abounding in spice and cloves, being " scarce twenty leagues hence and the *Philippines*; " neither did we want any thing requisite for such a settlement, being provided with all sorts of artificers, " as carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, &c. " as also with convenient tools, arms, guns great and " small, and ammunition sufficient for such a beginning: " and, notwithstanding the great distance of this island " from *England*, we needed not have been without hopes " of reasonable supplies thence, provided the ships set " out the latter end of *August*, and, passing round *Terra del Fuego*, stretched over towards *Mindanao*; or else " they might coast down the *American* shore as far as " it was found requisite, and then direct their course " for this isle, to avoid the *Dutch* settlements, and to " have the advantage of the east trade wind, after they " were past *Terra del Fuego*; by which means this voyage might be performed in six or seven, which, passing " thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, would at least require " eight or nine months."

(50) In Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 106, 107.

S E C T. VI.

The peculiar circumstances of the Spanish viceroy in the Philippines, and the singular policy by which a check is put on his almost boundless authority, and how this has sometimes operated. The state of the commerce between Spanish Asia and Spanish America; the objections raised against this commerce, and the regulations that have been devised, in order to render it more suitable to the public interest.

- a **A**S we have now described the principal islands in the possession of the *Spaniards*, we will next examine the general state of things, and shew of how great worth and consequence the *Philippines* are. The governor-general, in point of rank, is at least equal, if not superior, to the viceroy of the *Indies*. His salary, in that capacity, is upwards of five thousand pieces of eight *per annum*, which, together with his appointments as president of the royal audience, or supreme court of justice, and commander in chief of the forces, make up, in the whole, thirteen thousand pieces of eight; which, however, is but an inconsiderable part of his income^v. His power is almost without bounds, except such as are assigned by his own discretion. He has all military preferments in his gift; disposes of most of the civil employments when they become vacant; has the power of making twenty-two alcaides, or governors of provinces; puts in a governor of the *Marianne* islands, upon a demise, till his catholic majesty's pleasure is known; and names the general (so the chief officer on board the annual ship is called), which being a post worth fifty thousand pieces of eight, he does not bestow it, or indeed any thing else, for nothing^x. All the *encomiendas*, when they fall, are in his gift: he makes the *Indians* captains, majors, and colonels, in their militia; of which titles as they are very fond, so they are not unpolite to such a degree as not to express their gratitude properly to him from whom they received these honours. In fine, he has very little less than sovereign authority, with a prodigious revenue; and all this he enjoys for eight years without controul. But, as there is no condition in this life totally free from inconvenience, so there is one unlucky circumstance that attends this high office, and which renders it the less desirable: the *Spanish* court, considering that he is but a man, that power is apt to corrupt, and that the desire of wealth is a strong temptation, leave him, when he goes out of his government, in some measure, at the mercy of the people^y (H).
- b
- c
- d
- WHEN his commission is superseded, he cannot quit the island before his conduct has stood the test of a rigorous examination. His successor is commonly appointed his judge by a special commission; and, public notice having been given through all the islands, the people in general are allowed sixty days to come and make their complaints, and are allowed thirty more to produce their proofs. In some matters of a high and extraordinary nature, the judge is only at liberty to examine and record the evidence, which, together with his opinion, he transmits home to the council of the *Indies*; but, in things of smaller moment, he pronounces judgment^z; and this consists only of two parts, restitution to the person injured, and a fine

The extent of the Spanish governor's authority, and the vast emoluments arising from his office.

Severe trial to which he is exposed before he can quit the Philippines.

^v Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI. Account of the East Indies.

^x NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, and HAMILTON'S Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. liv. i. c. 5.

^z NAVA-

(H) It was a custom amongst the antient *Egyptians*, that, before their kings were interred, the priests went out, and made a long discourse to the people of the wisdom, piety, and virtues of the prince deceased; which if they approved and applauded, the rest of the funeral was performed with all imaginable splendor and magnificence: but, if the people testified their dislike of the priest's panegyric, and, instead of commendations, uttered complaints, he broke off in the midst of his discourse; there were no further thoughts of a public spectacle; but the body, being privately carried out, was interred with all the silence and secrecy imaginable (51). The same custom, as the Scriptures shew, obtained among the people of *Judea*; so that, according to the manner in which the monarch discharged his office, he was either privately interred, or his body, with much magnificence, deposited in the royal sepulchre of *David* (52). The state of *Ve-*

nice practises the like method upon the demise of a doge, the whole series of his conduct being strictly examined, and the funeral honours proportioned to the result of that inquiry (53). In the present case, it is highly probable that this examination was instituted to prevent the carrying away with him that fortune which the governor might acquire by oppression; and, from the consideration of his being obliged to restore, to deter him from making a bad use of his power. In case of his death, his conduct undergoes the like examination; and the first member of the royal audience, who succeeds in the administration till a new governor is appointed, is subjected to the like inquiry upon the determination of his authority; only he is not obliged to remain in the island till his trial is over, but, upon appointing an attorney, and giving security to abide the decision of the court, he is permitted to embark for *New Spain*, if he thinks fit (54).

(51) Diodorus Siculus, l. i. cap. 6. vol. i. p. 21.

(52) 2 Kings, xvi. 20.

2 Chron. xxviii. 27. Prideaux's Connection,

Amelot de la Houffaye Examen de la liberte de Venise.

(54) Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, P. v. l. i. c. 5.

to the king (I). In former times, this inquisition was very much dreaded; for, if the accusations were many and weighty, the governor was sent to prison; and there has been an instance of one that lay there five years; and others have died of the fright^a. Of late, it is said, a present of an hundred thousand pieces of eight to the successor has been found to furnish an effectual answer to most accusations; which has so provoked the people, that now-and-then they have taken the affair into their own hands, without waiting for the judge, which, tho' it be not a very justifiable action, is however a good precedent; and teaches governors that it is dangerous to forget their duty, for fear those who suffer by it should follow their example, and forget their obedience. Thus, as in most other cases, an extreme mischief produces its own cure.

Insurrection, in which the governor and his son were both put to death by the people.

AN instance of this kind happened in 1719, when the viceroy who then governed, after going as far in oppression as any of his predecessors, bethought himself of a new expedient, which was, to prosecute the merchants for fraudulent entries; and that he might not do things by halves, he not only suborned witnesses, but erected a court of his own creatures, who, he was sure, would believe them^b. So many were suddenly undone, that all the rest of the traders resolved to get out of his reach; and, having deposited their money in several convents, shipped themselves for different parts of the *Indies* till his time should be expired. But the governor went on with his prosecutions; and having condemned the absent merchants in what sums he pleased, demanded their effects from the convents, threatening, in case of refusal, to take them by force. Upon this the archbishop of *Manila*, attended by all his clergy, went to the palace, and expostulated with the viceroy; telling him in plain terms, that his own avarice was the sole cause of these disorders; and that he flattered himself in vain with impunity in case he violated the immunities of the church, which were originally intended, and in the present case were actually employed, for the public good. The governor, deaf to this good advice, ordered them immediately to depart; which they did. But an *Augustine* friar, provoked at the usage the archbishop had met with, and perceiving the people in the streets well armed, took a large silver crucifix, laid it upon his left shoulder, and bid all true catholics follow him. Seeing himself well attended, he returned again to the palace, where the governor, tho' he had but few persons about him, had the imprudence to order them to fire; which so irritated the people, that they presently stormed the place, and killed him upon the spot. His son, on the first news of the tumult, marched with the garrison from the citadel to his relief, and the people advanced to receive him. Their standard-bearer made him a short speech, in which he told him, that they were good subjects of his catholic majesty, and that they had punished one who was not so; that, with respect to him, the people of *Manila* had no ground of complaint, and that therefore he would do well to return to his post: but he, persisting in his resolution to revenge his father's death, met his own, the soldiers deserting him, and retiring back to the fortress. Upon the arrival of the new governor, all things were brought to a strict examination; the merchants were declared innocent, and invited to return; and, out of a million and a half of pieces of eight that were found in the deceased governor's coffers, full restitution made to such as had been wronged. On the other hand, there have been governors who have acted with such integrity as to be continued in this go-^f

^a D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. c. 4. of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 293.

^b HAMILTON'S Account

(I) Amongst the governors of the *Philippines*, who, by a tyrannical abuse of their power, have suffered severely by this trial, one of the most remarkable was Don *Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera*, who had the supreme power there in 1646. He undertook several great enterprises; such as the reduction of the islands of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*, in which he met with no great success: he quarrelled with the archbishop of *Manila*, and banished him the island: he was more arbitrary in all respects than any of his predecessors, and is reported to have been the first inventor of that tax or imposition called the *quandalas* (55). This consists in valuing the rice or corn upon the estate of an *Indian*, and ordering him to bring it into the public magazines, for the king's use, at a low price, to be paid nobody knows when. These, one would think, were hardships enough, and yet they are not the greatest with which this tax is attended; for very often those who assess the grounds suppose, that they will produce more than they really can, and then the owner is to purchase the rest with ready money. All these things made him very odious, so that his successor

kept him in prison five years; but at last he was sent home to *Spain*, where he was acquitted by the council of the *Indies*. The people of *Manila* said they had three sufficient witnesses against him; the squadron lost on the *Marianne* islands; the warehouse of rich effects burnt at *Acapulco* by lightning; the treasures that were seized belonging to him at *Burgos*; each of which was more than he could have got honestly in his government, and yet he had enough left to purchase friends and a good estate (56). His successor Don *Jaques Faxardo Chancón*, who had imprisoned him, was in his turn confined in the castle of *St. James* almost as long; and his successor Don *Saviniano Manriquez de Lara* was so terrified by the violence with which the people prosecuted him, that he could not help inquiring every moment of the annual ship on board which he was embarked, whether it was possible they should be driven back to *Manila*, which he dreaded more than death, and shewed the most extravagant transports of joy on being told they must absolutely go to *New Spain*, or to the bottom (57).

(55) D. F. Navarette *Tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*, l. vi. cap. 4.

(56) Colonel. D. F. Navarette *Tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*, l. vi. cap. 4. (57) Gemelli Carreri *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. i. cap. 5.

a government after the first term was expired, and this notwithstanding seventy thousand pieces of eight had been paid into the royal treasury by the person nominated to succeed them; which nomination, at the request of the people of *Manila*, was recalled, and the money paid back. This governor, in his first term, discharged all the debts due to the *Indians* honourably, defrayed the public expences out of the stated revenue, paid in a balance to the public treasury of four hundred thousand pieces of eight, and raised the annual income more than one-fourth part of that sum, with the blessings of the people; and yet he saved an immense fortune by a decent frugality, a great part of which he directed to be laid out, by his will, in useful charities ^c (K).

It is very clear from this account, that experience, as well as reason, demonstrates these islands are very capable of producing more than enough to defray the expence of keeping them; and yet it is generally agreed, that the public revenue does not discharge above two-thirds of the annual expence. The remainder, which amounts to about two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, is every year sent in silver from *Mexico*; which has been all along complained of as a most heavy grievance, because, as the *Spaniards* will have it, this silver is never seen again: but some very wise men believe, that the governors and other great officers transport at least an equivalent in gold and jewels, of which a great deal goes by the way of *Mexico*, and a great deal finds its way to *Spain* by some other route. This leads us to speak of the commerce of these islands, which, though nothing near so great as it might be, yet is very considerable, since the *European* and other inhabitants have between four and five hundred vessels of different sizes, with which they trade, amongst the islands, to several parts of the continent of *India*, to the *Portuguese* settlement at *Macao* in *China*, and elsewhere ^d. Besides this, *Manila* is a kind of magazine of *East* and *West* *India* commodities; and at the same time is, in some degree, a free port, where the ships of all nations, except the *Dutch*, are welcome. The *English* trade thither either under *Portuguese* colours, or the colours of some *Indian* nation; and of late the *Danes* have come thither in the same manner. While the inhabitants of *Goa* were able to carry on any trade, they sent abundance of ships thither, though there are still many that carry *Portuguese* colours, yet most of them belong to other nations; and those that actually come from *Goa* are not freighted by the *Portuguese*, but the *Canarins*; so low is that nation fallen through luxury and indolence, who, while they had courage and industry, were masters of the *Indies* ^e! A shrewd lesson this to such as esteem themselves so in these times.

As to the commodities of the *Philippines*, they have not many fit for foreign trade: what they have are, gold, but in no great quantity; civet, excellent in its kind, and of which they have a great deal; deer-skins, drugs, dyeing woods, wax, honey, and provisions. Besides these, they have several sorts of coarse and strong cloths, and other manufactures, made by the *Indians*; but what chiefly attracts the foreigners are the commodities and manufactures of *China*; such as wrought and raw silks, gold and silver tissues, rich cabinets, and other lacquered wares, with a numberless variety of other curiosities, brought thither by that ingenious and industrious nation, who though they are without doubt the principal gainers by this traffick, yet it is impossible it should be carried on at *Manila* without considerable profit to the inhabitants, who are vastly increased within these few years, and who, if they were free from some restraints, and affairs were administered with more regard to public than to private advantage, might be in far better circumstances than they are, more especially in times of peace, though even in war they are not often disturbed, and are no longer in any danger of being attacked or invaded in their own islands ^f. But, after all, it is the commerce between these islands and *New Spain* that is principally to be considered, because this renders them of such consequence to his catholic majesty, preserves the trade with *China*, furnishes honourable and beneficial employments to men of great birth and small fortunes; and, which is of the greatest consequence of all, defends the *South Seas*, and the *Spanish* dominions that lie along the coasts of them, from being exposed to any danger on this side, to which, if these islands were possessed by any other nation, they would be infallibly exposed; and therefore those ministers, who have been for depressing the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, and of which the race is not extinct at this day, are either not well acquainted with the importance of these countries, and the vast

^c D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de la China*, l. vi. ^d *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. ^e *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 889. ^f GEMELLI CARRERI, *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, HAMILTON'S *Account of the East Indies*.

(K) The name of this excellent governor was Don *Fausto Cruzat y Gongora*, knight of the order of St. *Jago*, descended from the ancient kings of *Navarre*. He did not either court the people, or fear them; and they, on the contrary, both loved and feared him more than any of his predecessors. In one respect only he was unfortunate, which was, that two galleons were lost during his government; by which the inhabitants of *Manila* were very much impoverished (58).

advantages that might be derived from them, or are carried away by prejudices that are the result of narrow and partial views ^a.

Their trade, when first settled, not limited in any respect, tho' it was more considerable than now.

We have observed, that, when these islands were first settled, the seat of government was at *Zebu*, from whence the commerce was carried on to *Calao*, which is the port of *Lima*, and was very different in many respects from what it afterwards became; for in those early days the natives readily employed themselves in searching for gold, of which the *Spaniards* had much greater quantities than in succeeding times, because very probably they used them better: they had also no small share in the spice trade; so that the cargoes they sent to *Peru* were very acceptable. After the conquest of *Luçon*, and the building the city of *Manila*, when the *Chinese* trade began, in 1572, it was found requisite to make various alterations; for the voyage from thence to *Calao* proved very tedious and troublesome, and therefore the course ^b was changed; and, because the vessels were obliged to steer east-north-east to have the benefit of a proper wind, the port of *Acapulco* was fixed upon, as in many respects the most proper for this correspondence, by which the voyage to *America* was shortened by near one-half ^a. The trade, however, remained perfectly free and open, as it had been from the beginning, by which the new colony flourished extremely for about thirty years, the fleet from *Peru* coming constantly to *Acapulco* pretty near the time that the galleons arrived from *Manila*, in order to take their share of the commodities that they brought; and thus the mutual intercourse between the *Spanish* subjects in the *East* and *West Indies* was carried on to the general satisfaction of all parties, notwithstanding that the returns to *Manila* were chiefly made in silver, and that to a much greater amount than they are at this time ^c (L).

Looked on as prejudicial to New Spain, and on that account put under restrictions.

BUT, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, his catholic majesty's ministers in *Old* and *New Spain* fell into great apprehensions of the consequences of the *Manila* trade, which, they believed, tended to the impoverishment of both those countries, and to the enriching chiefly of the *Chinese*; insomuch that it was commonly said at *Mexico*, that the emperor of *China* might be able to build a palace with the bars of silver transported from that country. Yet the true cause of the sending such immense sums to the *Philippines* arose, at least in a great measure, from a thing of quite another nature: *Philip* the second, being master of the *Portuguese East Indies*, was very desirous of preserving the *Spice Islands*, the loss of which, it was very justly foreseen, would draw after it that of the *Portuguese* dominions in those parts; and therefore the *Moluccas* were put under the protection of the *Philippines*, but with this ^d unlucky circumstance, that the *Portuguese* drew from them all their spice to maintain their *India* trade, while the whole weight of the war lay upon the *Philippines*. This increased the annual expence to near eight hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, while the public income did not much exceed two hundred thousand ^a.

This occasions various remonstrances on both sides to the court of Spain.

BUT, notwithstanding all this was over and over remonstrated, the clamour against these islands grew so strong, that, in 1604, the trade was limited, that is to say, the people of *Manila* were allowed to ship goods to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, and were to carry back no more than five hundred thousand. Some time after the commerce between *Peru* and *Mexico* was interrupted upon the same principles; and, as we have before

^a Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c.

^b L'Amirante D. HIERONIMO DE BANVELO Y CARILLO, Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.

GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas, &c.

^c HAKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. iii. p. 442.

^d Don JUAN

(L) It was within this period that the *Manila* ship was taken by captain *Cavendish*, with effects to an immense value; and considering that the annual allowance for the protection of the *Moluccas* amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand pieces of eight, the sums that were then transported from *New Spain* must have been near double what they are now; and yet it was for want of sufficient remittances that the *Spaniards* were obliged to abandon the defence of those islands, by which they fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who owe the establishment of their *East India* company, and the immense profits that have resulted therefrom, to the wealth that immediately accrued from the valuable cargoes they brought from thence (59). A *Spanish* historian ascribes this to queen *Elizabeth*, who, as he says, persuaded the *Dutch*, by her ministers, to attempt the conquest of the *Moluccas*, as the most effectual means of weakening the common enemy (60). It is, however, infinitely more probable that the *Dutch* undertook this of themselves, in pursuit of

their own interest, and in emulation of what *Drake* and *Cavendish* had already performed; the latter coming home with a complete suit of silk sails, made out of the rich goods he took in the *Manila* ship, though he burnt in her five hundred tons of merchandize, and took out only the most valuable, with one hundred seventy-two thousand pezoës of gold, which was in those days accounted an immense treasure (61). He afterwards sailed to the *Philippines*, remained some days at the island of *Capul*, and there hanged the *Spanish* pilot, by whom his ship had been navigated from *Acapulco*, for writing a letter to excite his countrymen to come and attack them; setting forth the weakness of their condition, and with how much ease they might be taken (62). This voyage it was that furnished the *Dutch* with some of the best pilots in their service; and from thence, very likely, the *Spaniards* conceived that queen *Elizabeth*, to whom they willingly ascribed all the mischiefs they met with, put the *Dutch* upon sending squadrons into the *East Indies*.

(59) Memoire dressé par l'Amiral C. Matelief, au sujet de l'état et du commerce des Indes. Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. tom. iii. p. 819.

(61) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 65.

(62) Argensola Hakluyt's Voyages,

remarked,

- a remarked, there wanted not some who were for pushing things to the utmost, and abandoning the *Philippines* intirely, in hopes that this would have occasioned sending more silver to *Europe*; a thing that would certainly have facilitated the ambitious views of the court of *Madrid*, which had embarrassed her with all her neighbours. We have already shewn how this stroke was prevented; and it will be sufficient for our purpose here to observe, that, for the next thirty years, there was nothing but uneasiness and complaints, references to the councils of the *Indies*, and such-like, followed by all the bad consequences that usually attend such litigious controversies; some insisting on the necessity of further restrictions; and others alleging, that the continuance even of those was more than sufficient to prove the utter ruin of the *Philippines*, where, however, the people were by this time doubled; and tho' few or none of the merchants were rich, yet they had wherewithal to subsist, and carry on trade, which they would have also extended, if they had not been with-held by their governors, in obedience to the instructions that from time to time they received from the ministers at *Madrid*; to whom, however, such as were really concerned for the welfare of the *Spanish* nation, where-ever settled, made repeated applications for some alterations, or that, at least, the commodities of the growth of those islands, and the manufactures of their inhabitants, might be exported without restriction ¹ (M).
- b

WHAT informations we have with respect to the issue of these disputes, are very far from being explicit or distinct for the last hundred years. All we know with certainty is, that the inhabitants of *Manila* have been long in possession of a right to send two galleons to *Acapulco*, for each of which they pay to the king seventy-five thousand pieces of eight. Of these one ought to be a ship of trade, and the other of force; but, to save expence, they send one very large ship, which they croud with goods and people to such a degree, that her lower tier of guns can never be used in her passage to *Acapulco*, till, by the consumption of provision, they are at liberty to raise them out of the hold, when they draw near the coast of *America*. These great ships are built at *Bagatao*, not far from *Manila*, where there is a fine arsenal, and all other conveniencies. The timber they make use of is excellent; their sails and cordage not inferior to it; and these, and every thing else that are used about it, are of their own produce, except iron, which comes from *China*, and is not very dear ^m. These ships are of very different sizes, from twelve hundred to two thousand tons; but, of whatever size the vessel be, the merchandize ought to consist of fifteen hundred equal bales, a great proportion of which belongs to the convents, that is to say, they have a right to send such a number of these bales, which they commonly sell to the merchants; and, in case they want money to provide a cargo, the convent furnishes them with that too upon bottomry. But, in all this matter there is prodigious corruption; for, instead of fifteen hundred, the ship often carries two thousand, and even two thousand five hundred bales, and, notwithstanding the magistrates and inspectors come on board, and clear the ship of these supernumerary bales, yet, in her passage through the streights of *Manila*, they are all put on board again, and, to make room for them, they break their water-jars, and scarce leave the room necessary for working the

The cargo of the annual ship at length enlarged to six hundred thousand pieces of eight.

¹ All these particulars are taken from the memorials from time to time presented to the Spanish court. m D.
F. NAVARETTE *Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. c. 31.

(M) The principles upon which these memorials from the agents for the *Philippines* are founded, regard every nation that has plantations, as well as *Spain*. In them it is laid down, that the king's maxims, and those of his ministers, are diametrically opposite; so that it is impossible to carry the point on one side but at the expence of the other: that the king valued all his plantations from a supposition that they contributed to extend the profession of the Gospel, to increase the number of his subjects, and to augment his power, by spreading his authority over nations formerly unknown to the rest of mankind: that the views of ministers were to provide for such as were sent governors, admirals, or judges, and to find their account in providing for them; that these men minded nothing but getting a great and a rapid fortune; that, in order to this, it was necessary to make the people slaves, and prevent to the utmost their either knowing or pursuing their own interest; that, having by such means answered their end abroad, they were bound, in case they returned, to preach up this false doctrine too, and were often so lucky to have that taken for sage experience, which was in reality hardened impenitence. They insisted, that the laws and declarations made by

the kings of *Spain*, from time to time, fully proved the truth of what they advanced; as, on the other hand, the conduct of the governors and great officers, with the complaints that were continually transmitted, afforded sufficient evidence as to the latter part of their doctrine. To all this they added, that the specious pretence of consulting the interest of the crown, was only an impudent attempt to colour tyranny and oppression, exercised by subjects for their private advantage, with the lustre of royal authority, which it was apparently calculated to destroy; since a viceroy, behaving like a tyrant, is guilty of the foulest species of treason, as not only acting against his master by breaking his laws, but traducing likewise his character, by presuming to do this when considered as his master's representative: that slavish tenures, high taxes, severe laws, standing troops, and a confined trade, might be fit instruments for ambitious and avaricious men, who meant to prey upon their fellow-subjects; but that rational liberty, mild laws, light impositions, a military spirit in the people, and all imaginable encouragement to industry, was the way to render a country populous, the people rich and happy, and their monarch great and glorious (63).

(63) D. Hieronimo de Banuelos y Carillo, Coronel, Gran y Montfalcon, Navarrete, &c.

ship^a. This is the true reason that they are so long before they get clear of the land, and a run the hazard of so many dangerous delays in their passage from *Manila* to the *Embocadero* of *St. Bernard*, which takes up sometimes five, sometimes six weeks, or even two months (N).

What the cargo consists in, the manner in which the ship is manned, and the vast profits of the voyage.

WITH respect to the cargo, it consists in part of the commodities and manufactures of the *Philippines*, the latter being very convenient for the wear of the meaner sort of people in *America*, as they are, though coarse, both lasting and cheap. But still the bulk of the cargo consists in foreign commodities, such as china, wrought and raw silks in prodigious quantities, of which we may form some computation from the number of stockings that are sent, of which there are commonly fifty thousand pair. Piece goods are another considerable article; to which if we add spices, and large quantities of goldsmiths work and toys, the reader will be pretty well informed of the contents of an outward-bound ship. She is accounted the king's ship from the very moment that she is put in commission, and she is manned and officered accordingly. The commander in chief has the lofty title of general, and has a captain under him, who makes forty thousand pieces of eight by the voyage; the pilot makes about twenty thousand, and each of his mates about half that sum. Those that go in quality of factors have nine *per cent.* upon the goods they sell; and every common seaman receives three hundred and fifty pieces of eight for his voyage out and home, which is performed within a year; but then he has only seventy-five paid him when he embarks at *Cavité*, and the other two hundred and seventy-five when he returns; which is a very wise provision, since otherwise their homeward-bound ships would be but meanly provided. The whole number of persons, passengers included, on board one of these ships, is from three hundred and fifty to six hundred; and, notwithstanding they are so many, they might in all respects be very well accommodated, if they would set any bounds to their avarice, and be content to send this vessel with a reasonable lading: and there are many of opinion that it would answer their purpose better if they sent two vessels, as they did formerly; because so unwieldy a ship is not only subject to many inconveniencies, but is also often in danger; whereas, if she was of a moderate size, there would be no hazard at all^o. But it has been found a vain thing to preach to men who are wholly governed by their passions; who desire to be rich at once; and who are content to expose themselves to the greatest miseries, in hopes of obtaining wherewithal to live voluptuously the rest of their days; in which, however, they are often deceived.

^a GEMELLI CARRERI *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. ii. cap. 10.
 Monarchia de China, l. vi. cap. 31.

^o D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados historicos de*

(N) One of the largest and best accounts we have of the passage through the straits of *Manila* is that given us by Dr. Gemelli; from whence it appears, that though the ship, on which he was embarked, sailed from the port of *Cavité* on *Friday* the twenty ninth of *June*, yet it was *Thursday* the ninth of *August* before they were clear of the land; that is, forty-two days in the whole. The latter part of his journal is worthy of the reader's notice (64): "There is no getting out at the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the chanel, where the currents are always impetuous, without a wind that is stronger than they. The *Embocadero*, or freight, is eight leagues in length, and four or five, and in some places six, over. It is inclosed, like the court or yard of a house, on one side, with the coast of the island of *Manila*; by the islands of *Boreas*, *Ticao*, and *Masbate*; by the six little

" islands *de los Narayos*, or of the orange-trees, which are desert; by the fruitful island of *Capul*, by the Indians called *Awa*; by the *Alupores*; and, lastly, by the west coast of *Palapa*: and, on the other, by the island of *Maripipi*, inhabited by *Talaxians*, *Tagapola*, *Mongol*, *Kamanda*, and *Limbanguayan*, which, all together, render the passage towards *America* very difficult, what way soever a man goes." It is from his account that we collect much of this delay is owing to the pernicious practice of putting on board the galleon a third part more goods than are registered; which not only renders her slow in sailing, and leaves the passengers hardly room to stir; but, in case of either tempests at sea, or being attacked by enemies, puts it out of the power of the crew to exert themselves as they ought for her safety, or their own defence.

(64) Gemelli Carreri *Tour du Monde*, p. 5.

S E C T. VII.

An Account of the wonderful voyage annually performed by the stated, licensed, and measured galleon, from Manila to Acapulco; a computation of the value of the homeward-bound lading; the common contrivances for deceiving the government, and defeating all their regulations; the immense profits which arise from this illicit commerce; the many dangers that arise from thence; and how often these annual Acapulco ships have been taken. Observations on the foregoing facts; and a further inquiry into the prevailing opinion, that this commerce is highly detrimental to Spanish America, and to Old Spain.

- a **T**HE ship, having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of *Cavite* about the middle of *July*, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea^a. When they have got through the passage, and are clear of the islands, they commonly stand away east-north-east, in order to get into the latitude of more than thirty degrees, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of *California*. It is very remarkable, that, by the concurrent testimony of all the *Spanish* navigators, there is not one port, or even a tolerable road, found betwixt the *Philippine Islands* and the coast of *California* and *Mexico*; so that, from the time the *Manila* ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of *California*, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity; and therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandize, and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time: and indeed their method of procuring it deserves a very particular recital^b.
- THEIR water, as we have observed, is preserved on ship-board not in casks, but in earthen jars, which resemble the large oil jars in *Europe*. When the *Manila* ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars, which contain it, are hung about the shrouds and stays; and though it is one convenience of their jars that they are more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken, yet it is obvious that a six, or even a three months store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded by any management whatever; and therefore, without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed; which indeed they have: but the reliance upon it, at first sight, seems so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risque perishing by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitude of thirty and forty degrees north, and which they are always prepared to catch: for this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gun-wale, whenever the rain descends: these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboo; so that all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboo, and by this, as a trough, it is conveyed into a jar: and this method of supplying their water, however extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail; so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all the water jars several times over. However, though their distresses for fresh water are short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniencies generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted^c. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their passage to *Acapulco* is performed with little loss^d (O).

^a TEIXEIRA'S Travels, cap. 1.
TEIXEIRA, GEMELLI CARRERI.

^b Lord ANSON'S Voyage round the World, 8vo, p. 332, 333.
^c Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

^d TEIX-

(O) There is a considerable sum allowed out of the public treasury at *Manila* to furnish sweetmeats, wine, chocolate, and other refreshments for the sick; but the person to whose care they are intrusted, commonly embezzles and consumes them at his own table, which enables him to get the better price from those who eat with him; yet the natural temperance of the *Spaniards*, their having, generally speaking, a full allowance for fresh water (which might be had in most long voyages, if

the same care was taken as on board the galleon), their eating frequently fresh fish caught at sea, abstaining from spirituous liquors, and keeping up their spirits by many diversions, defends them in a great measure from those diseases with which the seamen of other nations are afflicted in voyages of a much shorter duration; notwithstanding all which, generally speaking, a considerable number die in this passage (65).

(65) Teixeira, Gemelli Carreri.

The true causes
assigned which
render this
transit over
the Pacific
Ocean so ter-
ridious.

THE time employed in this passage, so much beyond any other navigation, is perhaps in a part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the *Spanish* sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution for so rich a vessel; for it is said that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by. And indeed the instructions given to their captains seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of a strong gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of thirty degrees, if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is necessary for the getting a westerly wind^a. This appears to able navigators an absurd restriction; since it can scarce be doubted that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are steadier and brisker than in the latitude of thirty degrees. So that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable b to great censure; for if instead of steering east-north-east into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood north-east, or even still more northerly, into the latitude of forty or forty-five degrees, in which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them, they might considerably shorten their voyage, perhaps perform it in half the time now allotted for it (P). For in their journals of these voyages it appears, that they are often a month or six weeks, after leaving the land, before they get into the latitude of thirty degrees; whereas steering a more northerly course, it might be done in a fourth part of the time; and when they were once well advanced northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them to the coast of *California*, and they would be freed also from other embarrassments to which they are now subjected at the expence of a rough sea, and a stiff gale^c.

The manner in
which she pro-
secutes her
voyage to the
coasts of Cali-
fornia and
Mexico.

THE *Manila* ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of *California*; and when she has run into the longitude of ninety-six degrees from *Cape Espiritu Santo*, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, called *Porra* by the *Spaniards*, being a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves near the *Californian* shore, and immediately stand to the southward; relying so much on this circumstance, that, on the first discovery of the plant, the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties of their passage at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without coming within sight of land^d. After falling in with these signs, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, not at all endeavouring to fall in with the coast till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to *California*, the caution of the *Spanish* navigators makes them very apprehensive of engaging with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to hale in for the sake of making *Cape St. Lucas*, to ascertain their reckoning, and to receive intelligence from the *Indian* inhabitants, whether there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance is a particular article in the captain's instructions; for by them the captain of the galleon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of *Cape St. Lucas*, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and, on discovering these fires, the captain is to send his launch on shore, with twenty men well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at *Manila* to the *Californian* missionaries; and are to bring c

^a Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 334.

^b HAKLUYT's Voyages, tom. iii. p. 445. Lord ANSON's Voyage,

p. 334. ^c HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 446. GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du Monde, P. v. l. iii.

c. 6. Lord ANSON's Voyage.

(P) In support of what is advanced in the text, it may not be amiss to observe, that a *French* ship in 1721 ran from the coast of *China*, by keeping in much higher latitudes, to the valley of *Vanderas*, on the coast of *Mexico*, in fifty days, that is, in as little time, or at least but a few days more than the *Manila* ship spends in getting clear of the land; but then it is said that she suffered so prodigiously by the scurvy in her passage, that she had not above four or five men left when she arrived in *America* (66). We may from hence form some judgment of the advantages that would follow from the discovery of a north-west passage, since it shews in how very short a time that passage might be reached from *China*: and, by the use of proper precautions, no doubt seamen might be defended from these dangerous effects of the scurvy. We have in a very early, but withal a very excellent, collection of voyages, that which is supposed to have been the first from *Acapulco* to *Manila* (67). This was by *Francisco de Gualle*, a *Spanish* captain, who sailed on the 5th of March 1582, and, arriving safely in the *Phi-*

lippines, he proceeded from thence to *Macao* in *China*. From this port he sailed again for *Acapulco*, and appears to have run into a high northern latitude, though he does not specify the degree; but he affirms, that running east, and east and by north, three hundred leagues from *Japan*, he found a very hollow water with the stream running out of the north and north-west, through which he ran about seven hundred leagues, meeting with whales, tunny, and other kinds of fish, which, as he observed, delight in a sharp rapid water; till, falling down to the latitude of thirty-seven degrees and a half, within two hundred leagues of the coast of *New Spain*, he lost that hollow sea, and began to meet with those floating greens which the *Spaniards* call *the Signs*, and happily completed his voyage in the year 1584. This shews, that in those early days the *Spanish* officers were both bolder and better seamen than they are now; as also, that these observations do not flow from conjecture or fancy, but are really founded in facts.

(66) The track of this voyage is marked in *De Lisle's Maps*. Lord ANSON's Voyage round the World, p. 334.
(67) Hakluyt's collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 442.

- a back the refreshments prepared for them, and likewise intelligence whether there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for *Cape St. Lucas*, and thence to *Cape Corientes*, after which he is to coast it along for the port of *Acapulco* * (Q).

- In obedience to these instructions all the officers on board act precisely as they are directed; from whence if in some respects their safety is the better secured, they are in others more exposed; for, in all cases of this nature, it is infinitely better to be careful in the choice of the person to whom so great a charge is intrusted, and then to leave things to his discretion, than to prescribe what he is to do, and perhaps tie him down thereby to do what otherwise he might not have done, and what it may be very improper for him to do. Besides, these rules were originally the produce of experience; but as experience is always increasing, so the value or those instructions must decrease; and, whatever the *Spaniards* may say, they are in effect little better than a contrivance to prevent the galleons from reaping any profit from modern discoveries, and restraining the art of navigation with more industry than other nations strive to improve it. Add to all this, that, unless the instructions could reach the wind and weather, it is hardly possible they should do much good; but they may and do occasion a great deal of delay and danger, and are the real causes that the *Spanish* seamen are less knowing and less active than the *English* or the *Dutch*. We need not wonder, therefore, that they are six or seven months in making this long run, and that they very seldom reach the port of *Acapulco* before the feast of *Epiphany*, so that they are from six-and-twenty to thirty or one-and-thirty weeks at sea. In this space they are exposed, as we may easily conceive, to great hardships, and a variety of diseases. Their biscuit grows extremely full of maggots, all kind of food becomes corrupted; and if it was not for sweetmeats, chocolate, fresh water, and the fish that is caught after they meet with the *Signs*, they would be reduced to great distress. The maladies under which they suffer are chiefly two; first, the *Berben*, which is a kind of dropsy that gradually destroys the patient, with a series of such mild symptoms, that he commonly dies talking, and without having the least suspicion of being near his end. The other is our *Sea Scurvy*, which is too common to be described. But, after all, it must be confessed, as we have already hinted, that the crew of a *Manila* ship are rather more than less healthy than might be expected, considering the number of people crowded together in a little room, and breathing nothing but sea-air for six or seven months together, and that air still more corrupted between decks by the noxious steams of the sick †.

- The port of *Acapulco* is the safest and the most commodious in the *Pacific Ocean*; the galleon enters it on the east side, the ships from *Pernu*, on the west. As soon as the vessel is moored, they begin to unload the cargo; and the town of *Acapulco*, and country round it, which a little before was a desert, becomes of a sudden a place of prodigious resort, and continues so till the sale is over; and then, all things being adjusted, they begin without delay to provide for their return. It is to be observed, that as the outward-bound *Manila* ship commonly meets with that homeward-bound upon the coast of the *Philippines* before her departure, so the utmost precautions are employed that every thing may be put into such order as that the galleon may return within the year, which is of great consequence, that they may arrive at a proper season to have a fair wind through the straits of *Manila*. In the space of four months that they lie in the harbour of *Acapulco*, they are sure to lose a part of the ship's crew through the unwholsomeness of the air, which is indeed so great, that nothing but the love of riches could tempt men to venture into it; and to speak the fair truth, they take care to be well paid that do *. But this mortality does not hinder their going back with more passengers, who are desirous of going to *Manila*; yet, notwithstanding this increase of people,

* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Lord Anson's Voyage. P. v. l. iii. cap. 6.

† GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du Monde, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, CORONEL.

(Q) The Jesuits have of late years established a regular mission in *California*, which is supported by a large legacy left them for that purpose by the Marquis de *Valero*. Their principal settlement lies just within *Cape St. Lucas*, where they have drawn together a great number of the natives, whom they have taught the doctrines of their church, and have reduced to order and civility, engaging them likewise to practise mechanic arts and agriculture, which has freed them intirely from those wants to which they were formerly exposed in a state of savage idleness. Nay, so far have these people, instructed by the fathers of the mission, proceeded, as to plant and cultivate vines with success, and actually make

a wine that, in some degree, resembles *Madeira*, and begins to be esteemed through the whole kingdom of *Mexico* (68). It is to the care of these missionaries that the making proper signals for the *Manila* ship, when it arrives upon the coast, is committed; and, out of regard to their brethren at *Manila*, who are so deeply interested in the cargo of the annual ship, they are particularly attentive to whatever may contribute to its security. There may be perhaps too great a mixture of secular views in these precautions on both sides; but, however that may be, the *Spanish* government is certainly in the right to avail themselves of this disposition in the Jesuits for the advantage of the community.

(68) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 336.

they are not so much crouded as in their outward-bound passage, because their cargo, being a mostly silver, takes up less room, and this enables them to ship a company or two of soldiers for recruiting their garrisons in the *East Indies*; neither are people so much afraid of making this voyage, because it is safer, shorter, and more pleasant. But, before we enter up on the homeward-bound voyage of the *Manila* ship, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the cargo which she carries back, in order to form some notion of the profits of this trade; which will enable us the better to judge of the great question, whether it be so detrimental to the inhabitants of *New Spain*, or lessens the exportation to *Old Spain* so much as is commonly imagined^a.

To what the value amounts of the cargo returned to Manila, from Mexico in the same ship.

We have already specified what are the goods that are sent from *Manila*, and these may be well enough reduced to four different sorts; under the first head may be ranged gold-dust, jewels, and rich toys, which, though in themselves neither necessary nor expedient to life, yet b must be allowed to have an intrinsic value, because, amongst all polite nations, the general opinion of mankind stamps such a value upon them. The next are the coarse goods which are worn by the meaner sort of people, and these are necessities. The third are raw silks, which make a considerable part in the cargo; and it is said that several thousands of people are maintained by the various manufactures in which they are employed. Under the last head we may bring rich silks, fine stockings, chintzes, most kind of piece goods, spice, and perfumes, which are luxuries: all these are paid for in a great measure with silver. As to the rest of the cargo, it is made of cochineal, sweetmeats, *Spanish* wines, and millinery ware from *Europe*, for the use of the ladies at *Manila*, and throughout the *Philippines*. In order to make an estimate of the quantity of silver that returns in the *Manila* ship, there seems to be c no better method than to take the old proportions, for they seldom vary; and therefore, if, when the trade was limited to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, the return amounted to half a million, now the trade is extended to six hundred thousand pieces of eight, the return will be one million two hundred thousand of the same pieces; which, with two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight annually remitted to make good the deficiency in the revenues of the *Philippines*, make, in the whole, one million four hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight; and whoever will compare this with the sums taken in the *Manila* ship, will find that there is not much ground to question this calculation^b.

How far this in reality affects the commerce between New and Old Spain.

THE next thing to be considered is, how far this in reality affects *New* or *Old Spain*. With regard to the former, silver is in fact no more than a commodity, with which the inhabitants d of the new world go to market; and, to speak impartially, it is of no great consequence to them, if they part with their silver, whether it is carried east or west into *Asia*, or into *Europe*, for in both cases they see no more of it; and even they, who complain most of this traffick, acknowledge that they have as much, or more, from *Manila*, than they could have from *Europe* for the same sum. So that it is not easy to see what reason the inhabitants of *New Spain* should have to complain; and in fact they do not complain, but others complain for them; which brings us to the second question, and that is, What loss the people of *Old Spain* suffer by this commerce? And, so far as we can discern, that amounts to little more than the value of the silks, which, it is supposed, if they did not come this way, must come e from *Europe*, and consequently the value of them be returned thither in silver; and to this indeed it is not easy to give any other answer than this: That the crown of *Spain* is best judge of the value of the *Philippines*, and whether the addition of that quantity of silver to her revenue would be an equivalent for the loss of those islands; which must necessarily ensue, if this commerce should be prohibited, as has been over and over demonstrated, when this point has been debated in the council of the *Indies*^c (R).

^a What is said in the text is taken chiefly from the Spanish memorials. DAMPIER, COOKE, and Lord ANSON's Voyages. Spanish inhabitants in the *Philippines*.

^b HAKLUYT, PURCHAS,

^c Taken from the memorials in justification of the

(R) Amongst other answers given by the advocates for the *Philippines* to this objection continually thrown in their teeth, that most of the silver they receive passes speedily into *China*, from whence it is never to be recovered, there is one to which the *Spanish* ministers never could frame any reply. Admitting, say they, the fact to be exactly as it is stated, that the subjects of the emperor of *China* reap all, or the best part of, the profits of our commerce, what mischief follows from thence to *Spain*? The emperor of *China* never attacks the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, forms no pretensions to their prejudice, nor ever shews the least favour or countenance to their enemies. But, with respect to the silver that is

sent from *New* to *Old Spain*, it remains not long there, any more than that which is sent to the *Manilas*. Whither, then, does it pass? Into the hands of the irreconcilable enemies of his Catholic Majesty, by whom it is employed in paying armies, and equipping fleets, for the ruin of his countries, and the destruction of his subjects. By which commerce, then, does *Spain* suffer most, by that which carries a valuable commodity into the dominions of a prince whose subjects furnish at least something in exchange, or by that which furnishes the enemies of the *Spanish* crown with the means of becoming rich themselves, while they keep her in a state of distress and necessity (69)?

- a THE galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, on leaving the port of *Acapulco*, An account of the homeward bound galleon's passage from Acapulco to Manila. steers to the latitude of thirteen or fourteen degrees, and runs on that parallel till he gets sight of the island of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of *St. Bartolomew*, and of the island of *Gasparico*. He is also told in his instructions, that, to prevent his passing the *Ladrones* in the dark, there are orders given, that through all the month of *June* fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of *Guam* and *Rota*, and kept in till the morning^d. At *Guam* there is a small *Spanish* garrison, intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at *Guam* is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two; but, getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for *Cape Espiritu Santo*, on the island of *Samal*. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told that centinels will be posted not only on that cape, but likewise in *Catanduanas*, *Butusan*, *Birriborongo*, and on the island of *Batan*. These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship; which the captain is carefully to observe: for if after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particulars of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and, in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of *Manila* of all that passes. But if after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to fear; and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to *Cavité*, which is the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to *Acapulco*^e (S).
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- d WE have dwelt the longer upon all the circumstances of this intercourse between the *Philippines* and *New Spain*, as it is in many respects the most extraordinary and the most important, as well as the longest, navigation on the globe, and upon which therefore many curious observations may be made. In the first place, it is the highest and most decisive proof in regard to the superiority of the moderns in maritime skill, since the antients could neither have comprehended the possibility of such a thing from the state of geography in their times; and must have believed it impracticable upon their principles, even if the possibility of it had been rendered ever so plain. It is no objection to this, that *Ptolemy* is supposed by some of the moderns to have mentioned these islands; for, granting this supposition to be true, which is more than can be supposed, yet that would have given him no light in reference to that passage to them of which we have been speaking^f. But if we admit farther, that the possibility of such a passage might have occurred to any of the antients, as it actually did to *Columbus*, they could never have judged it within the power of man to execute it, considering that a voyage not only for many days, but for many months, without sight of land, was a thing of which they neither had nor could have any idea. This notion, as we have observed, first entered into the imagination of *Columbus*; and yet there is great reason to presume, that if he could possibly have made a right calculation, and had understood that two hundred and thirty degrees of longitude must be traversed in sailing westward from the coast of *Spain* to the *East Indies*, it would have appeared even to him a matter extremely doubtful, if not utterly impossible. But in a series of years, and that a very short one; since, from the first voyage of *Columbus* to that of *Magellan*^g, there scarce intervened thirty; this was conceived, undertaken, and exe-
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It was reasonable to treat it more largely as it is very singular and important.

^d Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE GEMELLI CARRERI.
World, p. 340.

^f D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China.

^e Lord ANSON's Voyage round the World.

^g RAMUSIO, HERRERA, ARGENSOLA.

(S) In some of the *Spanish* memorials it is suggested, that the principal cause why they rely so much upon keeping their officers to strict obedience, and bend all their care to foresee accidents, and, as near as may be, to provide against them by proper precautions, is the knowledge they have of the hasty and haughty disposition of such as rise by degrees to the post of general of the galleon; who, if they were left in any degree at liberty, would, from a variety of motives, venture upon many things dangerous, at least, if not destructive of the vessel intrusted to their charge. It is further said, in support of these notions, that hardly any of the galleons have been lost or taken but by the neglect of the instructions:

which it is very probable may be true, and yet it is not at all impossible that there may be another reason for their adhering so steadily to this conduct, which they may not be willing to disclose, and that is, the employments in the galleon being all purchased; so that men are not raised to their office from an opinion of their abilities, or out of regard to their services, but for their money; and, as the royal audience cannot prevent this, the only remedy they have left, is to prescribe them their duty as punctually, and to tie them to the strict performance of it as far, as they are able; taking care at the same time to give them all the assistance possible (70).

(70) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

cuted; and consequently incomparably greater improvement was made in this art of navigation, than in the many hundreds, and even thousands, of years preceding. Of such consequence it is to keep men in action, to excite their faculties, and to inflame their courage, by emulation, and to make one discovery a step to another. It was by means like these, that so much was done in so small a time; and, by the neglect of these means, that so little has been done ever since.

An exact computation of the distance sailed by the outward and homeward bound ship. But, before we part with this subject, it will be expected that we should inform the reader exactly how great the run, from *Manila* to *Acapulco* one way, and that from *Acapulco* to *Manila* the other, really is; because authors differ very much upon this subject, as well those who, from their great skill in the mathematics, may be presumed to be good judges, and even those who have made the voyage, and therefore might put in their claim to be still better (T). But, as these variations plainly prove, this is a point not easily, and at the same time accurately, to be decided. In the passage from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, a vessel is obliged to steer, when clear of the land, into twenty degrees higher latitude, to obtain a wind; and, when she is near the coast of *America*, to descend again towards the equator almost as much; which is one cause that renders this voyage so tedious, as it evidently makes it the longer^b. However, supposing the *Manila* ship to get into the latitude of thirty-five degrees as soon as possible, and to keep as near as may be under that parallel, till she meets with the sea-weeds mentioned in the foregoing description, her course will then be about three thousand leagues, very little more or less. In returning from *Acapulco* to *Manila* they generally get as near as may be into the latitude of the last-mentioned place, and so run strait before the wind, which makes their course about two thousand five hundred leagues; which, being plainly shorter, incumbered with much fewer difficulties, and the ship having a smaller cargo on board, enables them to perform this run in half the time that is spent in the outward-bound passage. On the whole, therefore, the galleon sails from *Manila* towards the end of *June*, or the beginning of *July*; reaches *Acapulco* about the beginning, the middle, or the end of *January*; is ready to sail again by the beginning of *April*; and enters the port of *Cavité* about the same time that she left it the year before, where the seamen receive the remaining two hundred seventy-five pieces of eight as soon as the treasure is landedⁱ.

^b HAKLUYT, PURCHAS, NAVARETTE.

ⁱ GEMELLI CARRERI *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. c. 6.

(T) It will be proper to give the reader some few instances of the different accounts that have been given of this matter even by the best writers. *Varenius*, who is justly esteemed for his judicious system of geography, delivers himself thus (71): "General winds are found only between the tropics round the earth, except in some places where they are seven degrees beyond the tropics; and they are ever from the east, or from collateral points, as south-east and north-east, and that the whole year round, yet not always with the same degree of force in all those places; but they are hindered in some places more, in others less. They are most constant in the *Pacific Sea*, viz. that part of it which lies between the tropics; so that the ships which come from *Acapulco*, a port in *New Spain* in *America*, to the *Philippine Islands*, that is from east to west, often sail three months without ever changing or shifting their sails, having a constant east or north-east wind; nor did ever any ship yet perish in that vast voyage of one thousand six hundred and twenty miles: and therefore the sailors think they may sleep there securely; nor is there any need of taking care of the ship, when that general wind carries them strait to their desired port, the *Philippine Isles*; near to which, indeed, there are some other winds, that come against the general wind." Dr. Gemelli, who made the voyage from *Manila* to *Acapulco* in 1698, reports things very differently (72): "Inquiring, says he, of the pilots, how many leagues and degrees we had sailed, I found them of several opinions, and this because we had not kept our course, but pined backward and forward to no purpose. *Peter Fernandez*, a Portuguese, born in the island of *Madeira*, the chief pilot, said we had run one hundred twenty-five degrees, and two thousand five hundred Spanish leagues. But *Isidore Montes de Oca*, of *Seville*, his mate, would have it to be one hundred and thirty degrees, and about three thousand leagues.

"In sailing from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, it is certain there is none of this needless compass taken, as has been observed before; for, having fallen down from bare seventeen degrees to thirteen, they then run upon one and the same parallel quite to *Manila*, right afore the wind, which carries them in two months and a half, or three at farthest, without any storm, and therefore they run through only one hundred and eighteen degrees; which being from east to west, it is hard to measure the leagues; but the pilots guess them to be about two thousand two hundred Spanish. Another way may be taken, which is from *Acapulco* north-west as far as *Cape Mendocino*, and then to steer for the *Marian Islands* and *Manila*; and then they say the whole run is one hundred and seventeen degrees; and, allowing seventeen Spanish leagues to every degree, they are two thousand one hundred and fifty-nine leagues." In the account we have of Lord Anson's voyage (73), this subject is thus treated: "In the infancy of this trade it was carried on from the port of *Callao* to the city of *Manila*, in which voyage the trade wind continually favoured them so, that, notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months." When the reader has perused these passages, he cannot but be convinced of the truth of what is said in the text: yet, in regard to *Varenius*, we must observe, that his are probably German miles, of which there are fifteen in a degree, and consequently he makes the distance two thousand two hundred leagues. The pilots on board Dr. Gemelli's ship seem to have been very skilful and prudent men; and as to the last computatoin, it is spoken only in general, for the calculation given above corresponds with the Spanish chart printed in that voyage, which is by very much the best that was ever published.

(71) *Complete System of General Geography*, p. 492, 493.
(73) *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 324, 325.

(72) *Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. c. 6.

- a THE *Spaniards* give this immense collection of water between *Asia* and *America*, the title of the *Pacific Ocean*, because it is generally speaking smooth and calm, along the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, insomuch that they make use of very rude methods of sailing, without meeting many untoward accidents; but they are misled, who, from these accounts, infer that these annual ships are little exposed to danger, since it is very certain that many of them have perished, as well in their homeward as in their outward-bound voyages; and have been swallowed up in this ocean, as well as wrecked upon the coast of the *Philippines*, though there are more instances of the latter. The *Spaniards* have another reason for calling it the *Pacific Ocean*, which is, that it is seldom navigated by any other ships than their own, and consequently the horrors of war are but little known therein^k.
- b YET with respect to this there must be some restrictions made, for the peace of these seas has been often interrupted since the *Spaniards* became masters of the new world; and these annual ships, in particular, have been often attacked, and sometimes taken. As for instance, that great and very fortunate *English* seaman Captain *Thomas Cavendish* took an outward-bound *Manila* ship as she was going into the port of *Acapulco*, November the fourth, 1587, which was within a short time after this correspondence was fixed^l. He afterwards visited and alarmed the *Philippines*; neither ought we to omit that he made his passage thither in a surprising short space of time, leaving the coast of *America* on the 19th of *November*, and arriving before the strait of *Manila* on the fourteenth of *January* following^m. On the twenty-second of *December* 1709 one of the outward-bound annual ships was taken near *Acapulco* by Commodore *Rogers*, with his little squadron consisting of the *Duke*, the *Duchess*, and the *Marquis*; and they afterwards attacked the larger ship, but, for want of ammunition and men, were not able to carry herⁿ; and, on the twentieth of *June* 1743 an homeward-bound *Manila* ship was taken by Commodore *Anson*, for this, and other great services, created afterwards a peer of this realm^o. It is not requisite to detain the reader with an account of unsuccessful attempts; amongst which may be reckoned that of Captain *Dampier*, who attacked the *Manila* ship, *December* the sixth, 1705, with great advantage; and had certainly taken her, if he had boarded her in time: but his cannon, being five pounders only, could not do her much mischief; and when, after two hours fight, she began to return his fire with twenty-four pounders, it is a much greater wonder that he was not taken, than that he should retire in his leaky and rotten ship from a dispute that was so very unequal. And with these instances of *British* courage, in which we have not been so much as rivalled by other nations, we will put an end to the historical part of this subject, in which the reader may see at one view all that we have been able to collect from a multitude of authors who have written before us upon this subject.
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How often this annual ship has been taken by the English, and when.

^k HERRERA, OVIEDO, ARGENSOLA, &c.

Pilgrims, Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts. Collection.

^l HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 816.

^m PURCHAS's

ⁿ COOKE's Voyage to the South Sea in Harris's

^o Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 503.

S E C T. VIII.

An inquiry into the real importance of these islands; the unquestionable excellence of their situation; the causes why they have not been hitherto so beneficial as they might be to the crown of Spain; the improvements of which they are capable. Facility of making, and certainty of their success; always neglected, misrepresented, and misunderstood, by the ministers of his Catholic Majesty, tho' no part of his dominions more valuable, or of greater consequence.

- e WHAT we have already said is sufficient to shew what an interest the *Spaniards* have in the *East* as well as in the *West Indies*; and how the communication between colonies so remote from each other, as well as at so great a distance from their mother country, has been maintained for near two hundred years^p. But to render this chapter complete, it will be very expedient, we might perhaps say absolutely necessary, to join a representation of what it may be; the rather, because we have copious materials in our hands for that subject, that have not hitherto seen the light, and, being at once both new and instructive, cannot but be acceptable to the judicious and inquisitive reader. Some of the ablest of the *Portuguese* statesmen have attributed the decline of their commerce and naval affairs to the want of establishing, in due time, a full and free communication between their *East India* settlements and those of *Brazil*, which they saw, when it was too late, would have increased their shipping, and have enabled them to have defended both countries, at the beginning of the last century, much better than they did. But, in excuse of this, they plead, and may with justice plead, that they were but a province to *Spain*; and that all the force that had been raised by the invincible
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The shewing what might be reaped from the Philippines, a necessary part of this section.

^p Dictionnaire universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 89.

courage, and indefatigable industry, of their countrymen in *Asia* and *America*, was in part a wasted by, and in part exposed to ruin in, the case of another nation: so that when, by a great and glorious effort, they raised the present royal family of *Braganza* to the throne, and thereby recovered their independency, they found their strength too far exhausted to maintain all their acquisitions; and therefore were obliged to submit to great losses in the *Indies*, that they might preserve, as well as recover, their possessions in *Brazil*¹. This may serve as a lesson to the *Spaniards*, the only *European* nation, except the *Portuguese*, that have colonies, both in the *East* and *West Indies*, so situated, as to admit of a regular and constant intercourse, and which, if *Spain* would exert itself, might unquestionably be made the basis of a maritime power, equal, if not superior, to that which was sacrificed by *Philip* the second to the fond pursuit of universal monarchy.

Reasons why these islands are of so little benefit, tho' so happily situated.

If we consider the nature and condition of these islands, together with the strength and influence of the *Spaniards* in the *Philippines*, it is impossible not to perceive that they are capable of being put, in a very short time, in so flourishing a state, as to raise them above the apprehensions of suffering from any enemy, how formidable soever. There is nothing requisite to this, but the reforming some errors in point of government, and raising none to the supreme power unless they have passed through the intermediate offices, such as alcaide, admiral, and member of the royal audience. The releasing the Christian natives, at least the *Tagalians*, and some other nations, from personal services, and that subjection which borders upon slavery; the making a prudent reduction of the number of *Chinese* that reside in *Luçon*, and the rest of the islands; and inviting, as well as permitting, other strangers, upon whose fidelity they might depend, not only to trade, but to reside there²; these are points that have been often recommended, but hitherto have not been well received. Yet the introduction of these would intirely change the face of affairs, would repress the luxury of the *Spaniards*, and revive the industry of the natives; for, while any number of people are vested with a power that enables them to tyrannise, they will never have any thing in view but pleasure, which is a gentle word for the gratification of their lusts; and, while the far greater part of the people are rendered slaves, to support these petty tyrants, they will be as idle as they can; for industry is produced by hope, and a slave, having nothing to hope, will not exert his strength, or employ his faculties, beyond what is extorted from him by fear: no regulations, therefore, can possibly render people under such a constitution great or rich, in any considerable degree.

The only speedy and effectual remedies that can be applied to these evils.

But in such a country as the *Philippines*, where provisions are to be had in the greatest plenty, if œconomy was rendered necessary to the *Spaniards*, and property secured to the natives, all things would thrive apace. The latter would no longer make a secret of their riches, but endeavour to procure as much gold as they did when the *Spaniards* came first thither, and how much that was may be guessed from what Captain *Cavendish* found in the *Manila* ship, which amounted to one hundred and twenty-two thousand *Pezces*³. All their manufactures would increase; and, having traders amongst them, timber in the greatest plenty, and many good ports, those manufactures would be carried to markets, and these would be quickly found amongst nations that go almost naked, and would be glad to get cloaths if they were sure to keep them; and this they might do if they were civilized; a task the missionaries would find it easy to perform, if, to their promises of infinite happiness in the next world, they could add procuring them a moderate share of it in this. It must be granted that these islands are not so populous as they were, but there are still ten times as many people as are necessary to render them as flourishing as any colonies in the world; and it appears plainly from the best accounts, that the greatest part of these might be reclaimed, since it is not subjection, but slavery, that they abhor⁴ (U).

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¹ See our History of the Portuguese Settlements in America. Justification &c. GENELLI CARRERI.

² HAKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. iii. p 816.

³ DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON CORONEL, NAVARETTE,

(U) Father *Navarette* assures us, that in his time the *Indians* shewed their confessors very rich pieces of ore, and, on their promise of secrecy, acquainted them where they were to be had; which secret they religiously kept, for otherwise the *Spanish* governors would have employed these poor people in the mines, in the same manner as they do in the woods, that is, till they were consumed by hard labour; and therefore the missionaries, as themselves profess, never disclose any accounts that they receive, for fear it should be made a reason to impose greater hardships on these miserable people than those they suffer already (74). It appears from the accounts

transmitted to *Spain* above a century ago, that the gold then brought in was very considerable, and few or none of the *Indians* were without ornaments of that metal; but now they do not either gather or wear it, at least not commonly. Yet that the great have ways and means of coming at it, is highly probable, since Captain *Rogers* was told by a person he met with in *Holland*, who had resided in the *Philippines*, and was on board the largest ship when Captain *Rogers* attacked her, that they had a considerable quantity, and yet were not near so richly laden as those ships sometimes are (75). It is also agreed amongst the best writers, that not only *Luçon* and *Mindanao*,

(74) D. F. *Navarette* *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*. vi. cap. 6. the South Seas, in *Harris*.

(75) *Cooke's Voyage to*

- a THE situation of these islands is beyond comparison the properest for universal commerce, *What a vast commerce from all parts of the Indies might be attracted to the Philippines.* as the reader must long ago be sensible, from the accounts that have been given him, of their vicinity to *Japan, China, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siam, Birnee, Ceylon*, and the *Spice Islands*, besides those countries and islands that are so little known about *New Guinny*, which there is good reason to believe, are as rich as any yet discovered. If any insuperable difficulty should be found, from the great force and as great prudence of the *Dutch* in covering *Banda* and *Amboyna*, the free commerce with those countries might be easily dispensed with, by encouraging the cultivation of spices in *Mindanao*, where it is certain they have a great deal of cinnamon; and where it is as certain they might have cloves and nutmegs, if they were sure of protection^u; and this in the space of a very few years the *Spaniards* in the *Philippines* might afford
- b them, against the whole world, could they once persuade themselves of the truth of a maxim which hitherto they have not relished, *that commerce is a stronger tie than conquest; and that a brave people, such as the inhabitants of that island and Xolo naturally are, prove more useful as allies than as subjects, because they then serve as guards to those, who, in the other situation, would be obliged to keep up great garrisons, in order to guard against them.* As the domestic affairs of these countries mended, they would infallibly become the mart and magazine of all the rich commodities of the east; to this they were destined by nature, from this they are withheld by the *Spaniards*; if they would remove that severity which has hitherto kept them in a mean condition, and trust the rest to Providence, they might in a manner sit still, and see their empire in a short space exceed their most sanguine expectations, and, if possible, their wishes.
- c They would then have no need of their silver from *America*, unless it was to assist the circulation of their commerce; and very possibly the crown of *Spain* might find it requisite to compel an annual ship to proceed to *Acapulco*, instead of permitting it as a favour; unless they should be wise enough to leave the commerce of their colonies without restriction, which would be attended with greater advantages than can result from all the laws and regulations in the world (X). All this, the reader must observe, is built on a supposition that the *Spaniards* in these islands may be brought to act for their own profit.

At first sight these propositions may appear very improbable; but if we reflect how much the articles of goldsmiths work and rich toys might be increased by breeding the young *Indians* to those trades, instead of employing the *Chinese*; and remember, that the metal and labour of the subjects of *Spain*, in one quarter of the globe, is a just equivalent for the metal and labour of the subjects of the same crown in another; and that the raw silks and piece goods from *Coromandel* might be paid for in the commodities and manufactures of the *West Indies*; it will be no difficult matter to discern, that, without having recourse to severities, this trade might be gradually put into the best method the court of *Madrid* could desire; and, as the crown of

^u Dictionnaire universel de Commerce, DAMPIER, HAMILTON.

nao, but all the rest of the *Philippine Islands*, have gold in them (76); and that it is chiefly found by the blacks that live in the mountains, who sometimes purchase necessities therewith from the *Indians* subject to the *Spaniards*, and with whom, if they were better treated, an advantageous traffick might be established. Tyranny ever defeats its own purposes, and, by endeavouring unjustly to grasp all, actually destroys all.

(X) The maxim of the *Spanish* court has always been to make their possessions in the *Indies* beneficial to the crown, rather than to the nation; and this is the true cause that they have been much less serviceable than they might have been, to both. The want of a free commerce has checked their navigation, hindered the increase of shipping, and kept them poor and weak in the midst of riches. It may be suggested, that, if they were ever so much inclined to encourage the commerce, of which we have been speaking, it could never come to much, because the length of the voyages would deter private men from trading from the *West Indies* to the *East*, and from the *East Indies* to the *West*, in their own bottoms (77). In answer to this we shall observe, that some private traders in *France*, in 1715, fitted out four or five ships for the *South Seas*, where they arrived safely; and, after vending their cargo there, sailed from the coast of *Peru* to *China*, which is a longer voyage than to the

Philippines, performed it successfully in less than four months, and returned from thence into *France* (78); which shews what the hopes of gain will produce, and what may be done, where people are sure of being rewarded for the risques they run, and the labours they endure. The only maxim, therefore, that can encourage trade, is, making every thing easy to those who are disposed to engage in it, and to let the profits of the government be the last thing to be considered; for which they will not be the less, since the monarch of a rich people can never be poor; and the crown, where the people are poor, can never be long rich. These points one would have conceived well understood in *Spain* above twenty years ago, when upon a proposal for erecting a company for managing the trade of the *Philippines*, most points relative to this commerce were thoroughly examined, and the whole digested into a charter, granted for twenty years to Don *Emanuel de Arriaga*, and those who should embark with him, upon the terms prescribed (79). But, whether the scheme was formed purely for stockjobbing, whether it failed for want of adventurers, or whether the season for mercantile improvements in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty was not yet come, it so fell out, that nothing farther ensued from this vast project, than barely letting the intelligent world see what might have been done.

(76) L'Amirante D. Hieronimo de Banuelos y Carillo Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 820.

(77) This objection is stated in some of the memorials before cited.

au Tour du Monde, par L. G. de la Barbinais, tom. ii. p. 251.

(78) Nouveau Voyage

Droit des Gens, tom. ii. part ii. art. CLV.

(79) Supplement au Corps Diplomatique du

Spain actually receives twelve *per cent.* by way of duty on the exports from both countries, if a this trade were put into a right method, she would be no loser by it *. For though it be true, that the silver sent from *New Spain* into the *East Indies* never returns, yet it may be also affirmed with great truth, that the silver sent into *Old Spain* seldom remains there long, but is carried away by other nations that furnish the commodities and manufactures, in exchange for which the silver comes from *Mexico* and *Peru*; so that, at the bottom, it is not the silver which the *Spanish* politicians contest for, but the mere sight of the silver, which certainly ought not to be put in competition with the ease and welfare of their subjects, or with the grandeur and security of the crown †. Neither is this argument overthrown by what has been suggested to his Catholic Majesty's ministers, as if the convents, and more especially the Jesuits at *Manila*, were the principal gainers by the trade there; since, if this be true, we b must naturally imagine that the society have some secret ways of getting their wealth home; and, if that be so, it answers the aim of the court, and brings into *Spain* either the silver, or the value of the silver, that passes to *Manila* ‡. But, if the truth of this be suspected, the court have always a short and effectual remedy in their power, by giving the convents an equivalent for the concessions that have been made them in respect to the cargo of the annual ship, or the suppressing those allowances that are paid in ready money out of the king's treasury, if, when this affair is thoroughly examined, the services they perform, in keeping the *Indians* steady in their obedience, shall be thought too little to merit so large an income §.

The Spaniards without trading themselves, might draw a considerable revenue from permitting the *Indians* to have a free port.

BUT there are two points more, which, in reference to this subject, certainly merit great notice. The first is, the ease with which, in consequence of proper instructions from the court c of *Spain*, the governor of the *Philippines*, without the *Spaniards* being compelled to industry, might make any convenient place the centre of commerce for the remotest nations of the east. Vessels from *China*, *Formosa*, *Corea*, and the islands dependent on *Japan*, if not from *Japan* itself, would infallibly resort thither in great numbers, in order to trade with each other, and with vessels from *Borneo*, *Celebes*, *Gilolo*, and even remoter parts of the *Indies* †. It may be, and indeed it very probably is, true, that something of this kind is done already, from whence the governor reaps a very large profit ‡. But this must be done clandestinely; and the larger the governor's profit, the heavier the oppression, and, of consequence, the more confined this trade; whereas if this protection was given them by his Catholic Majesty for a reasonable indulto, and that candidly levied, the resort of vessels would increase every year, more especially if magazines were erected at the public charge, and let upon easy terms §. This expedient would in a short time bring vessels from countries with which the *Spaniards* are at present unacquainted; and, if they were disposed to make inquiries, would furnish them, with little trouble, and no expence, with a more certain knowledge of the countries ¶, whether continents or islands, or, to speak with greater propriety, large islands or little ones, interspersed between *Asia* and *America*, than either themselves, or any other nation, with infinite hazard and labour, have been hitherto able to obtain §.

By allowing the same privilege to ships from the European settlements in the *Indies*, might be lost without the American commerce.

THE other point is of no less consequence. There has been heretofore, and very probably there still is, a small trade carried on there by connivance from the settlements of other European nations in the *Indies* †. If, instead of this illicit commerce, the same, or some other port, c was, in like manner, under a reasonable indulto, and proper restrictions, opened for them, it would produce a great revenue, and in a short time enable the *Spanish* subjects in the *Philippines* to subsist with smaller, or perhaps without any, remittances of silver from *Spanish America*; and then it might be very practicable to reduce the size of the annual galleon, or to render its voyages less frequent; for example, to limit this indulgence to three or five years, and so put an end effectually to that sort of commerce, which, whether with or without reason we shall not pretend to determine, has given so long and so much umbrage to the ministers in *Old Spain* ‡. For here, as in all other parts of the world, absolute prohibitions, even under the highest penalties, have only served to introduce smuggling, beneficial to a few private persons, but always prejudicial to the public; whereas an open trade, wisely regulated, would enrich f his Catholic Majesty's subjects in general, defray the expences of government; and within a very short period convince the court of *Madrid*, that these islands, instead of being a burden, might become as valuable in all respects as any country subject to the crown of *Spain*. We will close these hints by adding, that all the advantages proposed might be obtained without hazard, and without difficulty, except that of adjusting a proper plan of instructions, adhering

* Extracted from the memorials presented to the court of Madrid on the part of the inhabitants of the *Philippines*.

† CORONEL Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas.

‡ Lord ANSON'S Voyage, p. 327.

§ 328, 329. This remedy is suggested in the memorials before-mentioned.

¶ Histoire des

Molucques, tom. iii. passim. SAVARY Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 889. Relations des Isles Philippines.

‡ CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI Memoire sur la Commerce des Isles Philippines. c NAVARETTE, Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTEFALC N, CORONEL.

d Relations des Isles Philippines, DAMPIER, SAVARY.

e See this point more largely explained in the next section. f SAVARY Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 889. HAMILTON'S Voyage to the East Indies. An Idea of the Trade of Europe, with the Nations in the East Indies.

g Collected from the very latest accounts of the commercial notions of the Spanish ministers.

a to them steadily, and making severe examples of any, who, through avarice or ambition, should break through them, or attempt to sacrifice to private interest a system happily established for the public benefit.

It is however said, by those who pretend to know the world, and to give such advice to princes as may be easily executed, and of the effects of which the event may be soon known, that the *Manilas* are and have been a constant drain ever since they have been discovered : that this is a thing plain, and which cannot be disputed : that the silver returned by the annual ship might be brought into *Old Spain* ; that the demands for money there are very pressing ; and that, after all, if the *Philippines* have any value, it would be discovered by prohibiting this trade ; and then the only reformation necessary would be, to bring the expences of the government there to a level with its income. On the other hand, these people say, that, after waiting and expecting almost two hundred years for the performance of those fair promises that have been made by the advocates for this establishment, it is downright madness to wait any longer, and still higher madness to be at any expence to promote the commerce of a colony with which they have no direct communication ; that, when no longer supplied by *New Spain*, the government there would naturally exert itself for its own preservation ; and that, by taking this step, a clear million yearly would be added to the cargo of the galleons. These are not fictitious suppositions, but the plain undisguised substance of certain representations from some who thought themselves, and were thought by others, great politicians. Yet it falls out, that some objections have occurred to these reasonings, which are said to be founded upon self-evident principles, such as, that the bringing the expences of their own administration within the settled revenue of the crown, would render these regulations needless ; that it might be proved, the million saved in *New Spain* would not come over in the galleons, but be swallowed up in the illicit trade with other *European* nations ; and that the certain consequence of this new scheme would be, the speedy loss of the *Philippines*, and the re-establishment of a commerce in the south seas, under the protection of a foreign fleet ; with this additional circumstance, that these evils would admit of no remedy ^b (Y).

But those who are for the milder methods, which have been before stated, pretend to have in reserve some expedients which would free their system from all objections, put the success out of all doubt, and not leave the court under any lingering expectations as to the event. In few words, then, their additional suggestions are these : That a squadron of two or three good ships, laden with *European* commodities, should be sent directly from *Spain* to the *Philippines*, through the south seas, which might be done in half the time that the northern nations send theirs to *China* ; that by this means they might maintain a trade with the *Chinese* upon better terms than they have hitherto done ; that these ships might carry silver, in exchange for gold-dust ; and that the produce of part of the *European* goods, as well as the remainder of those goods, whatever it might be, should be embarked on board one or more galleons, and transported to *Acapulco*, and the produce of their cargo there sent home to *Old Spain*. By this means all desirable ends would be answered ; for the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, having no other means of obtaining silver than by exchanging gold, would soon find the means of procuring it ; and they farther add, that, by settling the islands of *Juan Fernandez*, a regular intercourse with *Spain* would be established in a few years ; the trade of that kingdom revived,

^b Drawn from the memorials addressed to the council of the Indies, and the preambles to some of the royal edicts.

(Y) These suggestions are said to have made a great impression on the mind of the late Mr. *Patinho* one of the ablest and most disinterested ministers that *Spain* has had to boast for many years ; and some have believed he would, had he survived much longer, have carried this scheme of recalling the concession of the annual ship into execution (80). But, in that case, no doubt he would have provided some other way of corresponding with the *Philippines*, perhaps that which is above suggested. For, without that commerce, or an equivalent for that commerce, it would be impossible for the *Spaniards* to keep them long in their possession. One great argument in favour of these islands, which has never hitherto been mentioned, is this, that the crown of *Spain*, by keeping them, might enable its subjects to carry on the richest trade in the *Indies*, without attempting any farther establishments or conquests ; which is a point that deserves to be very well considered, since it was embracing an empire too extensive for their power,

that proved fatal to the *Portuguese*, and it is suspected may some time or other prove injurious to another great power (81). Certain it is, that the *Dutch*, by grasping too much at first, were in very great danger of losing all, since, upon their miscarrying in the first siege of *Malacca*, and Don *Pedro de Acuna*'s recovering the *Moluccas* with the force he brought from the *Philippines*, their affairs were in a dangerous situation ; and, had he and his successors been effectually supported from *New Spain*, all that was expected from them might have been performed (82). But if the indulgences above-mentioned were granted to the subjects of *Spain* in those islands, their strength would increase every day, and, with it, their wealth and commerce, without attempting any thing upon their neighbours, or without any great hazard of their neighbours being able to do any thing against them, because these improvements might be made in a time of full peace, and without infringing treaties (83).

(80) *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 329.

East India Company's Dominions as far extended as their interest will allow.

Las Filipinas y Malucas, lib. x.

(81) *Some great politicians seem to think the Dutch*

(82) Argenfola Conquista de las

(83) From the Spanish memorials in relation to this commerce.

and rendered independent, and, in consequence of that, their naval force restored; which ^a would add infinitely more to the lustre of the *Spanish* crown, and the welfare of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, than all the ambitious projects in *Europe*, which serve only to excite the general hatred of their neighbours, and to consume all the wealth of the *Indies*; while the inhabitants of that country, to which it comes, are often in danger of starving for want of bread: an evil to which they were never exposed, till these projects of bestowing crowns, and maintaining armies in foreign countries, engrossed the attention of their sovereigns, and consequently became the prime object of their minister's counsels ¹ (Z).

Our reasons
for entering so
deeply into this
subject, and a
short hint of
what may
happen.

We live in an age when the advantages of commerce are understood in many countries, enjoyed by some, and thirsted for by all; when every year almost produces some new design; ^b and when a variety of undertakings, thought desperate and chimerical in their beginnings, have been prosecuted with effect. There is therefore nothing more probable, than that the present age will see still greater alterations, and stranger revolutions, than have hitherto happened in this respect. To point out where and how, therefore, these may be brought about, when it can be done with propriety, and upon good grounds, is the most useful and necessary part of Universal History. It informs the understanding, it enlarges the capacity, it opens all the faculties of the mind, enables us to feel what we read, to judge of what is past, to reason on the present, and to foresee what is to come. Upon these motives we have been induced to treat the history of the *Philippines* so fully and so freely, that the reader might perceive not only what they are, but what they may be. To many, indeed, the latter part of the chapter will appear uncertain, and to some improbable; but by that time they have read the seventh, ^c and have seriously reflected on the suddenness with which the *Dutch* made themselves masters of the *Spice Islands*, and, with the immense profits arising from that trade, laid the foundation of their empire in the *Indies*, they will very probably alter their opinions, and see as plainly as we do the importance of the *Philippines*, which are certainly, of all the countries in the *East Indies* (which it is possible for *Europeans* to possess), at once the richest in themselves, and the most capable of improvement, and will for that reason be sooner or later the object of much more attention than has been hitherto paid to them. But it is now time to leave these speculations to the judgment of the public, and to proceed with the course of our history.

¹ Collected and digested from the facts in CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, and other authentic writers.

(Z) Those who are conversant in naval history will easily discern that there is nothing difficult, much less impracticable, in these propositions; for, in matters of this nature, there is no surer maxim than this, *that what has been done, may be done*; and there is nothing suggested in them but what has been performed more than once by private persons; and which therefore the crown of *Spain* might not only execute, but execute with the greatest facility (84). Whether they will ever execute

it, or not, is another point; but at present it is said that things of this nature are much more attended to, at the court of *Madrid*, than formerly; and that they are effectually convinced by experience, the strength of their monarchy has been more lessened by their own negligence (85), in affairs of this nature, than by all the efforts that have been made against them by all their enemies.

(84) There are instances of English, French, and Dutch vessels, fitted out by private persons, that have performed this voyage.

(85) A translation of a large Spanish treatise on trade is actually in the press.

S E C T. IX.

The situation, natural history, and commodities of the Ladrones or Marianne Islands; their discovery; genius and temper of their inhabitants; their history, present state of those islands; the policy of the Spaniards, in respect to them; their great importance; and some conjectures as to the causes of their being so much and so long neglected.

THE islands which are to be the subject of this section, were originally discovered by *Ferdinand Magellan*, in the first attempt ever made to sail round the globe. He is said to have called them when first seen, *Las Islas de las Velas*; that is, *the Islands of Sails*; or *de las Velas latinas*, that is, *of triangular sails*; from their prows, in which the inhabitants stood out to sea upon the approach of his ship; but afterwards, *Las Islas de los Ladrones*, or, *the Islands of Thieves*; because the *Indians*, who came on board him, stole every thing that was made of iron within their reach^a. It was not till the latter end of the last century that they obtained the name of the *Marianne Islands*, from the queen of Spain, *Mary Anne of Austria*, the mother of *Charles* the second, at whose expence missionaries were sent over thither, to propagate the Christian faith^b. We hardly ever find them called by the name first-mentioned; except in the relations except in the relations of *Magellan's* voyage. As to the second, it became their common appellation; and in all the old books of history and voyages, as well as in maps^c, we find them stiled *the Ladrones*; notwithstanding which, the last-mentioned name has gradually gained ground, and prevails at present; so that they are now commonly stiled in most of the languages of Europe, *the Marianne*, or rather, though less correctly, *Marian Islands* (A).

THESE islands lie between thirteen degrees twenty-five minutes, and twenty-one degrees of north latitude, almost in a line from south to north, occupying the space of about four hundred and fifty miles, having the islands of *Japan* on the north, and the country of *New Guinea* on the south, on the verge of what is called *the Pacific Ocean*, and at the distance of twelve hundred miles from the *Philippines*^d. *Antonio Herrera* says, they are *sixteen* in number^e. Modern geographers acknowledge but *fourteen*, and place them in the following order^f. From south to north, viz. 1. *Guaban*, *Guam*, *Guan*, or, as the natives pronounce it, *Guabon*,

^a Viaggio attorno il Mondo, fatto & descritto, par M. ANTONIO PIGAFETTA Vicentino Cavalier di Rhodi, & da lui in drizzato, al Reverendissimo gran Maestro di Rhodi, M. Filippo di Villiers Lilledam, tradotto di lingua Francesca nella Italiana, ap. Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 352. b. History of Travaile, by RICHARD EDEN, 4to. 1577. fol. 430. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in CHURCHILL's Collection. ^b LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. iii. c. 13. Pere LE GOBIEN, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 4. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v. ^c PET. MART. Dec. v. lib. 6. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. b. ii. ch. 2. p. 34. CLUVERII Introduct. in universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. xi. ^d G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 376. LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam. ^e ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. ^f Pere LE GOBIEN, Histoire des Isles Mariannes. ROBBE, Methode pour apprendre facilement la Geographie, tom. ii. p. 149. Du Bois, Geographie, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v. Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales.

(A) An ill name once given, is long kept, however it might be originally founded. In the collections of voyages, histories, and books of geography, written in *Latin*, we find this little Archipelago stiled *Insula Latronum*, or sometimes, *Insula Furum* (1); in the *French* writers, *Isles des Larvones* (2); in our own language, *the Islands of Thieves*. The best authors differ much, as to their situation, and their names. *Herrera*, who is dignified with the title of Geographer Royal to the Crown of Spain, in his excellent description of the *Indies*, which is dated from *Valladolid*, October 15, 1601, tells us (3), that they lie between the north latitude of twelve and seventeen degrees; the soil, says he, is sterile and miserable, without flocks, metals, or much provision, inhabited by a poor, naked, thievish people; and he makes them sixteen in number. The most northern, he says,

is called *La Inglesa*: next to that, *Ota*, *Mao*, *Cbemechea*, *Gregua*, *Agan* or *Pagan*, *Oromagan*, *Guguan*, *Chareguan*, *Natan*, *Sapan*, *Botan* and *Volia*. *Luyts*, who, generally speaking, followed the best guides, divides them into the northern and southern islands (4); amongst the former he reckons *Deserta*, *Malabrigo*, *La Inglesa*, *Mano*, *Cberofla*, *Guana*, *Pagan*, *Artemagan*, *Guiga*; amongst the latter, he names *Cberiga*, *Sapan*, *Guaban*, it may be *Guban*; *Volia*, *Bataba*, and *Bacim*. It is of use to know these different names, more especially as they are very remote from those that are now in use. They still distinguish the nine northern islands from the rest, by the name of the islands of *Gani*; though sometimes they are also called *Las Islas de las Bolesanes* (5) from the two burning mountains that are in them.

(1) Pet. Mart. Dec. v. lib. 6.

p. 149.

(3) Antonio de Herrera Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. iii. cap. 13.

(2) Robbe Methode pour apprendre facilement la Geographie, tom. ii.

(5) Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306.

(4) Luyts Intro-

of the island of *St. John*; 2. *Zarpana, Rota*, or the island of *St. Anne*; 3. *Aguigan*, or the island of the *Holy Angel*; 4. *Tinian*, or the island *Buena Vista Mariana*; 5. *Sapan*, or the island of *St. Joseph*; 6. *Antajan*, or the island of *St. Joachim*; 7. *Sarigan*, or *St. Charles's* island; 8. *Guguan*, or the isle of *St. Philip*; 9. *Alamagan*, or the island of the *Conception*; 10. *Pagan*, or *St. Ignatius's* island; 11. *Agrigan*, or the isle of *St. Francis Xavier*; 12. *Affonsong*, or the island of the *Assumption*; 13. *Mang*, or *Tunas*, called also the island of *St. Lawrence*; 14. *Urrica*, or *Urac*, which is uninhabited.

The island of
Guahan, the
most southern,
and the most
considerable a-
mongst them.

THE island of *Guahan* or *Guam*, which is the most southern of these islands, lying in the latitude of thirteen degrees twenty-five minutes north, is about thirty-three *English* miles in length, twelve in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in circumference^a. There is a chain of mountains runs from south to north, between which lie many pleasant and fruitful vallies, and the mountains, being covered with tall flourishing trees, look green and very chearful at a distance^b. The coast is plain, and for the most part of an excellent soil, being watered, more especially on the west side, with abundance of pleasant streams, the verdant banks of which render the country very delightful. On this side of the island, there are two different ports, *Hats* and *Umatay*, where the *Dutch* have sometimes careened their ships. On the east side of the island, there are also two reasonable good ports *Iris* and *Piggug*, separated only by a point of land; but the best port of all, is that of *Agadna*, where the *Spanish* town and forts stand, and where, except in hurricanes, ships may ride in the utmost safety from all winds, from ten to eighteen fathom water; the bottom being perfectly sound and good^c. There were formerly between thirty and forty villages in this isle, but they are now fewer; and, amongst those that are left, *Agadna* and *Umatay* are all that deserve the name of towns; the houses in them being tolerably well built, and having a considerable number of *Spanish* inhabitants, as also churches, convents, and some other public edifices. As the climate, though warm, is equally pleasant and wholesome, as all the necessaries of life are to be obtained here, with very little trouble, and that too in the greatest abundance; and, as they have all the materials for building houses, almost in every part of the isle, it is strange that they have no more and better settlements in it; and stranger still, that even those they have are far from being in a thriving condition^d (B). In the year 1684, the *Spaniards* built a ship here, of the burthen of one hundred and sixty tons, for the *Manila* trade; but nothing of that kind has been done of late years. On the contrary, as will be hereafter shewn, they seem to make it a point of policy to preserve their present settlements, because they are absolutely necessary, without any thoughts of extending them. This is the only one of these islands in which any *Spaniards*, the missionaries only excepted, reside; though they send small detachments from their garrison to the adjacent islands from time to time to bring them refreshments; and it is here that the *Manila* ship touches in her passage, for the sake of fresh provisions and recruiting their sick, which is the principal reason that the

^a Pere LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, liv. iii. Du Bois *Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v. De la BARBINAIS LE GENTIL *Tour du Monde*, vol. i. p. 210. ^b Capt. COWLEY's *Voyage round the World*, p. 15. DAMPIER's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 291. De la BARBINAIS LE GENTIL, *Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 219. ^c Pere LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 75. Capt. COWLEY's *Voyage round the World*, p. 20, 21. ^d Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARRERI, PET. MART. Dec. v. lib. 6. Du Bois *Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

(B) We shall, in its proper place, take notice of the policy pursued by the *Spaniards*, in their manner of trading to the *Marianne* islands, and the motives upon which they act. In this note we shall only observe, what the colour is they give to strangers, for a manner of proceeding that seems to be so repugnant to common sense. They always allege, that these islands are a kind of honorary conquest, which his Catholic Majesty holds at a very large expence; not for the sake of any utility that results from them, but to shew the puissance of his crown, which parts not even with useless countries. It is said also to be done on a principle of religion, that so many thousand souls, as the missionaries have here gained from the empire of darkness, to the kingdom of light, may not fall again into the same desperate state (6). As flimsy and superficial as these coverings are, many have taken them for very serious truths, and have ridiculed, as a weakness in the *Spaniards*, what was in reality a much greater weakness in themselves (7). That this is a

pretended reason only, and not the true one, appears manifestly from hence, that the *Spaniards* were for a long series of years in possession of these islands, before they took care to convert the *Indians* at all; and even now there is an evident contrariety between the pious disposition of his Catholic Majesty, and the political system of his ministers; since, without doubt, the missionaries would incline to preserve and protect their converts; whereas nothing is clearer, than that most of the governors of these islands have thought it their interest to lessen and destroy them (8). But, notwithstanding all this, there can be nothing more true and certain than the matter of fact here laid down, that the island of *Guam* might be cultivated to advantage, since it enjoys a fine air, a mild climate, a fertile soil, and is subject to fewer inconveniencies, than many of the other countries that have been cultivated to advantage by other *European* nations, and than some even of the *Spanish* plantations.

(6) Giro del Mondo del Dottor, Giovan. Francesco, Gemelli Carreri, P. v. *Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 214.

(8) *Aspin's Voyage*, Book iii. chap. 1.

(7) De la Barbinais le Gentil

a crown of Spain has been at the expence of supporting a fortress, and maintaining a garrison, without drawing any thing from the produce of the island¹.

ZARPANA, *Rota*, or the isle of *St. Anne*, lies at the distance of seven leagues from *Guam*, *A succinct description of the island of Zarpana, or St. Anne.* and is about forty-five miles in circumference, being in the latitude of fourteen degrees north. This is also a very pleasant and fertile island, finely diversified with rising grounds, covered with lofty trees, beautiful plains of a rich black soil, and extremely well watered. There are two excellent ports, one on the south, the other on the north-west side of the island. The latter was called in the language of the natives, *Socanrayo*, but the Spaniards call it *the Port of St. Peter*. This isle was extremely populous, when the Spaniards first came to *Guam*, and long after. Some of the missionaries suffered death in their endeavours to propagate the faith amongst them; at present the *Indians* are very few, in comparison of what they were, for reasons that will appear in the course of this section^m.

AGUIGUAN, or the island of the *Holy Angel*, lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty-three minutes, about forty miles from *Zarpana*ⁿ. It is but a small island, about nine miles in compass, mountainous, but pleasant, and formerly very well inhabited. This seems to have been the island that Captain *Funnel* touched at in 1730, when the people came off in their boats, and furnished him with fish, eggs, yams, potatoes, and other refreshments. They offered to have paid them in money, which they looked at, and refused, making signs that they would be better pleased with tobacco; which was given them. To one poor *Indian*, who went on board, they offered a glass of brandy, and he seeing them drink it freely, ventured to swallow some of it, but immediately tumbled down, as if he had been dead, staring and keeping his mouth open; upon which they put him on board his own prow, recommending him to the care of his countrymen, at the same time giving them to understand, he would come to himself in a little time^o (C).

TINIAN, or the island *Buena Vista Mariana*, lies at one league distance from the island last-mentioned, and is about forty-five miles in circumference. A *Manila* ship, called *the Conception*, was cast away upon this coast, in the year 1638, at which time, as the missionaries assert, one of the natives, whose name was *Taga*, saw in a vision the Blessed Virgin, who exhorted him to become a Christian, informed him of the shipwreck, and directed him to succour the poor people who had escaped. This man went accordingly to the *Manila's*, where he was baptized; and it was on account of his vision, that the island received its *Spanish* name^p. Here it was, that the present Lord, then Commodore, *Anson*, touched in his passage to the *Philippines*; and in the history of his voyage, we have a much better account of this island, than we are ever like to receive, of any of the rest; and for this reason, and as it will serve to give us a more certain and distinct notion, not of this only, but of these islands in general, we shall borrow from that account what may best answer this purpose^q.

THIS island lies in the latitude of fifteen degrees eight minutes north, and longitude from *Acapulco* one hundred and fourteen degrees fifty minutes west: its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about six, extending from the south south-west to north north-east. The soil is every-where dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank or luxuriant vegetation, is the reason that the meadows, and the bottoms of the woods, are therefore much neater and smoother than is common in hot climates. The land

¹ Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARRERI. De la BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 215. Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. chap. i. ^m Memoire du Pere LOUIS de Morales. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 77. Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. chap. i. ⁿ Memoire du Pere LOUIS de Morales. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 388. ^o FUNNEL's Voyage round the World, in Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 139. ^p Memoire du Pere LOUIS de Morales. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 77. Du BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 701. ^q Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS's Journal of Commodore Anson's Voyage to the South Seas, p. 165.

(C) It is not absolutely certain that this was the island seen by Captain *Funnel*. But if it was any island of this Archipelago, as he seems to think it was, it must have been this, for he describes it to have been a small island, very high land, but flat and green at the top, adorned with beautiful trees, and looking at a distance wonderfully pleasant. It is true, he places his island of *Magao* in the latitude of thirteen degrees; which does not agree with this island at all. But then he says, that falling to the southward, they had sight of the island of *Guam*; from whence it is plain that he was mistaken in his former conjecture as to the latitude of this island, of which

he speaks only by guess, and that it lay in a higher situation, as it really does. When they were within less than a degree of the equinoctial, they found three islands not described in the charts, and they gave names to two of them, from particular accidents that befel them, calling one *the Island of Dearth*, and the other of *Disappointment*. These islands were exceedingly populous, in so much that there came out between forty and fifty prows, with about four or five hundred men on board them (9); and this is a strong confirmation of what the missionaries tell us concerning the great number of inhabitants in the *Ladrone* or *Marianne* islands.

(9) *Funnel's Voyage round the World, in Norris's Collection, vol. i.*

rises by easy slopes, from the very beach, to the middle of the island, though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted by gentle declivities, and pleasant vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, which are covered with very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them worth notice, either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite even, and the bottom of the woods, in many places, clear of all under-woods; and the very woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular out-line; not broken or confused with straggling trees, but as uniform as if they had been laid out by art. There arise from hence a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the disposition of these woods and lawns, and their various intermixtures, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

Of the cattle, poultry, and wild hogs which the Spaniards breed here.

THE animals partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island. For the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants, yet the clamours of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and contribute thereby to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place. The cattle on the island are at least ten thousand; and there is no difficulty in getting near them, as they are not at all afraid of men. While powder is plenty, the shortest and easiest way is shooting; but if it is requisite to save your ammunition, your men may run them down with ease. Their flesh is extremely well tasted, and more easily digested, than any elsewhere to be met with. The fowls are exceedingly good, and may be also run down with little trouble; for they can scarce fly further than an hundred yards at once; and even that will fatigue them so much, that they cannot readily rise again. Besides the cattle and the poultry, here are abundance of wild hogs; these are most excellent food; but, as they are a very fierce animal, people are obliged to shoot them or hunt them with large dogs, which the crew of the *Centurion* found upon the place, at their landing, and which belonged to the detachment then upon the island amassing provisions for the garrison of *Guam*. These dogs are trained to the killing of hogs, and have great spirit; but though they are a large and bold breed, the hogs fight with so much fury, that they frequently destroy them.

The excellency of the fruits, and of those that are peculiar to these islands.

IT is not only the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, that recommends this island, but it is as much perhaps to be admired for its fruits, and vegetable productions; for in the woods there are inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There are, besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the *Indians RIMA*, but by us, the *Bread-fruit* (D), constantly eaten by the seamen instead of bread, and universally preferred to it. It grows upon a tree, which is somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches.

* Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 415. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 165, 166. Voyage, p. 147. Mr. THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 165, 166.

* Lord ANSON's

(D) This plenty of bread-fruit, is the distinguishing blessing of these islands; as, for any thing we know, there is no fruit of the like kind found any-where else. The more intelligent writers tell us, that there are two sorts of trees that bear bread-fruit. The first of these is the *Rima*, which bears a very large fruit, as big as a melon, with a rough prickly coat, and of the colour of a date; in the middle there is a large kernel, like a white nut. The other is the *Ducdu*, the tree of which, in size, shape, and leaves, differs little from the former, but the fruit is long, and no bigger than a large pear. The pulp is white and soft, sticking to about fifteen kernels. These, as well as that of the *Rima*, when roasted, eat exactly like chestnuts (10). It appears from hence, that what is called the *Rima* in the text, was in reality the *Ducdu*; but the other being the more common name amongst seamen, and both being esteemed bread-fruits, the mistake was very easy. There are, it seems, besides these, some other sorts, to which the natives give the name of *Nica*, *Iffuni*, *Dago* (11), the fruit of which,

when treated like that of the *Rima*, that is, when baked in an oven, or roasted under embers, then suffered to grow cold, and the black skin rasped off, taste exactly like new bread, and is equally wholesome, nourishing, and pleasant. Some or other of these fruits are to be found in each of these islands, and from them they are all transplanted, and grow in different parts of the island of *Guam*. It is highly probable, that, as the natives had not the use of fire, they dried these fruits in the sun, and so laid them up for store, in that apartment in their house which was destined to that purpose. For in this state the fruit will keep four or five months; and for the other eight, they may be taken daily from the trees (12). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that the fruit of the *Bananas*, more especially of that kind to which the name of *Musa* is commonly given, ripen best, and are most agreeable to the stomach; when the fruit, which grows in clusters (13), is pulled at its full size, but still green from the tree, hung up, and suffered gradually to become of a yellow colour in the open air (14).

(10) *Giro del Mondo del Dottor Giovan. Francesco, Gemelli Carreri*, P. v. *Gentil Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 216. See the article *Musa*, in *James's Dictionary* in the *Indies*.

(12) *Pere le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 52.

(11) *De la Barbinais le*

(13)

(14) From the information of persons who have lived long

- a The leaves of this tree are of a remarkably deep green, notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit grows indifferently on all parts of the branches. It is in shape rather like a large pear, than an apple, and is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long. Each grows singly on its stalk. This fruit is in the properest state to be used when it is full-grown, but still green; at which time its taste has some resemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer, and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and has an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but in this state it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes¹. Besides the fruits already enumerated,
- b scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all of them highly acceptable to men long cooped up at sea, and sinking under that loathsome disease the scurvy. There are plenty of fish upon the coast, but so luscious that they are thought unwholesome. But it must not be forgot, that near the center of the island, there are two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abound with ducks, teal, and curlew. The whistling-plover are also to be found there in prodigious plenty. These pieces of water, in conjunction with wells and springs, which are every-where to be found, or sunk with little difficulty, make some amends for the want of rivulets, which are so common in *Guam*, and which, with all its beauties and blessings, it must be owned, are not seen in *Tinian*².

c It must however be admitted, that the having no such running streams, is in many respects a very material defect; and there is another, which, though of less consequence, is rather more troublesome, and that is the swarms of musketoes, and other kind of flies; and, which is yet worse, a sort of tick, which not only infest cattle, but will also thrust itself into the skins of men, and thereby create, if not a dangerous, yet a painful inflammation. The centipedes and scorpions have likewise been found there; and it is not impossible that there may be other venomous creatures³.

But the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be mentioned; this is the inconvenience and the little security there is, at some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ships of burthen, is at the south-west end of the island. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of *June* to the middle of *October*, render it a very unsafe place to lie in (E). This is the season of the western monsoons; when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass; and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be depended on: what adds to the danger at these times, is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south-east, between this island and *Aguiguan*, a small island which we have already mentioned, near the southern extremity of *Tinian*. This tide runs at first with a vast head, and over-fall of water, and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived. Those who lie here in this season must be under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though in a sixty-gun ship. In the remaining eight months of

¹ Captain Cook's Voyage round the World in Harris's Collection, vol. i. round the World, p. 417, 418. DAMPIER'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 296. Mr. PASCOR THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 167. ² Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 422. Mr. PASCOR THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 1. ³ Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 422. Mr. PASCOR THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 1.

(E) The season described in the text, is that of the hurricanes, of which they have commonly one or two in a year, and sometimes more. Always violent, often terrible, and sometimes fatal. In the month of *November* 1680, there happened one which overturned almost every habitation in the island of *Guam*, which overwhelmed and destroyed part of a little isle lying near its coast, and which ruined most of their plantations (15). Such dismal events as these, however, are far from being frequent. Indeed the annual return of the hurricanes, is the greatest inconvenience to which these islands are subject. But then it is to be considered, that it is not only a cause of mischief and disorder, but also an instrument of singular advantage, and productive of great good. These violent winds cleanse the air of all noxious va-

pours, and so thoroughly purify the climate, that it remains equally serene and wholesome during the remaining part of the year. Neither is this to be considered as an accident peculiar to these islands; on the contrary, it is common in the *West Indies* (16), and in other parts of the world, of which the reader will meet with a remarkable instance in a subsequent part of this work. On the whole, therefore, how alarming and dangerous soever these boisterous seasons may be, more especially to seamen, yet custom, and their salutary effects, render them less terrible than otherwise they would be to the inhabitants; who, as they can judge of the time of their approach, are able from thence to take such methods as are most expedient for their own security.

(15) *Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 283. *Labat Voyages de l'Amerique*, tom. ii. p. 223.

(16) *Banks's Posthumous Works*, p. 364. P.

the year, that is, from the middle of *October*, to the middle of *June*, there is a constant season ^a of settled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for. To this it is proper to add, that the anchoring bank is very shelving, and stretches along the south-west end of the island; and that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks, which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land ^x.

The island of Saypan, or of St. Joseph.

SAYPAN, or the isle of *St. Joseph*, lies in the latitude of fifteen degrees twenty minutes, at the distance of nine or ten miles from *Tinian*, and is about twenty miles in circumference; on the west side of this island, at the bottom of a steep bay, well sheltered with wood, lies a safe and commodious port, called *Canthabilda*, as the *Spanish* writers inform us ^y. After *Guam*, ^b this is the largest, and was formerly the best peopled of all these islands, and was not thoroughly subdued by the *Spaniards* till the beginning of the current century. The country is diversified with hills and plains, looks very green and pleasant at a distance, and is no less beautiful when examined more at leisure, as it affords all the necessaries of life in the utmost plenty, and is blessed with a fertile soil and a serene climate ^z.

Description of the remaining part of the islands in this Archipelago.

ANATAJAN, or the island of *St. Joachim*, lies in the latitude of seventeen degrees twenty minutes, and is about thirty miles in compass. This is the first of those called *the Northern Isles*, and lies somewhat more than an hundred miles distant from *Saypan* ^a. *Sarigan*, or *St. Charles's Island*, in the latitude of seventeen degrees thirty-five minutes, about twelve miles in compass, and about nine distant from the last-mentioned island ^a. *Guguan*, or the isle of *St. Philip*, lies in the latitude of seventeen degrees forty-five minutes, eighteen miles distant from *Sarigan*, and about nine miles in compass ^c. *Almagan*, or the island of the *Conception*, in the latitude of eighteen degrees ten minutes, about ten miles from *Guguan*, and eighteen miles in compass ^d. *Pagon*, or *St. Ignatius's* island, in the latitude of nineteen degrees, thirty miles from *Almagan*, and about forty in compass ^e. *Agrigan*, or the isle of *St. Francis Xavier*, in the latitude of nineteen degrees four minutes, a large mountainous island, fifty miles in circumference, remarkable for its vulcano ^f (F). We are informed by an author of credit, that it is well inhabited, and that formerly the inhabitants of this, as well of as the rest of these islands, put to sea in their prows, in order to carry provisions and refreshments to any ships they could discern; but that an insolent *Spaniard*, having beat some of them, they never afterwards went ^d out to meet the galleons ^g.

The three most northern isles, which are little known to the Spaniards.

ASSONSONG, or the island of *Assumption*, (in which there is also a vulcano) lies in the latitude of twenty degrees fifteen minutes; about eighteen miles in circumference, and lying twenty leagues north from *Agrigan* ^h. *Maug*, or *Tunas*, called also the island of *St. Lawrence*, composed of three rocks, somewhat more than twenty miles in compass, lying in the latitude of

^x Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 423, 424. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 163, 164. ^y Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 304. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701. ^z PERE LE GOBIEN Histories des Isles Mariannes, p. 387. ^a Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306. ^b Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. ^c Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701. ^d Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. ^e PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306. ^f Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. ^g Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI, P. V. ^h Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306.

(F) Those who are of opinion that islands have their rise from earthquakes, and that these again are caused by subterranean fires, look upon these islands as a very strong instance in favour of their hypothesis. They allege, that through the whole *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, vulcano's are frequent, as we know they are in the *Moluccas*, and in the *Philippines*, and some there are said to be in *New Guinea*; as, on the other hand, they are frequent enough to the northward of these islands, even as far as *Japan* (18). The form also of these islands, or at least most of them, is agreeable enough to this notion of their origin, inasmuch as they rise gradually from the shore on every side, swelling in the middle to a very great height; and others appear to be no more than a large mountain arising out of the sea: whence those who defend this sentiment, will hold that these islands are of later origin than the rest of the world (19); and a very ingenious countryman of ours has suggested a method of

discovering, or, at least, coming near, the age of such islands, by considering the depth of soil that is upon them; so that, according to his system, the southern islands should be more ancient than the northern, since the latter are many of them but bare rocks, or very little better at this day (20). It has been urged as a conclusive argument against this, that, being a point of fact, it ought to be proved from history rather than argument; but, if it be considered on one hand, that it may be positively proved that some islands have thus arisen out of the deep (21), so that the fact is not either impossible or improbable; and that, on the other hand, there is no evidence that can be brought to confute it, it is shewn to stand on a proper basis, and justly considered as a point about which men may think freely, and determine for themselves, as the rule of reason, assisted by the light of experience, shall guide them.

(18) *Observations Physiques et Mathematiques de l'Academie*, p. 223.

(20) *Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales*.

(19) *Hook's Posthumous Works*, p. 422.

(21) *Kircheri, Mundus Subterraneus*.

a twenty degrees thirty-five minutes, about fifteen miles from *Affonfung*¹; and much about the same distance north, lies *Urraca*, or *Irac*, the last of these islands, which it does not appear was ever inhabited, and of which therefore we meet with no particular description^k.

THESE islands lie in the torrid zone; and yet so much is the heat of the sun tempered by the humidity of the air, and by the breezes of the sea, that the climate is, generally speaking, equally serene, salubrious, and pleasant; only in some seasons of the year, as has been before observed, they are liable to hurricanes, which, though they do sometimes a great deal of mischief, yet, as we have already intimated, clear and refresh the air, in such a manner, that before they were visited by the *Europeans*, the people commonly lived beyond the age of a hundred, without being disturbed with sickness or infirmities^l. For the most ancient *Spanish* writers, as we have already remarked, speak of these islands as mean, barren, contemptible places; and indeed it is apparent, that they would be understood to have thought them so, since, as they allege, their government took near a century to consider whether they should keep them or not. In order to comprehend this clearly, and to reconcile it with what has been already said, it is necessary to lay open the nakedness of these miserable isles, and to acknowledge, that, with the finest sun and the most fertile soil, they afford not either precious stones or metals. However, this mean barren country produced fruits, sallads, and a variety of wholesome herbs, and in the greatest plenty. Beasts indeed they had none, and but one kind of birds, not unlike the turtle dove^m. There were indeed fish of many different kinds in their rivers, and upon their coasts; but whether they eat them or not is doubtful, the reason of which will appear hereafter.

The climate and soil of the Mariana Islands in general.

THE inhabitants are a tall, robust, and very large-made people, but at the same time as active as it is possible to conceive them; of a dark colour, yet not quite so dark as the inhabitants of the *Philippines*; coarse-featured, and rather hard-favoured. The men went entirely naked, the women only concealing what natural modesty teaches should be concealed. Both sexes were endowed by nature with strong parts, which, however, seldom taught them to correct their passions, which were also strong, but they were rather employed in the indulging them. Quick in apprehension, not deficient in understanding; very ready and even eloquent in expressing their thoughts, but no less adroit in concealing them; of very lively imaginations, extremely fond of pleasure, not unacquainted with virtue, but very little inclined to practise it. Lust, dissimulation, and revenge, as the missionaries say, were their prevailing vices; to gratify which, they very seldom stuck at any thing. Yet, take them all together, excluded from the rest of the world, and scarce having an idea of any other people than those in the adjacent islands, which were extremely populous, containing all together above one hundred thousand people, they were, these just allowances made, a very extraordinary nation, and as such, deserve to be better known than commonly they are; the rather, because, after having carefully reviewed and compared the accounts given of them, by writers of different nations, it seems not impossible to describe them with some tolerable degree of accuracy and truthⁿ.

An account of the persons, inclinations, and faculties of the inhabitants.

In point of religion, they may be said to have none; and yet they were over-run with superstition. They had scarce any notion of the *DEITY*, but had a very distinct idea of the *Devil*. They very firmly believed the immortality of the soul; and, though they had no conceptions of rewards and punishments after death, yet they were thoroughly persuaded that there was a place of happiness, and another of torment. They had no proper name for the former, which they fancied to be under the earth, describing it as a delicious garden, full of lofty cocoa trees, abounding with rich fruits, and watered by pleasant rivers, running through flowery vales that exhale the richest odours. The latter they call *Zazarraguan*, or the house of *Chayfi*; that is, the demon who they believed afflicted the souls that fell into his power with variety of tortures. They did not ascribe this to the crimes they had committed, but imagined that every one who died a natural death went immediately to Paradise, and that such as were cut off by violence, were doomed to the house of *Chayfi*^o. When their friends or relations were dying, they stood with a neat little basket on one side of them, and desired that the soul would be pleased to repose there whenever it came to make them a visit. Those of the better sort filled these baskets with fragrant herbs, and rubbed them with odoriferous oils, carrying them sometimes into pleasant places, and at others to the houses of their friends; and sometimes left them

Without religion, and yet exceedingly given to superstition.

¹ Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701.

PERE LOUIS de Morales.

^k PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 74.

^l Memoire du

^m ANTONIO DE

HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 44.

Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI.

ⁿ G. BAPTISTA RAMUSIO

Raccolto delle Navigation et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 43, 44.

Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

^o PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 65, 66.

there, supposing that the souls might be delighted with this change of habitation. All these marks of respect did not proceed so much from reverence and affection, as from terror and apprehension; for they imagined that the *Anitis*, so in their language they stiled these departed spirits, appeared to, and mal-treated them, disturbing them, more especially in their dreams; and therefore at certain seasons they fasted, and took other methods to appease them^a.

Without government, and yet having a race of nobles excessively proud.

As they are superstitious without religion, so no people in the world are so transported with notions of nobility of blood, without having either authority or government. There are amongst them three kinds of people; the *Chamorris*, or noblemen, the middle, and the common sort of men. The first of them have a kind of estates upon which they live; but they have no tenants, vassals, or domestics. They have great respect shewn them; in their public councils, their speeches are heard with silence and attention; but notwithstanding this, every other man was likewise heard, and that advice was likewise followed which the majority thought best. A *Chamorris* has something elevated and noble, not only in his look and in his person, but in his behaviour and manner; for usage in all countries establishes politeness, and the usual compliment among them is *Ali Ariamo*, "Suffer me to kiss your feet." They never converse with ordinary people; on the contrary, if such eat or drink in their houses, they look upon them as polluted^b. If at any time they are under a necessity of speaking to persons beneath them, they stand at a great distance, deliver themselves very succinctly, and with a loud voice. If a *Chamorris* marries into a common family, it is held such a dishonour to the whole body of the nobility, as can be atoned for only by his blood. Yet, with all this delicacy about marriage, their estates do not descend to their children, but to their nephews, either by their brothers or sisters. There is no form of rule amongst them, nor any kind of authority but what is acquired by persuasion, which goes as far, and lasts as long, as superior eloquence can carry or maintain it. Whatever notion, therefore, these people may entertain of freedom, this is certain, that they carry practical liberty as far as it is possible^c.

The singular manners, strange fables, and ridiculous vanity of these people.

It is a point not hitherto decided, from whom these people are descended, or whence they came; but, from the affinity of their language with the *Tagalese*, of which we have spoken in the former section, some have thought it probable, that they were of the same stock with the inhabitants of the *Philippines*; others, from their love of freedom, the haughtiness of their spirits, and their high notions of nobility, have inclined to think them a-kin to the *Japanese*. It is possible that the *Chamorris* may be of the one country, and the rest of the nation of the other. They have poets among them who are extremely admired, and who, in their songs, celebrate the great actions of their ancestors, and feed the poor people with fond notions, not only of their excellence in bodily strength and agility, for which there might be some colour, but also of their superiority in science, over all nations in the world^d. They make them believe that the first man was formed out of the earth of the island of *Guam*; that he was afterwards turned into a stone, and this stone being broke to pieces, and scattered over the rest of the world, there sprung up from thence all the rest of mankind. "Hence," say they to their vain and credulous audience, "being banished so long and so far from their native country, they have lost the use of speech, and understand not us or themselves; for though they utter sounds roughly, and out of their throats, that resemble words, yet they do it only like fools, or the birds that we teach, having but an imperfect notion of what they would express." The gift of language being reserved to us, their parents." They have another sort of people amongst them called *Macanas*, wise-men, like the *Magi* amongst the *Persians*; they direct them in their superstitions; teach them how to sooth the *Anitis*; know the virtues of different herbs, and practise a kind of surgery amongst them. But still all depends upon persuasion; so long as they can please and delight, so long they are obeyed; for every man, from the hour he can supply his own wants, is master of himself, and absolutely independent. Yet this very wise and knowing nation had not so much as the idea of fire, till they were taught it to their cost, by the *Spaniards* burning their houses, and then they took it for an animal that fed upon wood; and therefore, if before this time they lived on fish, as it is certain they caught them, they must either have eaten them raw, or dried in the sun; concerning which however we have no distinct account^e (G).^f

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^a Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702. PERRÉ LE GOSIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 67, 68. ^b Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 49, 50. ^c Du Bois Geographie, p. 703. PERRÉ LE GOSIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 51. ^d Relation des Isles Philippines, p. 13. PERRÉ LE GOSIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 45, 46. ^e Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

(G) In all that we meet with relating to these people, there seems to be nothing so much out of the road of credibility, as their being utterly unacquainted with fire;

and the rather, because, besides lightning, which they must have seen in their own island, they could hardly stir to any considerable distance at sea, without having a sight

- a** In these islands the women have all the graces of the sex in their persons and their manners. Their features are softer and more regular, their complexions much clearer, and they have an easy address, a cheerful humour, and are as much devoted to ease and diversions as in the politest countries on the globe. They have their assemblies, as well as the men, in which they amuse themselves with reciting the performances of their poets, in a manner perfectly peculiar to themselves. For casting themselves into a circle of ten or a dozen, they speak, or rather chaunt, all at once, and yet so distinctly, with such harmony, and with so fine a cadence, as appears equally surprizing and satisfactory, even to the *Europeans*. On such occasions they are adorned after their manner; that is, with little shells, and pieces of tortoise-shell hanging on their foreheads, with girdles of the same shells interwoven with flowers of different colours, and little cocoa-nuts neatly engraven^a. *Their women endowed with surprizing faculties, which gain them a great and constant superiority over the men.*
- b** They commonly wear only a piece of mat for modesty's sake, in which they surpass the men, who, as we have already observed, go absolutely naked; but at these assemblies they wear an entire garment made of twigs and roots, which disfigures them extremely; for it makes them look as if each of them was in a cage, and yet they move in them with agility enough; dance with shells between their fingers, as the *Spaniards* do with castanets; and heighten the poems they sing, with such a variety and propriety of action, that they may be esteemed a kind, and not the worst kind either, of pantomimes^b. As their excelling in these amusements renders them esteemed and admired, they are the chief objects of their thoughts; and it is from a continual exercise, that they attain such a wonderful perfection in the conduct of their voice, and the graceful and becoming management of their limbs^c.
- c** In consequence of these superior accomplishments, the sex have a more absolute dominion here, than almost any-where else. It is true a man may marry as many wives as he pleases, provided they are not relations; but this seeming privilege signifies little, since, as the effect of their labour would not produce a competent maintenance for more, they are glad to be content with one. We have before observed, that in these islands every man was master of himself, but not of any other man. From the moment he marries, half his little authority is taken away; for the wife commands every thing within doors, and her husband too, so long as he is there. If he gives her any reason to be jealous, she is at liberty to punish him in such a manner as to prevent any future suspicion. If he is lazy, passionate, or sullen, his wife takes the other married women in the neighbourhood to her assistance, who, armed with the husband's spears, come and punish the delinquent, by destroying his plantation, or perhaps his house; and even his person is not in safety, if he falls into the hands of these enraged females^d. The wife is also at liberty, in case she is offended, to retire to her own relations, who are glad of such an opportunity of plundering their neighbour, under pretence of punishing him. If she is of a milder disposition, she may leave her husband without assigning any other cause than that she is weary of him. He may also leave her, or rather oblige her to quit him; but then she takes with her the best part of his substance and his children; so that a man by letting slip an hasty word, loses both family and fortune in an instant, and sees them perhaps conveyed to the house of his neighbour the next day. In case a woman is false to her husband's bed, he may revenge himself as he pleases on her lover, and even put him to death; but unless he has a mind to be left alone, he must take care not to express the least resentment towards her^e. *The unreasonable privileges the women enjoy in a state of marriage.*
- d**
- e**

From a sense of the trouble and inconveniency attending the married state under these circumstances, many of the young men ran into a profligate kind of life, from which they were seldom reclaimed. They corrupted young women by presents; or, if their parents were poor, bought them, while they were yet children, and placing these in a house common to themselves and their companions, preferred to a regular oeconomy these kind of public stewards^f. *From the consideration of this, many refrain from marriage, and lead a de-*

^a Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 58, 59.

^b Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 59.

^c Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 61.

^d Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

^e Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

^f Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

fight of some or other of the neighbouring volcano's. Yet the fact is very positively affirmed by the *Spaniards* (22); and which adds great weight to their testimony, the inhabitants of some other countries at no great distance, have been found by discoverers of other nations in the very same condition (23). But we shall perhaps be the less surprised at this, when we reflect that one of the most judicious writers of antiquity thought that mankind in general came to know the benefits resulting from this element, not so much from the help of reason, as from accident. Trees, says he (24), standing close in a wood,

so that their boughs were intermixed, being violently agitated with the wind, from the friction took fire; which men contemplating at first as a strange sight, but by degrees observing that its splendor diffused light and warmth at the same time, resolved to avail themselves of these blessings; and accordingly obtained fire by rubbing together dry sticks. There is something in this very well imagined, and not altogether destitute of probability; more especially as many barbarous nations (25) retain this method of kindling fire.

(22) Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 44. A. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. p. 73

(23) Voyage for the Discovery of New Guiney and the Countries adjacent.

(24) Vitruv. lib. ii. cap. i.

(25) Captain Woodes Rogers's Voyage round the World in Harris's Collection.

bauched and
profligate
state of life.

THIS dissolute sort of life prevailed very much before the *Spaniards* came amongst them, and by corrupting their minds, and enervating their strength, rendered them ripe for those calamities which afterwards fell upon them. It is true, by the wiser and better part of the nation (for there will be in all nations distinctions in point of morals, as well as from station or birth) these men were held in the greatest abhorrence. However, as their number was always great enough to furnish conversation amongst themselves; and as the genius of the people is strongly bent to pleasure, they were not to be restrained by any sense of shame: and in the more distant islands, and even in the mountains of the island of *Guam*, where the people still enjoy their liberty, these sort of associations are still frequent enough; and it is chiefly from the bad behaviour of those debauchees, that authors have represented the inhabitants of the *Marianne* islands, in general, in a worse point of view than they have deserved^b. For in reality, the vices to which these people become addicted, render them as despicable in the eyes of their countrymen as in those of the *Europeans*. But as there is no nation in which there are not bad men, so it is not from the actions of such, that we ought to take the character of a whole people; though there have been likewise some who have erred on the other side, and given much higher commendations to the natives than they deserved. The truth lying here, as well as in other places, in the mean between both, without diminishing their virtues, or exaggerating their vices; and upon this principle we have hitherto, and shall hereafter endeavour to represent them impartially, and to exhibit their manners, such as they really were^c.

Account of
their houses,
furniture,
utensils, and
other domestic
concerns.

THEIR houses were built with palm-trees, and such other timber as their respective islands afforded, and were, generally speaking, divided into four apartments, by a kind of mats, made of the filaments of leaves, roots, and twigs of trees, and the covering was commonly of the same material, but of a coarser kind. Each of these apartments was destined to a particular purpose; they slept in one, they eat in another, they laid up their fruit and provisions in a third, and they worked in the fourth. Their utensils were not many, but every thing they had was neat in its kind, and carried in it marks of genius, by which they supplied many things that more civilized nations derive from experience. As to defensive weapons, they had none; and as to offensive, they had no idea of bows, arrows, swords, or indeed of any other instrument of violence, but a lance or javelin, made of a tough strong wood, and pointed with human bones, which they rubbed till they became sharp; and even the slightest wounds with these were said to be in their own nature venomous and mortal^d. There can be no doubt as to the fact, if the concurrent evidence of the writers of all nations may be esteemed sufficient authority (H). We may likewise add to these circumstances, that the reason seems pretty evident, for they had no kind of metals, nor were they furnished with the bones of any other animal that were strong enough to be applied to this use. These and stones were their only weapons; and though they had not before been taught by the *Spaniards* the use of slings, yet they threw them with great dexterity, and with such surprizing force, as to enter into the bodies of trees at a considerable distance^e.

Their military
disposition,
manner of
making war,
and exercises.

As they had no policy of any kind, so every man revenged the wrongs, or what he took to be wrongs, that he sustained, in what manner he thought fit, and in like manner the inhabitants of one district, if they conceived themselves injured by those of another, commenced hostilities, and continued them till they obtained satisfaction. In these wars fraud and cun-

^b PÉRE LE GOUVERNEMENT Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 61, 62.

World, p. 17, 18. DAMPIER'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 297. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 241, 242.

^c CAPT. COWLEY'S Voyage round the World, p. 19. DU BOIS Géographie Moderne, p. 703.

^d PURCHAS'S Pilgrimage, p. 951. CAPT. COWLEY'S Voyage round the World, p. 19. DU BOIS Géographie Moderne, p. 703. PÉRE LE GOUVERNEMENT Histoire des Isles Mariannes. CHURCHILL'S Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673.

(H) In respect to these savages arming their spears with human bones, the missionaries, and all the writers of voyages, antient and modern, concur (26). In one of our *English* writers, we have an account of the number of lances they make out of one man's bones, which were no fewer than eight. Of the leg-bones they make two; of the thigh-bones as many; and two out of the bones in each of his arms (27). These bones are not only made very sharp at the point, but are serrated or jagged from top to bottom. Some writers affirm, that from the natural venom in these weapons, wounds made by them are always mortal; others, that they prove so, if not cured

in seven days (28). The reason of this is not easily to be conceived. It may perhaps be chiefly owing to the jagged sides of their lances, which, being thrown with prodigious force, may so tear and lacerate the part, as to produce dreadful effects, without supposing any peculiar venom in the bones; though it is upon this that the missionaries, and indeed most writers, insist. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the natives of *California*, who in their persons and manners very much resemble the natives of these islands, use the very same kind of lances (29), except that they are made either of flint or agate, and sometimes of the bones of large fish.

(26) Pigafetta ap. Ramusio. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 739. Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 951. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673. Harris's Collection of Voyages vol. i. p. 690.

(27) Cowley's Voyage p. 19. (28) Du Bois Géographie Moderne, p. 703. Cowley's Voyage p. 19.

Shellock's Voyage. Harris, vol. i. p. 234.

(29) Capt.

a ning had a much greater share than courage or force. They laboured as much as in them lay to surprise or circumvent their enemies; and in the choice of ground, in making false attacks, and in laying ambuscades, they shewed equal address and patience, remaining sometimes for two whole days without provisions. But when they came to engage in earnest, their disputes were not either long or bloody. If one or two men were killed, or half a score disabled, there was an end of the war; those who were defeated sending immediately ambassadors to make submission, and to settle terms of peace. In order to qualify themselves for martial exploits, the principal diversions amongst the men consisted in robust exercises, such as running, leaping, wrestling, pitching stones, and throwing lances at a mark^f.

b THEY were likewise very dexterous in swimming and diving, to which they enured their children, as soon as they were able to walk, and thereby rendered them not only hardy and robust, but so accustomed to and fearless of the water, that they were in a manner inhabitants of that element, at least in comparison of other men; and would bring up stones, or fish, or whatever else they could perceive in the sea, from a great depth. Their ingenuity and mechanic genius were most conspicuous in the invention of that singular vessel called by our seamen the *flying prow*, which has been commended and admired by all, but chiefly by those whose skill in naval architecture enabled them to judge of it best (1). In these vessels, before

Skill in mechanic arts, inventions, and application of them to the business of life.

^f Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

(1) The flying prow, or proe, as some write it, is very justly considered as the most exact and finished piece of architecture, which hitherto the world has seen. When we say this, we must be understood to mean, in respect to the purposes which she is contrived to answer; since in this alone consists the excellence of any vessel; and therefore this prow being the best adapted that can be imagined to the nature of the seas and winds, in and by which she is to sail, certainly merits that character, and would be considered as a master-piece of art, if made in the most civilized country, with the help of the best materials, and tools the most fitly adapted. But if we consider it as framed here under great defects, in regard to the former, and without the assistance, at least till the *Europeans* came hither, of any one instrument made with iron, it becomes truly wonderful (30). In order to give the reader the best idea that we can, we shall first describe it exactly, and then remark its particular advantages, more especially with regard to the navigation, in which it is principally employed, and then leave it to his judgment, whether the invention, construction, and management of so extraordinary a vessel, is not an incontestible proof of the genius, sagacity, and courage of these people (31). These prows are of different sizes, especially in point of length; however they may be taken at a medium at forty feet; but they are not above two feet in breadth. The body of this vessel is composed of two pieces, joined end-ways, and sewed together with bark, calked, and otherwise secured by a natural bitumen, which is common in most of the islands. At the bottom the timber may be about two inches thick; which in working her into shape, is reduced to less than one. The depth at most about four feet. In the center stands a mast four-and-twenty feet high; she carries a triangular sail, fixed to a yard and boom, above twenty-seven feet every way. As all other vessels have their stems and sterns of different constructions, the prow, on the contrary, has them both alike, so that each serves indifferently for stem or stern, as they steer on different tacks. But as other vessels have both sides alike, the construction of the prow differs from them also in this respect; for though the windward bellies out like other boats, yet the lee side is perfectly flat. In order to carry so great a sail, without danger of oversetting, she has a frame laid out to windward, consisting commonly of three strong beams, which rests upon a log hollowed in the shape of a boat. This frame is about twelve feet

in length, and the little boat about thirteen. We find this contrivance stiled an *outleagner* or *outrigger*, and is well secured by two cross bars, and has also two braces from the head and stern to keep it steady. There is likewise a thin plank on the very same side of the vessel, upon which an *Indian* sometimes sits, and on which they likewise lay goods. One of these prows carries generally six or seven *Indians*, two placed at the head, two at the stern, who steer alternately with a paddle, according to the tack she goes upon, the rest being employed either in bailing out the water, which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sails (32). The mast, yard, boom, and outrigger are made of bamboo, the sails of matting, and very neat. When they have a mind to tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind; then, by easing the halyard, and raising the yard, they lift it out of the socket in which it rested, and carry it round the lee-side till it falls into the socket at the other end of the boat; and the boom, being shifted into a contrary situation, that which was before the head becomes the stern of the vessel, and she is trimmed upon the other tack. As all the islands of this *Archipelago* lie nearly in a line from south to north, and are within the limits of the trade-wind, it is evident that these vessels, which sail excellently on a wind, can run from one island to another, and back again, only by turning the sail, and without ever putting about (33). It is the smallness of their breadth, and the flatness of the lee-side, which gives them this great advantage, which no vessel can have that goes large; and this advantage consists in going with as great, and sometimes with greater velocity than the wind. This accounts in some measure for the very extraordinary things we are told by the *Spaniards*, of the prodigious degree of swiftness with which these vessels run; and though, as in all cases of this nature, some exaggeration may be suspected, yet a hundred miles in five hours with a brisk trade-wind, how strange soever it may seem, may not exceed the bounds of truth (34). The dexterity of the natives, in steering, trimming, and righting these vessels, in case they were overfet, has been already mentioned, and occurs so frequently in the text, that there is no need of insisting on it here, where what has been already said will fully justify the commendations bestowed on these wonderful vessels, and the inferences made from thence, as to the natural abilities, skill, and application of these people.

(30) *History of Travayle*, by Richard Eden, 4to. 1577, fol. 430.
Francesco Gemelli Carreri, P. v.

(31) *Giro del Mondo*, del Dottor Giovan.
 (32) *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 453—457.
 (33) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i. b. ii. ch. ii. p. 34. *Funnell's Voyage round the World*. *Du Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

(34) *Capt. Woodes Rogers's Voyage round the World in Harris's Collection*, vol. i. p. 175.

they had any acquaintance with the *Europeans*, they made considerable voyages from one island to another; and when overset, shewed great presence of mind in turning them, refitting, and getting again on board; so that, taking all circumstances together, they might be esteemed none of the worst soldiers, and as brisk and bold seamen as any in this part of the world. They are likewise said to have planted and cultivated their ground; but in what manner, or with what kinds of seeds, does not appear; for though they are now expert enough in this kind of cultivation, yet it manifestly appears that they have learned this from the *Spaniards*, and very possibly have thereby lost the remembrance of the practices of their ancestors, if there were ever any such, which cannot be affirmed with certainty. If one might be indulged a conjecture, nature having given to these people bread upon trees, might be less bountiful to them in other respects; nor is this notion inconsistent with experience^a.

Some have laboured to justify them from the imputation of thieving.

ACCORDING to some of the missionaries, *Magellan* did great wrong to these people, when he fixed upon their islands the appellation of *Ladrones*. The natives, say these missionaries, are so far from being of a thievish disposition, that they leave every thing open, without the least suspicion of each other, and without ever suffering by this seeming neglect^b. It is however worth observing, that it is no conclusive proof these people were not thieves, because they had no conception of theft. Other barbarous nations, as well as they, have respected property amongst themselves, and yet made no scruple of taking whatever came within their reach from strangers. However *Magellan* was not so much to blame, since seamen of other nations, and in latter times, have given them much the same character; and, which does them still less credit, have given very good reasons why they bestowed it upon them; so that an implicit belief is as little due to these modern writers, as any other; and if truth in this case be worth coming at, we must come at it in this, as in other cases, by reflection and comparison^c.

Improbable that they should be light, fickle, and of a volatile disposition, and yet subtle and deep dissemblers.

THERE seems to be also some contradiction in what they report of the fickleness and mutability of the natives in their temper, eagerly seeking things one minute, and rejecting them the next, and representing them at the same time as very deep dissemblers, concealing their resentments even for years, and taking sudden and surprising revenges as soon as suitable opportunities offered. Such descriptions are unnatural. Men of a fluttering and volatile disposition are very capable of duplicity, but not of studied dissimulation^d. The missionaries very probably deceived themselves, by attributing to old resentments, and the recollection of past injuries, seemingly forgot, what in reality sprung from levity, or from some sudden, and, to them, unobserved cause of offence, which at the present opportunity excited these people to revenge, who, if that had been wanting, might have buried it in oblivion^e. These reverend authors, like all other historians, treat human nature from what they feel in themselves, and attribute facts done by others to such passions as would have led them to the commission of the like; which is not sound reasoning; for men uninstructed and undisciplined have quick and violent passions, but know not how to stifle or restrain them. These, however bad, are the effects of reflection and education; and savages are no more capable of them than of logic and other sciences; a habit of thinking being equally requisite in both cases^f.

Pleasure the great object of their desires. With some remarks on the disposition of savages.

THE missionaries are probably more in the right, in representing pleasure as the great object these people had in view; for that is the natural object of mankind in general, and the great use of reason is to distinguish rightly in the choice of pleasures, and in adapting properly the means for their attainment. It is in this the great difference between uncivilized and civilized nations subsists. The former are less capable of making a true judgment of appearances, and, by hastily grasping at whatever they take to be pleasure, run themselves upon those evils, which, if they saw them, they would certainly avoid. This kind of ignorance, natural and consequently inseparable from savages, is what better disciplined people, when they either see it with astonishment, or feel it to their cost, term barbarity; and therefore the first step towards doing any good with such men, is to teach them to reason right; and, though this would be a much slower, it would be a much surer, method of leading them to embrace true religion; and it is certainly for want of this that so many of the missionaries, in these islands particularly, have become martyrs; for while they pleased themselves with making multitudes of converts, they in reality made very few *Christians*. The reader will discern the use

^a G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Raccolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 208, 209, 300. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 52. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 453.

^b Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 62. ^c G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Raccolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 66.

^d Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 57. ^e Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 18. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 301. SHELVOCK's Voyage round the World.

^f Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 57.

a of these reflections hereafter, by seeing, that without having recourse to them, a great part of what we have yet to say would appear confused and embarrassed at least, if not unintelligible. For this reason we hope to be excused for entering into a series of arguments that might otherwise be looked upon as an useless digression from that subject, which in reality could be no otherwise illustrated. History that conveys no instruction, differs little from fiction; an history falsely written, is much worse. Truth alone gives it value; and therefore too much care cannot be taken to render the truth understood.

We come now to speak of the discovery of these islands, and to report the very few facts that constitute their history since they were discovered. *Ferdinand Magellan*, in that adventurous voyage in which he completed the design of the great *Columbus*, whose intention it was to reach the *East Indies* by a west course, arrived, after having been longer out of sight of any known land than ever any man had been before, amongst these islands, on the sixth day of *March*, 1521. He is said to have passed between an island lying towards the north-west and two others bearing south-west, one of which was higher and bigger than the other; and there *Magellan* attempted to have gone on shore, but was prevented by a multitude of canoes, or *Indian* prows; the people on board which, coming to the ships, stole every thing upon which they could lay their hands. Upon this he changed his purpose of bringing his ships to an anchor; and, to gratify his own and his people's resentment, landed only with forty armed men, set fire to fifty houses, burnt some of their prows, killed seven of the inhabitants, and recovered one of his boats, which they had carried away. It was from this accident that he stamped them with the reproachful name of *las Islas de los Ladrones*, in *Latin*, *Insule Latronum*, or *the islands of Thieves*. After this exploit he left them, and arrived in four days at *Samal*, generally supposed one of the *Philippines*.

It is by no means clear, to which of these islands this history belongs. It has, with great probability, been supposed, that the northern island was *Saypan*; and if so, then the island which felt these effects of his fury, must have been *Tinian*. We are assured, that when the people were shot through and through with arrows, they drew them out of their bodies, and gazed at them with a curiosity that overcame the sense of pain, till they dropped down dead. What was no less singular, notwithstanding all that had happened, the people followed him out to sea with two hundred prows, and held up fish and other things, as if they had still desired to barter with them. In some of these prows, the *Spaniards* saw women lamenting and tearing their hair, as they supposed, for the loss of their husbands: and the short account given of these people in *Magellan's* voyage, agrees very exactly with what we have said more at large, and from thence, no doubt, the generality of writers have been led to the conclusion, that the islands *de las Velas*, and the islands *de los Ladrones*, are the same; which however, when maturely considered, may, notwithstanding this concurrence of opinions, remain still a matter of some doubt^a (K), unless we very much enlarge the bounds of this *Archipelago*, in order to embrace them.

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^a G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO RACOLTO dell'e Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. chap. iv. p. 37. EDEN's History of Travayle. ^b G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO RACOLTO delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 356, a. ^c La Historia general y natural de las Indias, por el Capitan Gonçalo Hernandez de Oviedo. Cluverii, Introduct. in universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. xi. Pere LA GOSIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes.

(K) We have several relations of *Magellan's* voyage; that which we have followed in the text, is that of Sir *Anthony Pigafetta*, a knight of *Malta*, who accompanied him in the voyage. He places these islands in the latitude of twelve degrees north; and then says, that there was a small island lying to the north-west, and two others to the south-west, which does not at all agree with these islands (35). *Herrera*, having mentioned *Magellan's* passage through the streights to which he gave his name, tells us (36), "That from the latitude of twenty-one degrees fifty minutes south, he sailed two thousand leagues without seeing any thing except two desert islands in the midst of the ocean; and on the 20th of *January*; whereas *Pigafetta* says it was on the 6th of *March*; they found themselves in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty-eight minutes north, where they saw two very beautiful islands, inhabited by abundance of

" brutish people who worshiped idols and passed from
" one island to the other, being eight leagues distant, in
" canoes; the biggest of which could carry only ten men.
" They had well-shaped triangular, or, as some call
" them, *Shoulder of Mutton* sails, made of palm-tree
" leaves; their food was cocoa-nuts, yams and some lit-
" tle rice. So many of the natives going aboard, that
" the ships could not hold them; *Magellan* ordered
" them to be turned out, which was done by force, be-
" cause willingly they would not go. Those *Indians*, be-
" ing provoked at it, returned in their canoes, and threw
" so many stones, and staves hardened in the fire, that
" though at first he had ordered that they should not be
" hurt, not being able to endure it any longer, he caused
" the great guns to be fired, which killed some; and yet
" they came again, to barter what they had for such
" things as they had on board the ships. One afternoon,

(35) *Pet. Martyr*, Dec. v. *Eden's History of Travayle*, fol. 430. *Purchas's Pilgrim*, vol. i. B. ii. ch. ii.
(36) *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Decad. ii. lib. ix. cap. iii.

The small notice taken of them, during a long space of time, by the Spaniards.

THIS harsh treatment, on so short an acquaintance, must seem to be but an ill presage of what the inhabitants of these isles were to expect from their intercourse with *Europeans*; for, except the gaining a notion of the element of fire, and its uses, they reaped no advantage from this visit. We have seen at the beginning of this chapter the obstacles that, for a time, had prevented the *Spaniards* from improving that communication which they had opened between the *East* and *West Indies*, and which was the only cause of their visiting these islands, as it had been of their discovering them; and this accounts for their gaining so little knowledge, and taking so small notice of them during that interval, insomuch, that it is not very easy to find when they visited them next, or whether they considered them as places worthy the honour of being annexed to the *Castilian Empire*. The riches of the *Moluccas* had first tempted them to this route, and when the *Spanish* government consented to suspend their pretensions to these, and make so light of the informations they had received of the *Philippines*, we need not at all wonder that the *Ladrones*, without metals and without spices, were thought in a manner beneath their attention; and it is very remarkable that *Argensola*, who wrote under the royal protection the history of the *Moluccas*, though he gives us a succinct relation of *Magellan's* voyage, does not so much as mention the discovery of these islands. It was really a misfortune to the *Spaniards*, that their first discoveries proved so extremely rich, for it made them overlook all other advantages. So that they did not sufficiently attend to the connection of the different parts of their empire in the *East* and *West Indies*; and at the same time, wasted the vast wealth they drew from thence, in grasping at dominions that could be of little or no use to them in *Europe*; which reasons will sufficiently account for the declension of the *Spanish* monarchy, at a time when universal empire was the aim of its monarchs, and, for the accomplishment of which, they seemed to have the properest means in their own hands.

The Spaniards, after some intermission, visit these isles in their passage to the Philippines.

AFTER two and twenty years deliberation, the general, *Don Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobes*, was sent to take possession of those islands which *Magellan* had discovered, and to which his successor, *Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspe*, gave the name of the *Philippines*. They both touched at the *Ladrones* in their passage for refreshments, but without making any stay, or leaving any of their people behind them; and thus they became, and more especially the island of *Guam*, what it is still, a place of refreshment in the great run between the two *Indies*. In 1568 a *Spanish* ship going to the *Philippines* with two companies of soldiers on board, some of the men landed on the isle of *Guam*, and began to traverse it in search of provisions. Amongst these was a youth about twenty, who, walking unarmed through a wood, met with a boy about fourteen, who made up to the stranger, caressed him extremely, and at length, laying hold of him about the middle, ran away with him laughing. The poor *Spaniard* struggled, but was afraid to cry out, apprehending that the savage would have killed him; however the noise they made in passing through the wood brought four *Spaniards* armed, to see what was the matter. Upon this the boy quitted his prey, and fled through the wood with amazing

ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii.

quista de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, lib. i.

ARGENSOLA Con-

COLIN. Hist. de las Philipinas, lib. i.

“ as they were cruizing by one of those islands, the *Indians* loosened the skiff that was at the commander's stern, and carried it away. The next morning he sent two boats with ninety armed men, to a place at the foot of a mountain, whither they had carried the skiff. The *Indians* ran up the hill, and threw so many stones as if it had hail'd; but, as soon as the muskets were fired, they fled. Then the *Spaniards* entered the town, set fire to it, killed all they found there, and carried off the provisions. The *Indians* supposing that to be done for the skiff, turned it out to sea; which *Magellan* secured, watered, and divided the refreshments, many of the men being sick for want. The next day he sailed from those islands, which he called *de las Velas Latinas*, that is, of the shoulder of mutton sails, advanced three hundred leagues westward, and discovered many islands, where there was plenty of provisions, and they understood the language of an *Indian*, *Magellan* had with him.” It seems clear, from this relation, that these could not be the islands that have since passed under the name of the *Ladrones*; since it is on all hands agreed, that the natives never were idola-

ters; and besides, in the best *Spanish* maps, the navigation of *Magellan* is laid down according to *Pigafetta's* relation, and, of consequence, the islands he touched at are placed to the south of *Guam* (37); and we shall hereafter see that there are very probable grounds to believe, that we must either extend the *Ladrones* some degrees nearer the line, or else admit that these islands had no other title to this appellation, than being inhabited by a people who used the like kind of prows, and were as thievishly inclined as those that *Magellan* had met with (38). Which-ever of these two opinions we adopt, we must acknowledge that there are many more isles fully inhabited by nearly the same kind of people; so that the arguments hereafter advanced, as to the improvements that might be made, and the advantages that might be drawn from a judicious management of these countries, and the people placed in them by Providence, are not at all affected by the *Spaniards* embracing a contrary scheme, pursuing it steadily for a long series of years, and bringing it, of late especially, to a seeming point of perfection (39).

(37) See also *De Lisle's Maps*, and those of our best Geographers. *Castigliano*, ap. *Ramusf. tom. i. fol. 375. b.* *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 419.

(38) *Relation de Juan Gastan, Pilote*

(39) *Capt. Shelbock's Voyage*, in *Harris's Collection*, vol. i. p. 193.

a swiftness. This shews, that in their primitive state, and before they altered their manner of living, to imitate the *Europeans*, these people had a prodigious strength and a surprising agility¹.

ABOUT five years afterwards, *Don Martin Henriquez*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, directed the same Captain *Juan Lopez de Aguirre*, who was going again to the *Philippines*, to seize some of the youths of this island, and to carry them with him, that being educated there, and taught the *Spanish* language, they might learn from them a more distinct account of the country than they had been able to procure. He executed the order he had received, and, amongst the youths that he then carried away, was the very boy who had attempted to steal the *Spaniard*. When they came to *Manila* they knew each other again, and became very good friends, when the b savage very frankly told the soldier, that if he had succeeded in his design, his intention was, according to the custom of his country, to have knocked him on the head, then to have sucked out his brains, to have burnt his body, and drank the ashes in palm-wine; which, he said, was their way of interring their relations, and to have kept his bones to make heads for his lances². These are circumstances of which the missionaries take no notice, because, in all probability, these barbarous customs had been laid aside long before they came into these islands; or, if not, very industriously concealed.

OUR famous discoverer, Captain *Thomas Cavendish*, was the first of our countrymen who visited these isles; for, as we shall shew in its proper place, Sir *Francis Drake's* touching here, though universally affirmed, is either false, or very uncertain. The time of Capt. *Cavendish's* arrival was on the 3d of *January*, 1588, having traversed the *Pacific Sea* in forty-five days; and passed in that space, according to his computation, eighteen hundred leagues. He arrived about two in the afternoon upon the coast of *Guam*, and was presently surrounded by sixty or seventy *Indian* prows, full of people, bringing with them plantanes, cocoas, potatoes, and fresh fish which they had caught at sea. The method they took in exchanging, was to tie a piece of old iron to the end of a fishing-line, or of a cord, which they threw into a prow, which the natives untying, and taking away the iron, replaced it with some of the things they had³. But it seems they were more eager for iron than our people were for refreshments, since they followed them so long and pressed them so close, notwithstanding they ran over some of their prows, that at length the Captain gave orders for firing upon them; d however, they avoided the shot by dropping over-board. Our people report them to have been of a tawny colour, larger and fatter than most of themselves, with long black hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, or else tied in a knot upon the crown of their heads. They much admired their prows, or, as they stile them, *Canoes*; which, they say, were neatly made, considering they had no sharper tools than either flints or shells. They were no less struck with their skill in navigating them, and with their boldness and agility in diving. Captain *Cavendish* continued his voyage from hence, as *Magellan* did, for the island of *Samal*, which he discovered on the 14th of *January*, being three hundred and ten leagues from the island of *Guam*⁴.

IN the year 1596, one of the ships belonging to the squadron of the *Adelantado Alvaro de Mendana*, who had sailed from *Peru* to discover the islands of *Solomon*, arrived unexpectedly at *Guam*, and in a fragment of the account of that voyage, which is still remaining, we have some very curious particulars relating to these people. The author tells us, that he saw some of their prows in which there was only one *Indian*; and though it had a mast, sail, yard, tackle, halliards, and helm, he steers with one hand, and with the other hoists, lowers, and trims his sail, having one of the tacks fastened to each foot, and so veers out, or hales to, as occasion serves. Both ends are heads; and as soon as the sail is flipt round, they make way without bringing about the vessel. They are very swift, and when a wave breaks and fills it full of water, the man casts himself into the sea like a fish, overturns the boat, and clears it of all the water. The boat being clear, he gets in at one side; being come to shore, he takes his vessel on his back, and leans it against a tree, on which he has his habitation, like a bird, living upon the fish he takes. It is affirmed in this relation, that these people were idolaters, worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, and even crocodiles and sharks; that they sacrificed to them, by putting their gifts into a prow, and sending it out to sea; that their houses were built upon posts or trees; that they laughed at money, but were exceedingly desirous of iron, of which they made themselves tools; that they first flay'd and then burnt the bodies of their dead, preserving their bones; that they drank the ashes of the corpse in palm-wine; and that on such occasions they hired mourners, who, if the deceased was a man of quality, sung his

¹ Fragmens sur les Isles de Solomon ap. TREVENOT, tom. i. vol. iv. p. 673.

² PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. b. ii. chap. iv. p. 67. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection.

³ HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 818.

⁴ CHURCHILL's Collection of Voyages,

praises for a week together; relating all his actions from his cradle to his grave; and if any of these were comical, the audience, consisting of some hundreds, laughed; and if any terrifying accident was mentioned, they shrieked all together in the most frightful manner^y (L). In other respects, this narrative agrees with what we have already mentioned.

Arrival of the
first Dutch
ship that ever
visited the
Ladrones

THE first native of *Holland* that visited these isles was *Oliver van Noord*, with two ships under his command, on the 16th of September, 1599. They were immediately surrounded by a multitude of prows, full of the natives, who roared out *Hiero, Hiero*; that is, *Iron, Iron*; the *Dutch*, who had seen Capt. *Cavendish's* account, treated them as he did, throwing iron tied to ropes into their canoes; and in return they tied baskets of fruit, roots, and rice, for now they cultivated that grain^z. These *Dutchmen* thought *Magellan* was in the right in his sentiments, as to these people; for, upon examining the baskets, which seemed to be full, and were indeed very neatly made, they found nothing but shells, leaves, and a little rice sprinkled at the top. Some of these people, not satisfied with trafficking at a distance, came on board, and began very soon to lay hold of any bit of iron they could reach, and jump over board with it. A *Dutch* seaman upon this drew his cutlass in a passion; an *Indian*, who stood near him, twisted it instantly out of his hand, jumped over-board, and carried it with him^a.

Find all things
much in the
condition that
Captain Ca-
vendish de-
scribed them.

THOSE who remained on board, and had stolen nothing, saw all that passed with the greatest indifference that could be, eat and drank very readily whatever was set before them, and when they were satisfied jumped over board. To make a trial of their dexterity in diving, a *Dutchman* threw five pieces of iron one after another into the sea. One of the natives dropped after them, and having continued under water some time, brought up all five, and swam on board his prow. All that our countrymen had advanced concerning these people, as to their size and looks, as well as their uncommon strength of body, we find confirmed by the *Dutch*, who add, that both men and women seem to have no sense of modesty or shame. By this time there was one innovation had crept in, for all the men had their hair cropt; whereas the women wore theirs long and flowing upon their shoulders^b. The *Dutch* visited these islands afterwards very often, and sometimes careened their ships there, finding them very commodious for that purpose, at certain seasons of the year; and as yet the *Indians* were so far independent, that they shewed a like regard for all *European* nations; that is, they got from them as much iron as possible, by every method, fair or foul, that they could devise. This perhaps proceeded rather from a principle of barbarity than injustice; for it is a common principle with almost all savages to plunder strangers, though they may at the same time distinguish and respect property among themselves; so that thieving was rather the vice of their heads than of their hearts.

^y CHURCHILL's Collection of Voyages vol. iv. p. 673, 674.

^z Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement et aux Progrez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 83.

Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 34.

^b Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement, et aux Progrez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 84. ^a HARRIS's

Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection.

(L) The missionaries assure us, that no nation in the world can be more eloquent in sorrow than the people of these islands, and more especially the women, who with great skill and care erect tombs, or rather trophies, to the memory of the person they deplore (40). If he was distinguished in his life time by feats of arms, these trophies are adorned with lances; if he was more addicted to the sea, and conspicuous for his dexterous management of the prow, then the trophy was constructed by striking the mast deep into the earth, breaking the vessel, yard, and boom to pieces, piling them up on every side, interspersed with paddles stuck up and down; to which were fixed fragments of the sails. If he was both soldier and sailor, the lances and the paddles were intermixed, and the whole was surmounted with branches of green trees, and whatever else could contribute to render the pile agreeable and magnificent, according to their notions. Their funeral rites lasted for several days, during which they wept and fasted till they could scarce be distinguished to be the same persons (41). The reader will not perhaps be displeased, to see one of these funeral lamentations in two parts. The first woman began thus: "There is no longer life left for me. The remainder

" of my days is protracted death, accompanied with
" never-ending sorrow and bitterness. The star that con-
" ducted me has disappeared. The moon that gave me
" light is extinguished. The sun that cheered me is
" eclipsed for ever. Henceforward it will be an eternal
" night, in which, floating through waves of grief, I
" shall be at length ingulphed in misery and despair."
To this the other answered: "Alas! I have lost my all;
" the comfort of my days is gone; my heart shall beat
" no more with joy in his presence. The image of our
" ancient warriors! the honour of our race! the hero of
" our nation! is no more! he has left us! why should we
" stay behind? what avails life, when he for whom we
" lived is no more?" It (42) is very strange that the
missionaries were able to make no more of a people,
whose abilities were so great, whose parts were so ap-
parent, and who, in the midst of barbarism, threw out
such undeniable marks of genius. One cannot help
thinking, that a nation like these, might have been em-
ployed to better purposes than tilling rice grounds, and
herding cattle, and might have deserved a milder fate
than they seem to have met with, which falls very little
short of utter extirpation (43).

(40) Fragment in relation to the islands of Solomon, translated from Mr. Thevenot's Collections, and inserted in those published by Churchill.

(41) Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. artic. v.

Gobien, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. ii. p. 69.

(42) Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 193. Tour du Monde, par M. le Gentil de la Barbinais, tom. i. p. 215. Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, p. 451.

- a It was near a century and a half, from the time of *Magellan's* discovery, before the *Spaniards* thought in earnest of taking possession, or making any kind of establishment in these islands. Their vessels touched there indeed annually in their voyages between the *Indies*; they had taught the inhabitants to sow rice and other grain, they gave them pulse, roots, and the seeds of different kinds of vegetables; they left fowls, hogs, and black cattle to breed there; and it sometimes happened that some *Spaniards* were left there, either to recover their health, or to collect provisions against the arrival of their ships; but still the *Indians* retained their liberty, and their morals were not at all mended by their intercourse with the *Europeans*. On the contrary, they grew rather worse; for they imitated very readily the vices that they saw, and paid very little regard to the exhortations, that were but half understood, and which came from such of the missionaries as were passing from *New Mexico* to the *Philippines*, and who saw with regret a nation no way deficient in natural capacity, immersed in brutal pleasures, and wholly destitute of the light of religion ^d.

How long the Spaniards took to deliberate whether they should make a regular settlement or not upon these islands.

- It was upon the application of some of these zealous missionaries that his Catholic Majesty, *Philip* the fourth, had formed a design of sending over some fathers to preach the gospel to these *Indians*. This project, which he did not live to compleat, was executed by his daughter, *Mary Anne* of *Austria*, who governed the monarchy of *Spain* during the minority of *Charles* the second. This pious design of hers was accomplished about the year 1668, notwithstanding some obstacles it met with from both the viceroys of *Mexico* and the *Philippines*, who, foreseeing that they should be made responsible for the success of these missions, and apprehending from thence an increase of trouble, were not very forward in executing the orders they received from court, to second the zeal of these ecclesiastics ^e. At length, however, they were sent over, and left to take their fate amongst these savages, many of whom they converted after their manner, and transmitted very florid accounts of the progress of the gospel amongst the inhabitants of these, now styled from their patroness, the *Marianne Islands*. These accounts produced what they expected, strict orders to the *Spanish* viceroys in the *East* and *West Indies* to give what assistance was in their power to so pious and salutary a work; which, however, as one of the best and honestest of their own writers has observed, flourished much more while the missionaries depended upon their spiritual weapons, than when their preaching was afterwards supported by a military force ^f.

The missionaries apply to the crown of Spain to send over spiritual guides to convert the inhabitants of the Ladrões.

- d *Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado*, going over in 1678 viceroy of the *Philippines*, touched at *Guam*, and at his departure appointed *Don Juan Antonio de Solas* Governor of the *Marianne* islands; with about thirty soldiers, and from this time we may date the *Spanish* dominion here; which however was but very feeble, their whole possession consisting only of a sorry village or two, in each of which, as well as in some other places, the missionaries had built churches. In 1681 *Don Antonio de Seravia* was appointed by the royal authority governor of these islands, independent either of the viceroy of the *Philippines* or *Mexico*. He began speedily to exert his authority, and persuaded many of the *Indians* to acknowledge themselves subjects to the crown of *Spain* ^g. He was succeeded, in 1683, by *Don Damian de Esplana*, who was assisted by *Don Joseph de Quiroga*, and now it was thought necessary to construct a fort for the security of the settlement, and during this space the missionaries visited several other islands with which the *Spaniards* were little, if at all, acquainted before; and where, though they made many converts, yet they met with much opposition; and some of the nobles, whom they had converted, apostatizing, excited the people to stick to their old customs, and employed that natural eloquence, for which they were so famous, to ridicule the new doctrines, and the new customs, which these strangers had introduced. The missionaries say, and very probably with truth, that it was those dissolute people, who affected a community of women, of whose practices we have before given an account, who were the chief authors of those disputes. But however that matter might be, these disorders went on increasing, till at length they ended in a general revolt: by which the *Spanish* settlement, though grown much more considerable than it was, became in no small danger of being totally subverted: for, notwithstanding the great inequality of their arms, the advantages the natives derived from their cunning as well as from their numbers, enabled them to carry on the war with vigour, at the same time that many of the fathers were assassinated, and put to the most cruel deaths (M). By which acts of violence on both sides, such an animosity was raised between the two nations

The succession of Spanish governors in these isles to the time of the revolt.

^d ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Giro del Mundo del Doctor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 5. ^e Du Bois Geographe Moderne, p. 702. ^f D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China, lib. vi. cap. 32. ^g Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 292.

(M) It is on all hands agreed, that father *Diego Lewis* of *Sanvitores*, of an antient and honourable family in *Old Castile*, was the author of this mission. He is represented as a man of the most fervent piety, whose zeal

nations (for as yet the *Indians* might be stiled a Nation) as never afterwards subsided, or could be thoroughly removed ^h.

Captain Eaton, an English buccaneer, arrives at Guam, and is well received by the Spanish governor, and kindly treated. It was about the middle of *March*, in this year, that captain *Eaton*, in an *English* ship of force, visited this island, and found all things in the utmost disorder. The governor sent to know who he was, which was a question captain *Eaton* did not care to answer; he pretended, therefore, that his was a *French* ship, fitted out for discovery, and in that light he was well received, supplied with every thing he wanted on moderate terms, and many acts of friendship and reciprocal presents passed between him and the governor. The accounts we have in this voyage agree in all respects with those we have from the missionaries. The natives treated his people sometimes ill, sometimes well, according as they were stronger or weaker; and, upon captain *Eaton's* making some excuses to the governor, on account of three or four that were killed in a fray, in which he affirmed that they were altogether in the wrong, the governor told him, he did not doubt it, and that he could not do him a greater pleasure than to kill as many as he pleased; for that they were a subtle, mischievous, cruel people, who kept no terms with any body, and with whom no terms ought to be kept. At his request captain *Eaton* spared him four barrels of gunpowder; which, in all probability, prevented the *Spaniards* from being driven out of the island; and their whole intercourse, from first to last, was managed with the utmost civility and candour on both sides; and, which in such cases very rarely happens, they parted better friends than they met, and without the least coldness or suspicion on either side ^l.

The natives offer him the island, if he would assist them in expelling the Spaniards. THE wild natives, on the other hand, acted as if they intended to make good the character the *Spaniards* had given them: sometimes they associated with, and were extremely kind to, the *English*, whom they assisted in their hunting and fishing; but whenever they had, or thought they had, a favourable opportunity, they fell upon them, and endeavoured to destroy them, which ended in the slaughter of many of themselves. However, in a day's time they came to traffick with them again, as if nothing had happened, and broke their faith again, as

^h Capt COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 300, 302. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 308, 309. ^l Captain COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17.

for the gospel, and whose desire to succour the infidels in these islands, induced him, with infinite labour and trouble, to procure the necessary means of passing thither with a few of his companions, which at length he accomplished in the year 1668 (44). At first they had prodigious success, or at least they flattered themselves with that notion, baptizing the natives by hundreds. But it quickly appeared that many of these new *Christians* only suffered themselves to be called so, and that for a time, falling as suddenly back to their old superstitions as they had hastily left them. Amongst those who accompanied *Sanvitores* was father *Lewis de Medina*, who, in the second voyage he made to the island of *Saypan*, was murdered there, *January* 29, 1670 (45). Father *Sanvitores*, whom the Jesuits stile the Apostle of these islands, was slain by an apostate in the island of *Guam*, *April* 2d, 1672 (46). Father *Esquerro* perished in like manner with seven of his companions, *February* 2, 1674 (47). Father *Peter Diaz* met with the like fate from some of the young debauchees, whom we have mentioned in the text, and who, in the language of that country, are stiled *Urritaos*. He had converted a young woman whom he had kept, and had induced her to leave her infamous profession, in order to lead a life of devotion; which so provoked these rash profligate young men, that they murdered this missionary and two of his companions, and burnt the seminary which they had erected (48). Father *Sebastian de Maturay*, who also went with *Sanvitores*, being betrayed by one of the nobility of the country, was basely murdered as he was going with him in a boat by sea (49). In the general insurrection, Father *Emanuel de Salazzano* and several others were massacred, when the natives endeavoured to destroy

all the *Spaniards*. Father *Theophilus de Angelis* was half hanged, and then cudgelled to death by two of the *Urritaos* (50). Father *Augustin Strobach*, a native of *Moravia*, met with the same barbarous treatment; and Father *Comans* was destroyed in the island of *Saypan* in the year 1685 (51). All of those missionaries, however pious their intentions might be, and it would be very uncharitable to suppose that they sacrificed their ease, their country, and even their lives, through any other motive, were certainly guilty of great indiscretions; for, instead of engaging any number of these people to change their former manner of living, and to form themselves into a regular society, they introduced austerities, which these people could not either relish or understand; laid great stress upon ceremonies, which had no real utility and, instead of the gospel morality, amused their hearers with idle legends, which, in a little time, they began to ridicule: and thus, by not laying a right foundation, and making the regularity, justice, and industry of their converts the marks of their *Christianity*; and, perhaps, having themselves wrong notions of martyrdom, which they seem to have sought with a kind of passion not very reconcileable to *Christian* principles, they became victims to the ignorance and fury of these savages, whom, if they had been treated with more prudence, and taught the great duties of morality, and shewn the necessary consequences of them, in making men happy here and hereafter, they might certainly have reclaimed, and rendered in process of time honest men and good *Christians*, with honour and safety to themselves, and brought by that conduct of no small advantage to the *Spanish* government.

(44) P. le Goben Histoire des Isles Mariannes liv. i. pl. 40. p. 164. 167.

(47) Ibid. p. 205.

(48) Ibid. p. 205. 207.

(45) Ibid. p. 121. 125.

(49) Ibid. p. 252.

(46) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

p. 323, 324.

(51) Ibid. p. 339, 340. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P ii. chap. xiv. p. 703. Tour du Monde, par M. le Gentil de la Barbinais, tom. i. p. 242.

a soon as they were trusted. A little before captain *Eaton* went away, they sent some of their principal persons to acquaint him, that the best part of their countrymen had quitted the island, and were gone to another; which was true: that they were resolved to throw off the yoke of the *Spaniards*; and, if he would assist them in doing this, they were content to receive him and his people for their masters; which proposition the captain rejected with indignation^k (N).

We learn from the missionaries, that this, and other insurrections, were intirely owing to the natural eloquence of some of their *chamorists*, who were continually declaiming against the *Spaniards*, and the mischiefs they had brought upon them. Several of these harangues they had preserved; and tho' the greatest part of what they contain is foreign to our purpose, yet some particulars there are that deserve to be mentioned. They not only complained, that, under the pretence of making them more happy, these strangers had deprived them of their liberty, and hindered them from exerting their natural strength, by confining them, which they called *cloathing*; but, which is more out of the way, that they had brought among them new diseases, such as rheums and cholics; and had also brought amongst them musketoes, and other venomous insects, with which they were never plagued before; with many other accusations of the like kind; affirming, that, before they came, they led a quiet, tho' laborious life; and if they had fewer conveniencies (for they allowed that the *Spaniards* had taught them many things), yet their wants were fewer, and, upon the balance of the account, they were no gainers. One would imagine, that, if these facts had been true, they would not have had any weight with the people; and, if they were true, we cannot help thinking them not a little extraordinary. This war subsisted for several years, and was not thoroughly extinguished till Don *Joseph de Quiroga* came to the government, who not only put an end to it, but reduced all the *Marianne* islands, north as well south, about the year 1695^l.

In the course of the present century, things have gradually taken but an ill turn for the *Spanish* government here; insomuch that, we are assured, some of the largest islands are no longer inhabited. On *Tinian* there is not a soul, except as they are sent occasionally to bring away provisions; and but three or four hundred upon *Rota*, where they cultivate fruit, rice, and garden-stuff for the use of the *Spanish* garrison in *Guam*. We have no sort of certainty as to the state of the rest, and more especially of the northern islands, which possibly may be tolerably well peopled still, as lying at a greater distance from the *Spanish* settlement, and more out of the way of their annual ship^m. We must observe, that most writers of voyages are to be read with great circumspection, and more especially many of the *French*, who, rather than appear ignorant of any thing, supply the defect of knowlege by a lively imagination, and give their own notions and conjectures as matters of fact. In this respect, our own and the *Dutch* authors are more to be depended upon; and though their accounts are somewhat drier, and

Pretences of the natives, on account of which they took up arms.

The Marianne Islands now in a very low and poor condition.

^k Ibid. p. 18, 19. DAMPIER'S Voyage, vol. i. p. 301. p. 376.

^l Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, lib. viii. ^m Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI, DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL. Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 241. Lord ANSON'S Voyage, p. 450. 452.

(N) It was very fortunate for the *Spaniards* that their governor, Don *Damian d'Esplana*, treated this captain *Eaton* in the friendly manner he did; for, at this juncture, their affairs were in so critical a situation, that it depended upon the accidental arrival of this ship, and the behaviour of those on board it, whether the *Spaniards* should keep or lose the island of *Guam* (52). Captain *Eaton*, tho' he was no better than a buccaneer, had a sense of honour and gratitude, which induced him to reject the proposals, made him by the natives, of attacking the fort, and plundering the island; which, tho' his force was not great, he might easily have done. It was also very fortunate that none of the people on board his ship had penetration enough to discover the advantages that might have resulted from their accepting such a proposal, since it might have put the *Manila* ship in their power, and made all their fortunes at once; which was the sole object they had in view. But, besides the civility of the *Spanish* governor, they had conceived so bad an opinion of the natives, that they would have nothing to do with them; and indeed it does not appear from their accounts, that the manners of these people had

been much mended by their conversation with the *Spaniards* (53). However, they were as remarkable for their strength and activity as when they were first visited by the *Europeans*. Captain *Cowley*, who kept a journal of this voyage, tells us, that they took four of these savages prisoners, and brought them on board, with their hands tied behind them. In this condition three of them leaped over board; upon which captain *Eaton*'s people followed them in the boat, with a resolution to destroy them, which, even in this defenceless condition, was not easily done; for a strong man could scarce penetrate their skins with a cutlass; the second received forty shots before he breathed his last; and the third, tho' he had his arms pinioned, as well as his hands tied behind him, swam a full *English* mile before he was destroyed (54). We may certainly infer from hence, that if ever any other nation had interfered with the *Spaniards*, and had civilized and taken these *Indians* under their protection, they must have quickly expelled them from the *Ladrones*; and what they would have lost thereby, as well as what the conquerors might have gained, the subsequent part of this section will render sufficiently apparent.

(52) Pere Le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes, lib. viii. Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 81. the Buccaneers, p. 427. Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 81. Histoire des Isles Mariannes, lib. viii.

(53) History of

(54) Cowley's

Voyages, in Captain William Hacke's Collection of original Voyages, p. 19. Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 81. Histoire des Isles Mariannes, lib. viii.

less entertaining, yet experience shews, that they are less exaggerated, and come much nearer the truth (O).

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(O) It would be very unjust to pass censures of this kind without offering some proofs to support them; and it would be to little or no purpose to enter into the detail of such proofs, if at the same time they did not contribute to illustrate and explain the subject; but, when these circumstances concur, they cannot be displeasing to an inquisitive and judicious reader (55). The expedition of the *Duke* and *Duchess*, under the command of captain *Woods Rogers* and captain *Stephen Courtney*, was one of the most remarkable, as well as one of the most fortunate, undertaken by our countrymen. After making many considerable prizes in the *South Seas*, they arrived in sight of these islands in *March* 1710; and the account given of their reception take in captain *Rogers's* words (56): "In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get some of the natives aboard that were in the prows, to keep them as hostages, in case of sending any of our men to the governor. One of them, as we were turning into the harbour with *Spanish* colours, came under our stern. There were two *Spaniards* in the boat, who, on our assuring them that we were friends, came on board; and soon after came a message from the governor, to whom he wrote a very respectful letter, and the next day received a civil answer to it, with a generous offer of any thing the island afforded; which made us very easy. On the 13th, an entertainment was provided on board the *Bachelor* for the *Spanish* gentlemen; to which I was carried, being not able to move myself, but was hoisted in a chair out of the ship into the *Bachelor*; where we agreed, that a deputation should be sent from each ship to wait on the governor with an handsome present, in acknowledgement for his great civility, and the readiness he expressed to supply us. On the 15th there was another entertainment on board the *Marquis*, to which I was carried, as to the former; and after which a committee was held, in which our former resolution was confirmed. On the 16th our pinnace went out, with several of our officers, to the governor's ashore, who received them with all imaginable friendship and respect, having near two hundred men drawn up in arms at their landing, and the officers and clergy of the island to conduct them to the governor's house; which was a very handsome seat, considering where we found it. They entertained them with at least sixty dishes of several sorts, the best that could be got on the island; and when they took their leave, each fired a volley of small arms. They presented the governor, according as we had agreed, with two negro boys dressed in liveries, twenty yards of scarlet cloth, serge, and six pieces of cambric; which he seemed wonderfully pleased with, and promised to assist us in whatever lay in his power. The very next day we got our dividend, being about sixty hogs, ninety-nine fowls, twenty baskets of *Indian* corn, fourteen bags of rice, forty-four baskets of yams, and eight hundred cocoa-nuts. On the 18th there was an entertainment aboard us, where we had most of our officers, and four *Spanish* gentlemen from the governor. I made them as welcome as time and place would permit, diverting them with music, and our sailors dancing till night, when we parted, well pleased on both sides. We got some more bullocks on board, being small, lean cattle; but what we gladly accepted: each ship had fourteen in all. Next morning each ship had two cows and calves more, being the last. We had a meeting on board the *Marquis*; where it was agreed to make a handsome present to the governor's deputy, got our provisions together, wherein he used all possible dispatch. We gave him and the rest of the gentlemen what they esteemed double the value of what

" we received from them; which they certified under their hands, and that we had been very civil to them. We also gave them the like certificate signed by all our officers, to shew to any *English* that might have occasion to recruit there, and parted very friendly."

A *French* gentleman, who landed here on the 30th of *May* 1716, gives us the following account of things, which is set down precisely in his own words (57):

" The other three ships, that entered the road immediately after us, proved to be our comforts. This circumstance, which would have given us great satisfaction at any other time, gave us very little at present; for we were afraid that too many ships arriving at time, might create a kind of famine in an island, which, we knew, was not very well provided. It imported us very much to prepossess the viceroy in our favour. With this view I went on shore with the captain, and we went together to render him our first visit. They made us pass through a wicket, which was the sole entrance to his palace. We then advanced under a portico, where I saw some fusces, seven or eight bandoliers, some lances, four colours, and a drum. Forty soldiers, ranged in two lines on the stair-case, received us with all the gravity which is the characteristic of their nation; and an officer, with an air of ceremony, introduced us into the apartment of the viceroy. The gay and easy air with which that great man received us, gave us sufficiently to understand, that he was not all displeased at the thoughts of tasting bread, and renewing his acquaintance with a flask of wine; things to which, as he told us himself, he had been for some time a stranger. The word *palace*, no doubt, will appear strange to you; but you are to know, that what with you is called a *bowel*, passes in these colonies for a palace. This, of which I am speaking, is covered with straw and palm-tree leaves. It consists of three apartments; the two first occupied by the viceroy, and the third is destined to the use of a number of young *Indian* girls, whom he caused to be bred up out of charity; which he may do without scandal, as his great age secures him from censure. He promised us very readily all sorts of refreshments, and we relied confidently upon his word; for, being a *Spaniard*, we very well knew, that he had rather fast six months than break it. We went then to pay our respects to the two father jesuits, who seemed to be very pious men; without doubt it is not ambition brings them to these islands, where they lead a life very austere, and full of mortification. The day after our arrival, the viceroy, Don *Juan Antonio Francisco Hernandez Pimental y Telado*, came to return our visit on board our ship. We regaled him in the best manner our scanty circumstances would permit; what pleased his excellency most was our discharging seven guns by way of salute. We agreed with him for the number of cattle we were to have in exchange for flour, biscuit, wine, and brandy. The people of the country go in a manner naked, and are afflicted with a leprosy, which is a kind of epidemic distemper amongst them. Their cabins are covered with palm-leaves, and are built of the bodies of trees drove one into another. Their manner of living is melancholy and miserable; that of the *Spanish* garrison must be more so, as they are less accustomed than the natives to such a kind of life. The preservation of this island costs the crown of *Spain* annually a great sum. It seems to be a mere honorary conquest, of no manner of utility. No doubt his catholic majesty would have it thought, that he is at this expence from a religious motive, and for the sake of preserving in the faith those whom the missionaries have converted; but, notwithstanding all their care,

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(35) *DiBionnaire universelle de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 292.
Vol. i. p. 179.

(57) *Captain Woods Rogers's Voyages in Har-*
bour's collection, vol. i. p. 207.

- a In respect to the present state of things, there are, according to the latest *Spanish* accounts, about four thousand inhabitants in the whole island of *Guam*, of whom about a fourth part are said to live in the city of *San Ignacio d' Agand*, where the governor generally resides, and where the houses are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles; a very uncommon fabric for these warm climates, and savage countries^a. Besides this city, there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages. As this a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields to the *Manila* ship, there are two castles on the sea-shore; one is the castle of *St. Angelo*, which lies near the road where the *Manila* ship usually anchors, and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns, eight-pounders. The other is the castle of *St. Lewis*, which is north-east from *St. Angelo*, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from *Manila*^b. This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former; and, besides these forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the sea-shore. The *Spanish* troops, employed on this island, consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each; and this is the principal strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the *Indian* inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of fire-arms or lances, that he might be the less in danger of feeling the effects of their resentment^c.

Present state of Guam, and of the Spanish settlement on that island.

- c SOME writers attribute the gaining of these islands to the crown of *Spain* to the missionaries rather than to the civil power, and perhaps with reason; but then they may, with equal justice, attribute likewise to them the loss of these islands, by calling in the sword continually to their assistance; and a *Spanish* ecclesiastic observed this long ago^d; for, from the beginning of their missions here, as well as in the *Philippines*, the bulk of the people conceived an aversion or a contempt for the religion which they taught, and multitudes of those whom they converted at first, revolted afterwards, and, like all apostates, became the bitterest enemies to that faith which they had professed, and to which they were very rarely, if ever, reconciled^e. It seems to be now generally understood, that the *Spaniards* have given over all thoughts of rendering the *Marianne Islands* a province of consequence to their empire, and seem to circumscribe their views within the narrow plan of keeping *Guam*, as a post of communication between their possessions in the *East* and *West Indies*^f (P). But, after taking so much pains as we have done,

Keeping the natives low, and under subjection to the Spanish garrison in their fortress on the island of Guam, the sole aim of the Spaniards.

^a Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI. Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 16. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 300, 301. ^b DU BOIS Geographie moderne. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL, tom. i. p. 213. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 75. ^c Captain COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 300, 301. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 452. ^d D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados historicos de la monarchia de China, lib. vi. cap. 32. ^e Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 139, 140. ^f ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 27. Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde, vol. i. p. 214, 215.

“ of fifteen thousand inhabitants that were in this island,
“ they are now dwindled to fifteen hundred, and some
“ of these keep in the mountains, that they may retain
“ their ancient liberty, and not be obliged to submit to
“ the *Spanish* yoke.”

He then tells us, that the viceroy furnished them with one hundred fowls, forty ducks, four oxen, six sheep, eight hogs, and some greens; and that he excused himself from letting them have more, because he expected the *Acapulco* ship. He adds, that the viceroy permitted him to carry away eleven of his soldiers, who were weary of the thin subsistence they derived from the bread-fruit, and other miserable provisions, and rejoiced at the thoughts of filling their bellies with biscuit and salt meat. By comparing these two accounts, the reader cannot but see, that the latter is a very abusive return for the kindnesses they had received, and must be well enough satisfied, considering the stock the *Spaniards* had at *Tinian* and *Rota*, that the soldiers had no great temptation to go to sea to avoid starving; and, what is very extraordinary, he tells us in the very next page, that they feasted luxuriously upon the *Marianne* capons, which they found to be fine and fleshy, and the most excellent of their kind that they ever eat.

(P) The reader will be pleased to distinguish between the object of the *Spanish* policy, which is what we cen-

sure, and the method by which they have pursued that object, the propriety of which we do not at all controvert. If any arguments could be adduced to prove, that it was inconsistent with the true interest of the *Spanish* crown to settle and people these islands effectually, and that, at the same time, it was necessary to preserve some footing in them, there would no doubt at all remain that they have shewn great skill and dexterity in the execution of this scheme (58). They have, as we plainly see, by means, some of them evident enough, and others at which it is not difficult to guess, diminished a mighty number of inhabitants that they found, and remained upon these islands long after they were in possession of them, to a very handful, who either live under the yoke, or, if they enjoy their liberty, are indebted for it to the inaccessible places to which they are retired. On the other hand, their own settlements are strong enough for any purposes they are to answer; and the governor has it always in his power to supply any refreshments of which the *Manila* ships can stand in need, at the same time that there is so little plenty in *Guam* as to furnish him with plausible excuses in respect to any adventurers that touch there, and, at the same time, to take from them all inclination of attempting to dispossess him, from an apprehension of their wanting subsistence in a short time, even if they accomplished their design (59). Taking therefore things in

(58) Sir William Monson's naval discourses, book iv. in several discourses. See also Peter Martyr, Navarette, and our former session in regard to the *Philippines*; with Savary's observations in his *Dictionnaire universelle de commerce*.
(59) Compare the accounts already given from several writers of voyages.

done, after drawing together so many materials, comparing them with each other, and digesting them in the best method we could, let us have leave to make the best use of them we can; which, we apprehend, will consist in shewing, that the *Spaniards* have intirely mistaken their object, and that it would have been far more advantageous for them to have used their endeavours to cherish the inhabitants of these islands; to have cultivated them with the greatest care; and to have rendered them as fertile and populous as so favourable a climate, and so fine a soil, would certainly have enabled them to do, if they had gone prudently and heartily about it.

The Marianne Islands the natural barrier of the Spanish empire in both Indies, and, with due care, would have been invincible.

In the first place, they ought to have considered it as the common barrier of their empire in *Asia* and *America*, placed there by the hand of nature, and of consequence capable, according as it was managed, of turning highly to their advantage, or much to their detriment. These countries were such as offered all the comforts, and with them all the conveniencies and pleasures of life, to those that occupied them. If, instead of a handful of starved, straggling soldiers, one or two hundred white families had been transported thither early from *Mexico*, and proper provision made for them in the island of *Guam*, which, in comparison of the benefits bestowed, might have been done at an inconsiderable expence, they would, in the space of half a century, have become, in comparison of the country they inhabited, a nation; and, if the *Indians* had been kindly treated, they would willingly have sheltered themselves under their protection, and imitated their manners. As to those who might have been so obstinate, so flagitious, or so mutable in their dispositions, as not to be won, or not to be kept by good usage, they would have quitted the island, and this would have been a good riddance. When *Guam* was once thoroughly settled, a colony might have been sent, without hazard, from thence to *Tinian*, or any other of the larger islands, and settled in a such a manner as not to fear any disturbance from the natives, who ought never to have been deprived of their liberty, but left to discover the disadvantages of it by the comparison of their own wretched condition with the easy circumstances of the *Spaniards*, and of their countrymen who had voluntarily sought their protection, and adopted their manners¹.

How the missionaries might have been made extremely useful in the carrying on such a plan, and increasing the strength of the colony.

THEIR missionaries might then have been of great use in carrying such a plan into execution; and if, instead of baptizing them in a hurry, they had insisted on their living a certain number of years after a civilized manner, and behaving like honest men, before they became Christians, baptizing, however, all who desired it, when dangerously ill, or at the point of death, this had gained subjects to the state, as well as members to the church; and, if they had exacted a small tribute from those who lived according to their own customs, without harassing or injuring them, and exempted them from all tribute when they became Christians, trusted them with arms, and advanced them to small honours civil and military, they would soon have had many thousands of good subjects, a multitude of sincere Christians, and consequently a great strength. If their nobility had been complimented with titles, and a little degree of power, it would have attached them to their benefactors, and they would have been sure to have employed their eloquence on the side of that government, from which they derived such a real advantage. Wherever they had erected a church, they might also have established a town; and whether there are or are not good ports in these islands, they might, with a little management, have raised a great naval strength for that part of the world, considering the natural ingenuity of the inhabitants, and their turn for navigation; which, if it had only served to reduce these islands by degrees, and to have maintained a constant intercourse amongst them when reduced, would have been productive of infinite benefits² (Q).

THESE

¹ Pere LE GOUVEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. viii. p. 281.

² Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 453.

in this light, and allowing the principle upon which they act, we must confess, that they have conducted their measures prudently enough; but there is a very wide difference between acting wisely upon false principles and upon true; and tho' it must be confessed, that a great part of what the world calls *policy*, is in fact such a manner of acting, that is, taking right steps to come at wrong ends, this does not in the least alter the case, or demonstrate any thing more than this, that the same art and address may be employed to carry a mean and unworthy plan into execution, that would have rendered a noble, generous, and beneficent scheme successful (60). Let any candid and competent judge reflect on the steps taken by the *Spanish* court to reduce their subjects in the

Low Countries into a state of servile submission, which at first produced dejection and poverty, and, in the end, the loss of those valuable provinces, though there was great skill, immense treasures, and innumerable forces, consumed in the prosecution of that design (61), and he will not accuse us of arrogance for arraigning the rectitude of their conduct in this part of the world, where, sooner or later, the same event will fall out that happened there.

(Q) It must be allowed, that there was a concurrence of some very unlucky circumstances that might seem to give a colour of reason to proceedings, which, however, are altogether unsustainable when examined to the bottom. The *Spaniards*, indeed, have many splendid and heroic

(60) Pere Le Gouven Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. i. p. 31. other original writers, in relation to these transactions.

(61) Compare Grotius, Meteren, Strabo, and

- a THESE islands might have served for a nursery of soldiers and seamen, who might have been, in many respects, useful to the crown of Spain. For, in the first place, they lay much more conveniently for defending and succouring the *Moluccas* than even the *Philippines*: they would easily have prevented foreign nations from passing through the *Pacific Ocean* to the *East Indies*: they might have been made the magazine of *Indian* commodities from the *Philippines*, and the exchange of these for the wealth of *Mexico* and *Peru* might have been regulated, according to his catholic majesty's orders, by the government established in these islands, which could have no interests of its own; and the very want of mines and other natural riches in these isles, instead of being a defect, would have been a circumstance beneficial to the interest of Spain.
- b BUT supposing them ever so blind, as indeed they must have been, to the singular and self-evident advantages which might have resulted from establishing a force in countries, which, from their fertility, and the number of people already in them, might have been so easily, and with so much certainty, secured, one may, with equal reason, wonder that they had not their eyes open to the danger of other nations taking advantage of their supineness: for, if a settlement had been made in one of the more distant islands, and those who made it had conducted their affairs with any tolerable degree of prudence and policy, they might have established themselves so effectually, even before the *Spaniards* were well apprised of it, as to have been in a condition to have resisted any strength they could have brought against them; more especially if they had drawn the natives to their side, and had given them arms and encouragement to act against the common enemy. The want of good ports would have been an advantage to such a people; for, with a fort or two to command the roads, and a number of small vessels fit for cruising, they might maintain themselves, and at least disturb, if not intirely interrupt, the communication between *Manila* and *Acapulco*. The natives, as useless as they are to the *Spaniards*, might be made good subjects by proper usage; and, if they are dangerous enemies now, would be in that case much more formidable. Tho' to some this may seem a singular and even a strange supposition, yet it will not appear so visionary or so impracticable, if we call to mind certain matters of fact, which will shew us, that it might once have been, if it was not, apprehended.
- c WHEN Sir *Francis Drake* and captain *Cavendish* were in these seas, they might certainly, if they had thought fit, have seized and fortified any one of these islands; and tho' it may be true that this did not, or could not, enter into their heads, yet accidents might have forced them to it; for, had they been wrecked upon any of these islands, they could have had no other
- d
- Might have been also made the center of commerce between them, and by that means prevented that trade being injurious to Spain.
- The great danger the Spaniards might run, if other nations should ever establish themselves upon any of these islands.
- Some facts, which, seriously considered, shew, that this is far from being impracticable.
- * DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON justification de la conservation de les Islas Filipinas. Pilgrims, vol. i. c. 4. p. 37. Capt. COWLEY's voyage round the world, p. 20. DAMPIER's voyages, vol. i. p. 301. x PURCHAS's

heroic virtues, very capable of rendering them great conquerors; but then they are not a little wanting in social qualities, have for the most part but slight notions of oeconomy, and believe themselves born to be the masters in whatever countries they arrive (62). The good fortune that had attended them in *America*, and after that the rich conquest of the *Philippines*, gave the common soldiers a natural contempt for a country, in which there was nothing plenty but provisions. From the very beginning they had continual quarrels with the natives, which inspired them with an implacable hatred, and an invincible, tho' perhaps ill-founded aversion for those poor people, whose ignorance, tho' the effect of necessity, made them contemptible, in spite of those efforts of genius which ought to have recommended them to better usage (63). Their missionaries certainly came with pious intentions, and applied themselves with great zeal and sincerity to convert these savages to the Christian faith; but it appears plainly, that these were another sort of jesuits than those who go on the same errand into richer countries. They had none of the arts and address which some of their brethren have shewn in *China*, in the *Indies*, and in *Paraguay* (64). They never thought of accommodating themselves to the notions and man-

ners of these people, or adapting their instructions, so as to lead them gradually to a relish of civility, order, and government. They were for teaching them prayers by rote, and fixing in their minds a veneration for ceremonies, of which it was impossible they should understand the meaning. It must, on the other hand, be allowed, that they never met with any people, either in *Asia* or *America*, more unfit than these *Indians* were for them to deal with. Men of lively parts, quick penetration, not deficient in sagacity, strongly prejudiced in favour of their opinions, and passionately fond of that liberty, which the *Spaniards* were as obstinately bent, as soon as it was in their power, to take from them (65). Things being in this situation, and the government of Spain shewing no great inclination to interfere in any other manner than by supporting the garrison and these missionaries, treating also their expences on these heads as a burthen upon their other provinces, and a dead weight upon the crown (66), we may the less wonder that things took such a turn, or that, having reduced those, who should have been their subjects, into the low rank of slaves, they rendered irreconcilable enemies such as might have been made useful allies.

(62) *Justin. hist. lib. xliii. Travels of Thomas Gage, p. 171. L'Esprit des loix, liv. x. c. 4. (63) Fragment relating to the Islands of Solomon. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. (64) Navarrete tratados historicos de la monarchia de China, lib. vi. cap. 32. Memoires historiques sur les missions de Malabar, par Norbert, vol. ii. p. 352. See the memoir relating to Paraguay at the close of the history of Spanish America, London, 1741. (65) Du Bois geographie moderne, P. ii. chap. 14. art. 5. (66) Gemelli Carreri giro del mondo, P. v. Tour du monde, par M. le Gentil de la Barbinais, tom. i. p. 321. Dictionnaire universelle de commerce, tom. ii. col. 892.*

chance for preserving their lives and liberties, but by fortifying, associating with the natives, and endeavouring, by their assistance, to make themselves masters of the first *Spanish* vessel that came in their way. There was another *Englishman* taken in the *South Seas*, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who, if he had come here, as he intended, was, of all men living, the most capable of such an enterprize; for he had a head to project, and a heart to execute, whatever was in the conception of the men of that age, when sea-officers undertook with cock-boats what would now be thought to require puissant squadrons. If we remember, that *Philip* the second sent in all haste to build a city, and fortify the dreary freights of *Magellan*, as soon as he knew that *Drake* had passed them, we may justly wonder that the *Spaniards* entertained no apprehensions of these isles; and if we meditate ever so little on the scheme of a living admiral, when he thought himself confined to the island of *Tinian*, we shall see some cause to doubt whether such actions are yet out of date. But the *Dutch* have had much greater opportunities: they have passed the *Marianne Islands*, not with single ships, but with fleets; and, if they had left a body of men in one of them, they might have corresponded with and relieved them from the *Moluccas*. Or accident might have led the buccanzers, as daring and enterprising men as any that the world has seen, to have seized some of these islands for a retreat; and if they had, their companions, beyond doubt, would have resorted to them, and the consequences might have been just as fatal to the *Spaniards*, as a settlement of the same kind of people at *Petit Guaves*, to which the *French* owe their being masters of the best part of *Hispaniola*.

It is obvious, upon the whole, that the Spaniards have mistaken their point as to these isles.

At all events we are very certain of three things: first, that other nations, as well as the *Spaniards*, have often visited these islands, of which we have given many instances. Secondly, that the *Spaniards* have been in no condition at any time to dispute with them; but, on the contrary, have been forced to furnish them with refreshments. And, thirdly, that if, instead of touching at *Guam*, they had gone to any of the other islands, they might have been long enough there to fortify, before the *Spaniards* had been in any condition to drive them out. These circumstances are more than sufficient thoroughly to establish the position we have laid down, that the *Spaniards* have not only neglected the manifest advantages they might have drawn from these islands, but have as little consulted their own security; from whence one would imagine they thought, that, by being blind themselves, they should be able to close the eyes of all other nations; and in this respect, indeed, they have hitherto had very good luck, which has sometimes answered the end, and thereby passed upon the world for the most refined policy ^z (R).

W^B

^y Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 84. DAMPIER'S VOYAGES, vol. i. p. 316. P. CHARLEVOIX histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de St. Domingue, liv. vii. ^z Capt. COWLEY'S voyage round the world, p. 15. DAMPIER'S VOYAGES, vol. i. p. 300. Lord ANSON'S voyage, p. 437, 438.

(R) The reader, no doubt, will perceive, that little is said in the text, either to support the matter of fact, that the *Spaniards* had never any thoughts or design of improving these islands, and that still less is said with respect to the motives that induced them to form this resolution; which, considering the reputation they have always had for political abilities, might well be expected, and which we therefore purposely reserved to be explained in this note (67). That enterprising spirit, which distinguishes discoverers from the rest of mankind, and which, in a superlative degree, distinguishes *Columbus* from all other discoverers, continued for a long time to glow in the bosoms of the *Spanish* heroes, who, with amazing ardour, pushed their conquests and their inquiries through every part of the known world (68). It continued to subsist even after their empire was firmly established; and it was the custom of the viceroys both of *Mexico* and *Peru* to fit out vessels to range the coasts, that the annals of their respective governments might be adorned with fresh acquisitions to the crown of *Castile*, which rendered them revered in the *Indies*, and procured also a proportionable degree of respect in *Spain*, in case they lived to return home. So long as this disposition

was applauded, the affairs of the nation, in these distant parts of the world, continued to flourish, and their fame and empire were extended together (69). But when once *Drake* penetrated into those recesses, where no stranger had ever come before, and had audaciously ventured to disturb the quiet of the *Pacific Ocean*, *Philip* the second, who began to find the force of his monarchy declining, thought it wisdom to put a check to these enterprizes, believing it to be equally inconsistent with his wisdom and his greatness to let his subjects find countries that they were not able to occupy, and serve as pilots to other nations in exploring new lands (70). The check he then gave, perhaps with good reason, since the *Spaniards* have attributed to him the surname of *the Prudent*, quenched that heroic flame, which hitherto had invigorated and supported their empire. That calmer kind of policy which succeeded, and which was built upon the principle of preserving the vast dominions that had been already obtained, changed the face of things, and produced a new race of men in the *Indies*. Pride and cunning soon took place of that haughty ambition, and those extensive schemes of conquest, which rendered their former heroes famous. The governors, who from this time succeeded, endea-

(67) Sir *Richard Hawkins*'s observations in his voyage into the *South Sea*, London, 1622. fol. 37. xxx. (68) *Petrus Martyr. Epist. Marian. Herrera.* (69) *Antonio de Herrera descripción de las Indias Occidentales. Hawkins's relation of the state of Nova Hispania, addressed to Richard Hakluyt, Esq; London, 1572. History of Spanish America, from Spanish writers.* (70) *Churchill's voyages.*

- a We mean not, however, to deny, that tho' the *Spanish* court and governors have thought fit to reject the maxims that seem to us right, they have substituted in their stead another plan of their own. We see plainly that they have, and we can determine, from facts, what the nature of that plan is. Their original design was to keep as few people, and at as small an expence as possible, in the island of *Guam*, and not to trouble themselves with any of the rest; and to this they steadily adhered for a long series of years, till at length the missionaries, supported by the piety of their catholic majesties, forced them to abandon this method, and to suffer them to attempt the conversion of the *Indians*. But whatever they may be elsewhere, the jesuits have not shewn themselves very able men here; and very possibly the reason is, that the country being poor, the zealous and the pious, not the shrewd and the sensible jesuits, have addicted themselves to this mission; whence it has come to pass, that their converts have been lazy bigots, that have done little good to the colony, and a great deal of mischief to their own nation: from the consideration of this the old plan has been revived, and by degrees carried into execution^a. The governor relies on the little strength he has in their single settlement on the single island of *Guam*; keeps the natives, not immediately under his obedience, as poor, as low, and as defenceless as possible; and treats such as acknowledge his authority not as subjects, but as slaves. His principal endeavour is to be able to command, upon any occasion, a sufficient stock of provision for the service of his colony, and of the annual ship. This, it seems, is thought the best use that can be made of the *Marianne Islands*, the surest method of being safe from the resentment of the natives, and the best security that can be had against these islands falling into the hands of any other nation. This, from the facts we have collected from writers of all nations, at different times, and under circumstances that cannot deceive us, is the plan at present pursued, and which, for any thing we can perceive, is likely to be pursued, so long as *Indians* enough remain to enable their masters to keep this settlement^b (S).
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- c

BUT

^a SHELVOCK'S voyage round the world. Lord ANSON'S voyage, p. 419.
p. 301. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL tour du monde, vol. i. p. 214. COOK'S voyage.

^b DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i.

endeavoured, most of them, to make a fortune, by plundering abroad, and to save themselves, by present, from being punished for it at home. This induced them to treat with coldness those projects which their predecessors had encouraged, and, under the specious pretence of public oeconomy, to discountenance private virtue, and every thing that wore the face of novelty, or could not be attempted without expence (71). Hence all the representations against the treasure sent to the *Philippines*, in the former section; hence the severe restrictions on the commanders of the annual ships; hence the contempt of these islands; and hence, in short, that new system, which, by extinguishing enthusiasm, has introduced a consumptive languor into their conduct, and taught other nations, by their example, that, in sovereignties of this sort, when the appetite of acquiring is once either lost or restrained, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to preserve what has been already acquired (72).

(S) If any critical reader should object, that as the *Spanish* plan of governing these countries may spring from the genius of the people, and the settled maxims of their ministers, with whose motives we are little acquainted, so the censures may likewise arise from the temper of this nation, and the liberty we take of entering into, and discussing all subjects according to our own notions of things; tho' perhaps they may be as partial and remote from truth, as the conduct of those nations seems to us to be, which we blame without reserve. But to this we oppose a short, plain answer; which is, that the wisest and most intelligent persons among the *Spaniards*, who have treated upon these subjects, have differed as much as we do from their politicians, and declared expressly in favour of the scheme which we recommended (73). Many of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* missionaries have freely owned, that the true way of converting *Indians* to

the faith of the gospel, is that which we have laid down; that they have pursued it, and pursued it with success; nay, they are so candid as to acknowledge, that some of the jesuits, and particularly *Francis Xavier*, stiled by his own order the apostle of the Indies, was of this mind, and thought, that baptizing men, and teaching them to say a few prayers, was a very imperfect manner of conversion; and that the true road was to enlarge their understandings, and reform their manners, so as to render them sober, sensible, and honest men; and that then there was no doubt of their becoming and remaining good Christians (74). Others have taken great pains to expose the folly and weakness of restraining the colonies from a free correspondence with each other; which, they have asserted, was the only means of rendering them rich and populous, and, which was still of greater consequence to the people in them, easy and happy. They complain, that those notions were not relished at *Madrid*; and the cause they assign for this is no other than that they were not well understood (75). They give us plainly to understand, that the temporary restraints, which *Philip* the second very wisely introduced in times of great trouble and confusion, and when almost every state in *Europe* was endeavouring to raise its power, and encrease its riches, at the expence of the *Spanish* monarchy, had been adopted as invariable maxims of state, from which his successors and their ministers were never to depart: whereas, in prudence, the principles of their conduct ought to change with the times; and that, as soon as a solid peace was restored, these restraints ought to have been taken away. It is from these writers that we learn, that the modern distinction between the interests of *Spain* and the interests of the colonies, has no foundation in nature; but must be necessarily attended with consequences very injurious, and which, in time, will become fatal

(71) *Hernan du los Rios Coronel relaciones de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas*. Navarrette. *Pere Le Gobien histoire des Isles Marianes*, liv. i. p. 35.

(72) *Dampier, Rogers, Shelvock's voyages*. Gemelli Carveri. *De la Barbinais*. Lord Anson's voyage.

(73) *Historica relatione del reyno de Chile, del P. Alonso d' Owaglie*, lib. ii. c. 4.

(74) *Navarrette tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*.

(75) *B. de la Casas*. *Don Juan Grau y Mont-*

jacon. Coronel, &c.

It must be left to the decision of the reader, whether this precarious, or the former more beneficial plan, ought to have preferred.

BUT whether this manner of treating these isles, and their inhabitants, be consistent with the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, or the moral doctrines of the Christian religion, we must leave to the equitable decision of the public, who are also the proper judges, whether, even considered in a political light, this scheme of management will serve long to answer their purpose; or if it had not been much better to have cherished and civilized these people, to have carried some of them to *New Spain*, and some to the *Philippines*, while very young, and, causing them to be taught there the *Spanish* language, have brought them back well educated, and instructed in different arts and trades, into their own country, where they might have been doubly useful, from the exercise of their own abilities, and their capacity of teaching others^c. This certainly would have attached them effectually to the *Spanish* interest, which of course they must have adopted, together with the manners of the nation; and they might then not only have had thousands of subjects to cultivate and improve a country so well able to support them, but also to maintain and defend it, for their own sakes, against all invaders. This would also have more effectually answered the intention of yielding assistance, as well as furnishing provisions and conveniencies, to their galleons that have touched there, and have done more honour, and been less expensive to the *Spanish* government, than the plan that is now pursued, even supposing that there were sufficient reasons against prosecuting any more extensive schemes for rendering these islands the center of commerce between the two *Indies*. At all events, however, there is one clear and certain remark that may be deduced from this history and these observations, with which we shall conclude the present section^d (T).

WHATEVER claim the *Spaniards* may have to treat countries, which they have discovered and possessed, in the manner they think most advantageous to their own views, and whatever

^c D. F. NAVARETTE *tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*, lib. vi. cap. 4. ^d ANTONIO DE HERRERA *descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 29. Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S naval tracts in Churchill's collection. Lord ANSON'S voyage.

fatal to both (76). They likewise make no difficulty of asserting, that most of their governors have nothing in view but raising fortunes hastily, and making such representations at home as may facilitate their own private designs; that such as have digressed from this narrow path, and acted with better views, have too often been exposed to the resentment of the ministers, who, for want of better lights, adhered to the opposite plan, and have been misrepresented as factious and capricious persons, who, out of a vain conceit of rendering themselves popular, or a presumptuous opinion of their own superior abilities, had an inclination to change the old established measures, and to introduce innovations that might be destructive to the interests of *Spain*. This last point is the great barrier, which protects all the ill conduct and strange management that renders the *Spanish* empire, in both the *Indies*, so inconsiderable to what it might be; and there is nothing clearer, than that while this doctrine prevails, no innovations on any account are to be admitted, no amendments can ever be practical (77). We will add but one word more, that as there is nothing plainer to one, whom reading and reflection has made a proper judge of the matter, than that the trade of the *East Indies* might be carried on with greater ease, and to a greater extent, by the subjects of the crown of *Spain*, than by those of any other power in *Europe*; so this was long ago freely and fully stated (78), and is not at all a new thought, from which we mean to arrogate any merit to ourselves, unless there be a merit in reviving and defending truth, and from this disposition inculcating, that the doctrines we support are not barely relative to the *Spaniards*, but calculated for the use of all nations who have colonies (79), and who can only profit by them through a steady adherence to that common interest, which belongs alike to both, and which must always be preferred to whatever seems to be the separate interest of either.

(T) In this section we have drawn together as ample a description of these islands, as full an account of their produce, as distinct and circumstantial an history of their inhabitants, as, from all the materials we could collect,

it was possible for us to deliver; and we hope it will be the better received, because nothing of the kind is to be met with elsewhere; and therefore such an account seemed equally wanting in a geographical, historical, and political light, in each of which we have endeavoured to consider it. The sole cause of our taking all this pains was, the importance of the subject, which we have exerted all our diligence to illustrate here, and which will still appear more fully hereafter. Not that the sense of this was totally hidden before; but it was so briefly hinted, and that chiefly in books of an old date, and very little consulted, that it seemed to us in danger of being forgot and overlooked in succeeding times; and we thought it our duty to prevent this. There is no less merit in reviving useful knowledge that has been neglected, than in making new discoveries; and it sometimes happens, that the one makes way for the other: for, if the intelligent reader will be pleased to reflect, he will find very few modern inventions, that, from their utility, have made any figure in the world, but have been afterwards disputed in favour of the ancients; sometimes it may be with, and very often, perhaps, without much reason. It is very possible, that, notwithstanding these islands have been upwards of two centuries thought of little or no value, and equally disregarded by their possessors and by all other nations, they may hereafter be seen in another light, as has been the case of the islands of *Mascarenhas* and *Mauritius*, settled and abandoned, re-settled, and again relinquished by several nations, and at length discerned to be, and under proper management demonstrated to have been always, places of very great consequence, and that might have been turned to singular advantage. This, however, ought not to be always left to chance, or the concurrence of unlooked-for events, more especially when some pains, and a moderate degree of attention, are all that are necessary to place things in their true light; that is, in the light that does most honour to Providence, and that points out how they may be rendered beneficial to mankind. This, without doubt, is the capital object of history; and this we have been careful to keep in view.

(76) Navarette. *Ouaglie*. Coronel, as cited in the former section. (77) *Relation historique du royaume de Chile*, lib. ii. c. 4. (78) *Discourse of Lopez Vaz concerning the Spanish power in the West Indies*. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, in Churchill's collection. (79) Wood's survey of trade, P. iii.

- a right they may have to desolate those islands, and extirpate their inhabitants, they certainly can have none to preclude the rest of the world from knowing the advantages they might have drawn from them, and that other nations may yet draw from them, when, from the prosecution of this refined policy, they shall come to be deserted; neither is it consistent with the scope of an **UNIVERSAL HISTORY** to suffer the intelligence derived from the discoveries made by any nation, and the benefits that may result from them, to be resolved again into oblivion; because it proves to be, or at least it is thought to be, the interest of that nation, that they should be as much forgotten as if they had never been known. For the same reasons, and with the same right, that, in the former part of this work, we have laboured to recover the knowlege of the earliest state of countries, and their ancient history, we are intitled to pursue our inquiries, with regard to the emoluments that mankind in general may reap from the prosecution of the intended or accidental notices that have been received of the almost innumerable islands that lie scattered in this part of the world, and that many, not without probability in their conjecture, have thought to be the fragments of some great continent, that once united the now separate parts of this globe^c. This design, without doubt, lies within the compass of our undertaking; and how far soever these endeavours may be defective, they will at least manifest our desire to accomplish, in the fullest manner, the plan that we proposed, and point out to posterity the method by which it may be rendered complete.
- b

But, at all events, the consequence of these islands ought to be so explained, as that posterity may know what advantages might result from possessing and improving them.

^c PLIN. nat. hist. lib. ii. cap. 86, 87. SENECA. quest. natural. lib. iv. cap. 1. Hook's posthumous works, p. 402.

S E C T. X.

An account of the discoveries made to the northward of the Ladrones; the consequences of these discoveries in regard to the enriching those islands, the augmenting the Spanish empire in the Indies, and contributing to the more perfect knowlege of the more distant, and hitherto least considered part of the globe; and of the means of facilitating the correspondence with them.

- c **T**HE great design of colonies, considered in a political light, is the advantage of the mother country, which, without doubt, is a very lawful and laudable object; but all Christian princes and states profess at least an higher and more noble view, that of contributing to the happiness of mankind here and hereafter^a. If therefore colonies are slighted from politic motives, it must be because they lie at too great a distance, are very difficult to keep, and, tho' kept, incapable of being so improved as to render a sufficient profit to their mother country, in proportion to the trouble and charge she may be at in keeping them. From these motives it has been said, that the crown of *Spain* ought, and would long ago, have slighted the *Ladrones* or *Marianne Islands*, if they had not been restrained by Christian charity towards the natives. In the former section we have shewn, that there are good reasons to believe, that, strictly speaking, this is not the sole motive of their keeping them, but rather that of facilitating their correspondence with the *Philippines*, for which purpose they are absolutely necessary; and we have likewise pointed out the means by which they might have been made very useful and profitable in other respects^b. The design of this section is to prosecute that subject, and to prove this incontestably from the great discoveries they have made to the northward, the still greater discoveries that might be made, and the advantages that, with a moral certainty, might be expected from these, which would render this archipelago as beneficial to *Spain* as any countries in her possession^c.
- d

Besides immediate advantages arising from the possession of the Ladrones, they may be rendered more so by discoveries.

- e **I**N the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had very different notions in *Spain* from those that prevail at present; since, in the year 1525, Don *Garcia de Loaysa* was sent with a squadron of seven sail to the *East Indies*, by the *Streights of Magellan*, with instructions to make the most particular observations in his power, in order to facilitate that navigation, and to render himself acquainted with the properest means of carrying it on as well from *Old Spain* directly, as from the conquests already made in *America*^d. At his entering the *South Seas* from the *Streights of Magellan*, a small vessel, that served him as an advice-boat, was separated

On the first coming into the Indies the Spaniards were strongly influenced with this spirit.

^a TIT. LIV. dec. iii. lib. 7. L'Esprit des loix, liv. xxi. c. 18. Wood's survey of trade, P. iii. ^b ANTONIO DE HERRERA descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Relacion historica del reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministros que exercitu la compania de Jesu. por ALONZO DE OVALLE, fol. Roma, 1646. Dictionnaire universelle de commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. ^c History of trade, by RICHARD EDEN, 4to. 1577. fol. 430. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's naval tracts, in Churchill's collection, vol. iii. p. 433. HACKLUYT's collection of voyages, vol. ii. p. 778. ^d FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA historia general de las Indias, lib. iv. c. 12. ALONZO DE OVALLE relacione historica del reyno de Chile. L'Esprit de loix, liv. xxi. c. 18.

from

from his fleet, and, after running great hazards at sea, came at length into a port of New Spain, when the people on board were in great danger of starving^a. By this accident the famous *Hernando Cortes*, then the emperor's viceroy, came to have notice of this expedition, and of the purpose it was to answer; upon which, he ordered a squadron to be fitted out as soon as possible, composed of new ships, which he had built in these parts, under the command of his nephew *Alvaro de Saavedra*, who had orders to follow Don *Garcia*, and to make himself well acquainted with his discoveries; because *Cortes* looked upon the *Moluccas*, and all the countries between him and them, as belonging of right to his government (A). Thus we see, that, at this time, they were not afraid, either in *Spain* or in the *Indies*, of pushing their discoveries with vigour, tho' the means of doing that, and of supporting them when done, were very small, more especially in comparison of the present state of things. Both these expeditions might be said to prove unfortunate: Don *Garcia* died in his passage; but *Alvaro de Saavedra*, after twice putting to sea with an intention to return to *New Spain*, died at the *Moluccas*^b. However, both these commanders discovered new islands in the vicinity of the *Ladrones*, and gave their countrymen the first hint, that this archipelago was of considerable extent, and that it would turn to some account, if they would examine the several islands of which it was composed. These advices were well received; for, in those days, there was a competition amongst the *Spanish* governors in *America* who should most enlarge his province, or make the greatest discoveries.

The discoveries made to the northward by Villa Lobos; and how they came to drop.

BUT the most important discoveries, in reference to the islands lying north of the *Ladrones*, were made near twenty years afterwards, when the viceroy, Don *Antonio de Mendoza*, sent *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos* into these parts. He, sailing from the *Philippines*, in order to return to *New Spain*, discovered, almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, some islands, to which he gave the name of *Malabrigos*, that is, *The bad Roads*; because the coasts about them were foul, and afforded them no anchorage^c. Beyond these he met with two fair islands, lying almost close to each other, which, for this reason, he called *Las dos Hermanas*, or *The two Sisters*. Beyond them they saw four more islands, called, from the fiery mountains in them, *Los Volcanos*: in these, it is said, there is great plenty of fine cochineal. Beyond them, that is, still farther to

^a ALONZO DE OVALLE relacione historica del reyno de Chile. GALVANO's discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt. ANTONIO DE HERRERA historia de las Indias Occidentales, dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 4. ^b Discourse of LOPEZ VAZ concerning the Spanish power in the Indies, in Hackluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 778. ANTONIO DE HERRERA descripcion de las Indias Occidentales. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA histoire general de las Indias, lib. iv. cap. 14. ^c GALVANO's discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt. The voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE, in Hackluyt's collection, vol. ii. p. 442. See the map in the original edition of HERRERA.

(A) In order to understand clearly what is said in the text, as well as several other passages in this section, it will be necessary to put the reader in mind of what has been already mentioned, as to the lines of demarkation settled by the papal authority, in order to prevent any disputes from arising on account of the discoveries made by the subjects of *Castile* and *Portugal* (1). The first of these lines was drawn parallel to the first meridian, at the distance of thirty degrees west, passing through *Newfoundland*, and by the mouth of the river *Maranon*, thro' the midit of *Brazil*. The other line was supposed to pass through the meridian of *Malacca*. These lines were the east and west boundaries of the *Spanish* discoveries, and the west and east boundaries to the *Portuguese*. Upon this principle *Herrera*, though he calls all that the *Spaniards* possessed by virtue of this papal grant, the *Spanish West Indies*, in opposition to the discoveries of the *Portuguese*, which were called the *East Indies*; yet, when he enters upon the description of the former, he gives us a new division, which is very remarkable, and of which the reader will take particular notice. He styles all that the *Spaniards* possess in the north of the new world, from *Quivira* to *Porto Bello*, *Las Indias del Norte*, or, *The North Indies*; all that they possess from *Porto Bello* to the *Streights of Magellan*, *Las Indias de Medio Dia*, or, *The Southern Indies*, which, he says, was in his time falsely called *America*. From whence we see, that, in those days, that term was applied only to the south part of that great continent, the whole of which now passes under that name (2). The remainder, that is, all between the *South Seas* and the latter line of demarkation, he describes under the name of *Las Indias del Po-*

niente, or, *The West Indies*. This cannot but appear extremely strange to an *English* reader, who has been always accustomed to consider these very countries as the extreme parts of the *East Indies*; but, to put this matter out of all doubt, we will give the author's own description, so far as is necessary to render his meaning certain and perspicuous (3): "The *West Indies* (says he) comprehend all the islands and firm land, which lie within the line of demarkation for the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*; which western line of demarkation passes thro' the city of *Malacca*; and to the eastward of this line, between that and *New Spain*, there lies, in a vast gulph, an infinity of islands, great and small, with many tracts of coast and of firm lands, which are divided into the *Spice Islands*, or the *Moluccas*, the *Philippine Islands*, the coasts of *China*, the *Liquors Islands*, the islands of *Japan*, the coasts of *New Guiney*, the islands of *Solomon*, and the *Ladrones*. The climate of all these countries, whether islands or continent, is, generally speaking, moist, and temperately warm; the land fertile in all sorts of provisions, with some gold, but not fine; no silver; abundance of wax; and inhabited by people of very different colours, the greatest part, however, resembling 'the *Indians*, but intermixed with some whose countenances are very white, and others who are downright negroes." These remarks, tho' a little dry in themselves, are of the utmost consequence to the understanding whatever is delivered of the *Spanish* empire in these parts of the world, and any discoveries that may be made of continents or islands by them neglected.

(1) See before, sect. i. of this chapter in the text, and also in the notes A, B, C. (2) Antonio de Herrera descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. iv. xiv. Argensola conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. (3) Antonio de Herrera descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxii.

- a the east, they had sight of *La Farfana*; and beyond that a high-pointed rock, which threw out fire and smoak at five different vents. They saw likewise five or six islands more, to which they gave no names. The wind proving contrary, they resolved to return again to the *Philippines*, and, in their passage, met with a cluster of islands in about sixteen degrees north latitude; the inhabitants of which were white, the women handsome, and well-dressed, with many ornaments of gold about them. These people had stout vessels, sixty feet long, and of a proportionable breadth, composed of planks five inches thick, and rowed with oars. These islands seem to have been to the north-west of the *Ladrones*; for the inhabitants told them, that they traded in these vessels to *China*, and made this voyage in a week. They likewise found other barks, very handsomely made with two decks. On the upper deck were white
- b people well-dressed and commodiously accommodated; on the lower deck were blacks, by whom these vessels were rowed, at which the *Spaniards* were very much surprised; for at this time, they had not the least conception of there being any Negroes in that part of the world^b. It is surprising, but the fact is nevertheless true, that we meet with nothing more of this *Archipelago*, nor are these islands laid down in any of the *Spanish* maps. It is however very probable from hence, and it will appear still more so, from other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, that there are many islands to the north, to the north-east, and to the north-west of the *Ladrones*, very well worth being visited, if the *Spaniards* had thought proper^c. But at this period they seem to have been hindered by the discovery of the *Philippines*, which was a much greater object, and consequently occupied their attention for many years (B).
- c AFTER that great project was in some measure accomplished, this of prosecuting these northern discoveries, might have been also undertaken and perfected, if only two or three hundred children, from ten to fifteen years old, had been removed from the *Ladrones* to the *Philippines*, educated there in the *Christian* religion, according to the customs of the *Spaniards*, in the knowledge of their language, without suffering them however to forget their own^k. They might then have been brought back to some of their own islands, and afterwards employed as seamen, under the direction of *Spanish* officers, in examining gradually

They might however have been easily improved, and the Ladrones, in consequence of it.

^b ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 27. GALVANO's Discoveries translated by R. Hackluyt.

^c CLUVERII Introduct. in universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. 11. LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. iii. cap. 13. DU BOIS, Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

^k Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTEFALCON Justificación de la Conservación de las Islas Filipinas. ALONSO DE OVALLE Relación Histórica del Reyno de Chile. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322.

(B) There is no doubt to be made that persons in authority, and such as are curious amongst the *Spaniards*, have very accurate accounts, at least of all those islands that, from time to time, have been by their licensed pilots inserted in their maps; such as that *Archipelago*, to which they have given the name of *Islas del Fuego*, or *Islands of Fire*; and many others, of which the rest of the world know little or nothing, and are not like to be better informed for any thing this nation has discovered, at least till they are in the humour to make some use of these discoveries (4). Amongst others, there is very little doubt that they bestowed the name of *Hermosa* on that island, which has been since called *Formosa*; upon which they had once a fortress called *Kilung*, which, whether they of themselves abandoned, or whether it was destroyed by the *Dutch*, is not clear (5). So that it appears from hence there was a time, when they were less indifferent to these things than they are at present; and one would have imagined that something worth attention might have been found in a fair, fruitful and pleasant island, for so themselves describe it, abounding with rich commodities, amongst which gold is particularly reckoned, and, in point of size, not inferior to *Sicily*. Indeed we find the clearest evidence of their having long ago a strong propensity to look into these matters, and to make themselves masters, not barely of the situation and size of the islands in these seas, but also of the havens that were in them, and the commodities with which they were

furnished; and it is from their own account we learn that they were apprized of four islands to the east of *Japan*, the inhabitants of which brought annually from thence considerable quantities of gold in bars, cotton cloth, a kind of fish like tunney in pickle, and other things (6). These islands certainly still exist, and, though it may be true that their commerce is sunk, at least of such as lie nearest to them, from the natural timidity of the oriental nations, who chose rather to lose the advantages resulting from commerce, than run the hazard of being conquered by the *Europeans*, yet certainly there is nothing improbable in affirming that, by proper instructions and due application, these people might be again recovered, at least to the state they were in before, and consequently, a correspondence with them prove advantageous (7). But, though nothing of this kind seems to have been thought of during this last century, yet even in that time fortune has favoured them with the discovery of several beautiful islands lying directly north from the *Mariannes*, and east from *Japan*, which they call the *New Islands of the Year 1736* (8), to distinguish them from another *Archipelago* of islands, lying one degree lower, and consequently nearer, which were discovered in 1664 (9). We have taken the more pains upon this head, that the reader might be satisfied that all we have said in the text is well-founded in fact, and not advanced at random.

(4) See the *Spanish* chart of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage. Martin Martini, p. 195.

(5) Histoire de la Chine, par le P. Antonio de Herrera Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Giro del Mondo, del Dottor Giovan. Francesco Gemelli Carreri, P. v.

(6) Flyke's Voyage to the East Indies, chap. viii. ix.

(7) See the *Spanish* chart of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage.

(8) Mappemonde a l'usage de Roy, par Guil. de Lisle.

these islands. If we suppose them only to have advanced as many degrees farther to the north, ^a as *Guam*, the most southern of these islands, is from *Vrac*, which is the most northern, they could not fail of meeting with islands better inhabited and better improved than their own¹. By this method of making discoveries, they might in a great measure have spared their own people, and might have performed great things with small trouble, little risque, and hardly any expence. Their other colonies would not have suffered in the least by this; on the contrary, whatever profits had attended these discoveries, might have centered in the *Ladrones*, and from them might have been carried either to the *Philippines*, or to *America*, and from thence to *Europe*^m. We shall presently see that in islands under a higher latitude, and yet much within the reach of this method of discovery, the richest and most valuable commodities in the world are to be had in plentyⁿ; and, by making the *Ladrones* the magazine of these, through the labour and industry of its natives, they might easily have removed that reproach of poverty with which they have stigmatized these islands. ^b As if a race of strong, active, ingenious people, naturally addicted to navigation, and capable, if properly instructed, of other arts, might not have proved the instruments of riches in the hands of a wise and well-judging nation; more especially, considering the happiness of their situation, with so many inviting prospects on every side^o.

Some of the richest countries in the world lie in the vicinity of the *Ladrones*.

In order to apprehend this more clearly, let us consider that the rich countries of *Sapan* are not more out of their reach than the *Philippines*; and though it be true, that they would be now very unwelcome guests there, yet the case was not so always; and it may be, they might have afforded the *Christians*, their friends in those islands, some assistance, if they had ^c used any diligence in their discoveries on this side; for they knew very well, from the intelligence given them by the missionaries there, as by other chanel, that there were many, and some very large islands, between the *Ladrones* and the islands of *Japan*; and if they had either made settlements, or so much as entertained any correspondence with their inhabitants, they might perhaps have enjoyed as much, or more, of the commerce of that empire, than by having an immediate correspondence with it^p. Neither were the *Spaniards* at all times insensible or inattentive to this; and, from whatever motives they were led to desist from their endeavours, most certainly it did not arise from any apprehension of their being impracticable. It is more likely to have arisen from their contempt of all advantages but what proceeded from absolute conquest. The *Portuguese*, indeed, grew quickly into ^d love with trade, and began to be softened by the manners of the *East*; but the same cannot be said of the *Spaniards*^q. They maintain their national character in all climates, and affect to live no-where unless they are acknowledged for masters. However, even this need not have discouraged them; they might have found islands, in which a settlement made by their subjects, under the protection of a good fort with a *Spanish* garrison, might have answered all their purposes effectually, and fixed them in the possession of a commerce that might have been connected with the *Philippines*, as easily as with the *Ladrones*^r.

An account of the islands *Liquios*, *Lequeios*, or *Riuku*, in the neighbourhood of *Japan* and *China*.

To shew the certainty as well as the probability of what has been advanced, let us observe, that those islands so famous amongst the first discoverers, and with the very names of which we are scarce acquainted, lie directly within their reach. These are the *Liquios*, the *Lequeios*, ^e or, as some call them, the islands of *Riuku*, situated from the twenty-sixth to the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and consequently, but five degrees higher than the most northern of the *Ladrones*. The *Liquios* have the islands of *Japan* on the north, the continent of *China* on the west, the island of *Formosa* on the south-west, the *Ladrones* a little to the south-east, and the ocean without any continent, for any thing we know, on the east^s. They are an *Archipelago*, consisting of many small islands, with two pretty large ones to the north, stiled from thence the *Great Liquios*; and also two more considerable than the rest at the southern extremity, which are stiled the *Lesser Liquios*. It is an established maxim with the *Japanese*, that these are the most fertile countries in the world; and, if they are to be credited, the inhabitants reap annually two harvests from the same land. This consists chiefly of rice, tho^t, besides this, they have also other grain, with a great variety of excellent fruits, abundance

¹ Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI P. V. ^m ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. ALONSO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. ⁿ Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. Du Bois Geographie Moderne. ^o Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. ^p ANTONIO DE HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales. HACKLUYT's Collection of Voyages Histoire de la Chine, par le P. MARTIN MARTINI, p. 163. ^q GALVANO's Discoveries, translated from the Portuguese, by R. Hackluyt. Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis. ^r The Voyages of FRANCESCO DE GUALLE in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. ALONSO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 370. ^s G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Raccolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 369. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales. The Voyage of FRANCESCO DE GUALLE in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442.

- a of cattle, with some gold and rich perfumes. The inhabitants are esteemed the gayest, happiest, and easiest people on the globe; and this, notwithstanding they are subject at least to four, if not five, masters. They have a sovereign of their own, stiled like the spiritual emperor of *Japan*, their *DAIRO*; but whether he has a temporal lieutenant, or not, is uncertain. They are likewise tributaries to the king of *Saxbuma*, one of the princes of *Japan*, to whom they pay a considerable sum annually, besides occasional presents to the emperor. They also collect an acknowledgement of considerable value every year, as a testimony of their respect for the emperor of *China*¹. It is indeed said, that many thousand *Chinese* took shelter here at the time of the last revolution, and are at present incorporated amongst the natives, whom, it is not unlikely, they have improved in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; but, with
- b respect to navigation, those people, at the time that the *Europeans* entered the *Indies*, were thought superior to the *Chinese*, and were also the most candid, and the most respected traders in the *East*, where the profession of a merchant was always honourable, and where there are still many who live with a degree of magnificence scarce inferior to princes (C).

THE great characteristic of these people is their love of tranquility, and their application to the arts of peace; by which, in the midst of those revolutions, that have not only disturbed but have destroyed, in a greater or less degree, the nations round them, they have kept themselves in pretty much the same situation, in the enjoyment of their own laws and customs, and in the exercise of navigation and commerce; which has supplied them with the means of defending themselves from those distresses, which their more puissant, though more haughty neighbours, have severely felt. The richness of their soil and the mildness of their climate, instead of rendering them idle, has prompted them to improve to the utmost the blessings which nature has bestowed². Their fields are cultivated with the utmost care, and, according to their different natures, appropriated to different kinds of grain. When the harvest is once over, they distinguish every sort into fine, coarse, and refuse, out of the first they supply themselves for domestic uses, and for exportation; the second they moisten and malt, of which they make a very pleasant beer, called *Sacki*, which however is very apt to give the choleric, if drank cold. Of the third, or spoiled grain, they make what is stiled in their language *Auamuri*, which is, in plain *English*, *Malt Spirits*; they are likewise very solicitous in cultivating their gardens, in which they have roots of all kinds, a great variety of pulse, medicinal herbs, and very fine flowers. Their principal manufacture is that of silk, with different kinds of which they are all well-clothed, and yet reserve a considerable stock for exportation; mother of pearl, and cowries, for which their is a great demand in *Japan*, where they grind down those

The genius of this nation, and the means by which they have kept themselves free and happy.

¹ ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, B. v. chap. xiv. sect. i. Du Bois, Geographic Moderne. ² P. CHARLEVOIX Histoire du Japon, vol. i. p. 6. 171.

(C) It is from such *Europeans* as travelled by land into the *Indies*, before the *Portuguese* discovered the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that we learn the state of these countries, and their inhabitants, to have been quite other than we should have imagined it, if it had not been for those relations. The island of *Ormuz* was in those days, as we have else-where shewn at large (10), the center of commerce for the exterior *Indies*; where, also, what little trade they had with *Europe* was likewise managed, as *Malacca* was for the interior; and in truth one cannot easily conceive a place better adapted for it by nature. Here the merchants met from the coasts of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Persia*, on one side; from *Corra*, *China*, *Japan*, and it may be yet more distant countries from the other; and hence *Lewis de Barthelemy*, or *Versteman*, one of the oldest travellers of whose works there is any thing yet remaining, tells us, that he thought there were more ships in this port than in any other in the world; which, the times considered wherein he wrote, may very possibly be true (11). In like manner *Edward Barbosa*, another ancient traveller, whose works, though but imperfectly, are still preserved in the very best collection of voyages extant, speaks of those people we have mentioned in the text in the following terms (12): "In the front of the continent of *China* there are a multitude of islands along the sea-coast, and beyond these, as it is reported, a very large country, held to be a

"continent, from which there came to *Malacca* annually three or four ships, with those from *China*, navigated by white men who were great merchants and very rich; for they brought with them in their vessels great quantities of gold in bars, silver, grain of all sorts, flour, much fine porcelain, and some pieces that were exquisitely fine, with other rich merchandize which they exchanged for pepper, and other commodities which they found in this place. These people are called *Liquiens*, and, according to the unanimous report of the people of *Malacca*, they were another sort of men, dealt more largely, were richer, better clothed, and, in all respects, superior to the *Chinese*. But of these people, at this day we are not able to give any better account; because they have forborne to visit the *Indies* since the crown of *Portugal* became masters of, and exercised authority in them." We may conclude from hence, that there requires some art and management to deal with this nation; but at this time of day one would imagine, that for the sake of the advantages that might be drawn from them, the *Spaniards* might be induced to deal with them, without attempting any thing against their liberty, upon the preservation of which their commerce probably depends, and which therefore those who would gain by them, ought not in point of interest to infringe.

(10) See before chap. iv. sect. v. of this book. (11) See his Travels preserved in *Eden's History of Travels*, 4to, 1577.

(12) G. Battista Ramusio Raccolto delle Navigazioni, e Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 320. b.

that are perfectly white, into an impalpable powder, which is afterwards converted into a paint, and used by persons of both sexes. They have, besides, another kind of shells, either naturally flat, or made so by art, which are used in *Japan* for glazing the windows of their houses *.

Other islands may be discovered, the inhabitants of which may equal these in industry and plenty.

As the true characteristic of this nation is industry, they have probably found a way to pay their tributes to *Japan* and *China* out of the balance of their respective trades; for, besides the produce of their own islands, they carry the several commodities and manufactures reciprocally of *Japan* into *China*, and of *China* into *Japan*, by which they are great gainers; and perhaps much of the gold that is seen amongst them is the result of this traffic. If therefore the *Spaniards* could have fixed themselves here, as without question they might easily have done, *European* and *American* commodities would undoubtedly been very welcome to these judicious traders, and, it may be, the *Japanese* would have taken them this way, notwithstanding all their prohibitions *. It is not at all improbable that other islands might be found between the *Ladrones* and the *Liquios*, not deficient in rich and valuable goods; and it is very well known that there are several clusters of small islands to the westward, between these and the continent of *China*, particularly those to which our buccaneers gave the name of the *Bashee Islands*; in which there are gold, and some kind of spices, not to mention gums, and drugs for dyeing; so that we have advanced nothing chimerical, or without good grounds on this head of important discoveries in the vicinity of this *Archipelago*, which has been so frequently treated, for want of due consideration, in a despicable light † (D). Let us take liberty to add,

* ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. P. CHARLEVOIX Histoire de Japon, vol. ii. p. 470. † HARRIS'S Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 686. P. BENTIN Tab. PURCHAS'S Pilgrimages, book v. chap. xiv. sect. i. See the Spanish chart preserved in Lord ANSON'S Voyages.

(D) The reader may very probably expect that we should produce some authorities of a later date, and will be perhaps surprised that we cite none but antient collections, and writers who lived long before our own time. We must, in answer to this, observe, that these were times of discovery, while the *Spanish* empire was yet growing, before systems of trade were invented; and, in consequence of them, exclusive companies erected in other nations. Since this period, things have rather gone backward, with respect to such kind of enterprizes; and since the commencement of the present century, it would be in vain to look for authentic testimonies in any point of this sort (13): But to put the probability of what is said in the text beyond all doubt, we will shew from an eye-witness, and a native of our own country, what sort of people they are who inhabit the *Bashee Islands*; and when we see how consistent it is with the relations we have already given of the inhabitants in the *Liquios*, except that these are much more civilized, but at the same time less free, it will beyond contradiction appear, that any nation blessed with common sense, and at the same time not void of common humanity, might do with these people, who are very numerous, what they pleased. Our author observed, in the first place, that he did not perceive any apparent signs of religion amongst these people; but we must not conclude from hence that they have none, because all *Eastern* nations observe great secrecy on that head. He adds, that there was no magistracy or form of civil government amongst them; except that parents governed their families with absolute authority, and were punctually and dutifully obeyed; however, he collected that they must have some laws, from the instance of a young man's being buried alive for theft. As to the temper and behaviour of the natives, take the writer's own words (14): "They have but one wife, with whom they live and agree very well, and their children live very obediently under them. The boys go out a fishing with their fathers, and the girls live at home with their mothers; and when the girls are grown pretty strong, they send them to their plantations to dig yams and potatoes, of

" which they bring home on their heads every day
" enough to serve the whole family; for they have no
" rice or maize. Their plantations are in the vallies at
" a good distance from their houses, where every man
" has a certain spot of land which is properly his own.
" This he manages for his own use, and provides enough,
" that he may not be beholden to his neighbour. They
" are in their persons a very neat, cleanly people, both
" men and women, and they are withal the quietest and
" civilest people that I did ever meet with. I could never
" perceive them to be angry one with another. I
" have admired to see twenty or thirty boats aboard our
" ship at a time, and yet no difference amongst them, but
" all civil and quiet, endeavouring to help each other
" on occasion; no noise, or appearance of distaste; and
" although sometimes cross accidents would happen
" which might have set other men together by the ears,
" yet they were not moved by them. Sometimes they
" will also drink freely, and warm themselves with their
" drink, yet neither then could I ever perceive them out
" of humour. They are not only thus civil among
" themselves, but very obliging and kind to strangers;
" nor were their children rude to us as is usual. Indeed
" the women, when we came to their houses, would modestly
" beg any rags, or small pieces of cloth, to swaddle
" their young ones in, holding their children out to us;
" and begging is usual for all those wild nations. Yet
" neither did they beg so importunately as in other
" places; nor did the men ever beg any thing at all." These people also build very good boats, for the most part small; but they have some large enough to hold forty or fifty men, which are rowed by twelve or fourteen oars on a side. There is nothing improbable or absurd in supposing that these people are very much sunk from what they once were; for that they have still laws, is a proof that they had formerly a government, which being totally subverted, the power is now returned to those who derive it from nature. Their justice and humanity are also the relics of better times; and their propensity to trade, very probably the remains of that disposition

(13) Discourse of Lopez Vaz, concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies, in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 778. Sir William Monson's Naval Trade in Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. p. 437. Mun's Advantage of foreign Trade.
(14) Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

- a add, that if the missionaries had suggested something of this kind to the *Spanish* government, and had offered their service for the education of the *Indian* youth, in a manner that might have rendered them fit instruments for the execution of projects of this nature, they might have done a double service to the natives, and to their masters; and, by introducing a principle of industry and the love of arts, have awakened those latent seeds of civility and social qualities which those people must have retained, if there be any truth in the missionaries conjecture, that they are descended partly from the *Japanese*, and partly from the *Tagaleans*; both nations endowed with great qualities, which however might be easily obscured, and in a manner lost, in the gradual barbarism that succeeded their banishment from their native seats, and their being intirely excluded from all converse with their countrymen ^a.
- b THERE is another advantage which might be reasonably expected from their entering into a strict intercourse with the inhabitants of the *Liquios*, and that is, gaining some knowledge of the concealed commerce of the *East*; for it is well enough known, though we are not able to enter into particulars, that as the *Chinese*, the *Japanese*, and the inhabitants of these islands, carried on a very extensive trade through the greatest part of the *Indies*, before the arrival of the *Europeans*, though the two last nations have relinquished it since, yet they either preserve other branches of trade, or have opened new ones to the north and west, especially with the islands that lie between *Corea* and *Japan*. There could therefore be no insurmountable difficulty in drawing from these people lights on this head, which we are not likely to obtain any other way. If the *Spaniards*, or their missionaries, still retain the same zeal for propagating the *Christian* faith, this might prove a sufficient spur to their endeavours, as no method could be devised more likely than this to procure an entry into some of the dominions of *Japan* ^b. In return also for any information they might receive, the missionaries themselves might impart to the inhabitants better notions than they can possibly have at present, in respect to Astronomy, Cosmography, and Navigation; and, as they have naturally a turn to these sciences, they might be quickly put upon exercising any improvements they made, according to the directions, and in some degree for the benefit, of their instructors ^c.
- If by these, or by any other means that such a correspondence is most likely to discover, they could find any island in a high latitude, capable of receiving, and affording refreshments to the *Manila* galleon, it would be an inexpressible advantage to that commerce, and save, in the course of a few years, a number of lives, equivalent to the people that might be necessary to the making such an establishment; from which many other advantages also, at which we are not so much as able to guess, might be derived ^d. We may, however, take the liberty to add, that this would also facilitate a direct commerce between *Mexico* and *China*, which, however strange and chimerical it may appear to modern readers, was a thing not unattempted almost two hundred years ago; when, in virtue of their possession of the kingdom of *Portugal*, the *Spaniards* were masters of *Macao*; so that in respect to this, we proceed upon the uncontroverted maxim, that what has been may be; and what this nation could do so many years past, they might still, with the help of greater advantages than they then had, be able to perform ^e. We likewise know that in those, and in later voyages, islands that promised very fair, have been seen, particularly a very large one, in the latitude of somewhat more than thirty-seven degrees, which however no ship, in so long and hazardous a passage, will ever stay to examine; and, indeed, if they were inclined to do it, they are so strictly tied down by their instructions as to have it put entirely out of their power. But if, by such a method of gradual discoveries, any island fit for the purpose could be found, there is scarce any doubt that it would be a very welcome addition to their dominions, independent of the

the people of these islands might be attracted and rendered useful in different ways by the missionaries.

The great advantages that would result from their having an haven in some island in a high northern latitude.

^a G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom i. fol. 369.

Voyage, vol. ii. p. 102.

^b D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China. HACKLUYT's Collection of Voyages.

^c ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt. Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI.

^d ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales cap. xxviii. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection. Description of the English Province of Carolina, by D. Coxe, Esq; p. 65.

which enabled them to manage a more extensive commerce in earlier days; for there is nothing more certain, than that the *Indian* nations in general abhor all commercial restraints; and though they have been so long deprived of it, still languish for a free trade (15). On

the other side it is easy to apprehend how useful, even in their present state, such people might be made to those who would barely undertake to encourage and protect their commerce, in consideration of a proportionable tribute, or other services.

(15) *Mossi's Histor. Indic. lib. v. Grotii Histor. Belg. lib. xi. xv. Dampier's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 116, 117.*

hopes they might receive of its resembling those islands abounding with silver, of which they have so many traditionary accounts, as has been already mentioned^c (E).

It would enable them to know the certainty, as to a north-west passage.

THEY would then have it in their power, if, upon mature deliberation, they should think it for their advantage, to resolve with certainty what has been so long a problem, whether there is, or is not, any north-west passage into the south-seas. It may possibly be doubted, and not altogether without foundation, whether such a discovery, supposing it practicable, would be acceptable or not to the *Spaniards*^f. This must be left to them to determine; but thus much is certain, that they are better acquainted with it too, if we could depend upon a fact, advanced in some memoirs, that in 1609 a ship, bound from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines*, was driven by a storm through that passage, and, after touching at some port in *Ireland*, arrived safe at *Lisbon*; where, by order of his Catholic Majesty, all the pilots journals were burnt, to prevent the discovery of that passage by other nations; which, if such a thing ever happened, might very probably be true^g. At all events, however, it could not be detrimental to the crown of *Spain* to arrive at a certainty in this point; more especially as things are now so much changed, that possibly a new route might be considered in another light than it then was^h (F).

THE

^c ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvi. GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt. The Voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE, in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii.

^f Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT'S Discourse to prove a north-west passage, chap. vii. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 849.

^g Mr. HENRY HAWKE'S Relation, addressed to R. Hackluyt.

^h Sir WILLIAM

MONSON'S Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. p. 428, 429. 445.

(E) It may possibly be objected, that the *Spaniards*, having been so long in the use of this navigation, must not only be the best acquainted with it, but must also have long ago discovered such countries and islands as lie between the two continents, and would certainly examine and possess them, if they apprehended any such advantages could be derived from them, as we have suggested. It will be farther said, that the views of princes and politicians are very different things from the visions of speculative men, who travel only in their closets, make discoveries upon paper, and frame schemes for themselves and men of a like turn to admire; but which great ministers treat with derision. The truth of this is not to be disputed. But the point to be enquired into is, who are most likely to be in the right? Princes and politicians are great names; persons of science and sagacity are great men. The former are generally occupied about the concerns of their own times, the latter look forward, and endeavour the benefit of posterity. It was not *Ferdinand*, though honoured with the title of the *Wise*, the *Great*, and the *Catholic*, who discovered the new world; but poor *Columbus*, who had been treated as a chimerical projector, and whose vast designs had perished in embryo, if *Donna Isabella* had not enabled him to carry them into execution, by pledging her jewels (16). But to the present point: In some *Spanish* charts there are many islands marked in a high latitude; in others but a few, and we have already assigned the reason. Thus much however is certain, that there are not above thirteen degrees of latitude between the most northern of the *Ladrones*, and that *Archipelago* discovered to the eastward of *Japan* in 1716, which lie directly north from the *Ladrones*, and within which space, in some *Spanish* charts, there lie between thirty and forty islands; so that it cannot be denied, that an entire discovery of these may be made with the greatest facility (17). Besides, *Don Juan de Gama* discovered a continent, or at least a very large island, in a still higher latitude east of *Japan*, and north of those islands; so that there is nothing improbable or difficult, much less absurd, in what we have laid down (18); on the contrary, there can be nothing more certain than that such countries there are, and that what sort of countries they are, may be known with ease by the *Spaniards*, if

they think fit. What motives they may have to decline such discoveries, is another question which we do not presume to treat expressly; because we are not sufficiently acquainted with them. But be their motives ever so wise, or ever so well founded, they must arise from the circumstances of their own affairs, and the nature of their government, with which we have clearly nothing to do; as we consider the *Spaniards* in this section simply as possessors of these countries, and in that light capable of converting those possessions to such uses as they think proper, and, amongst others, to these.

(F) It is a matter of great consequence towards the understanding of this subject thoroughly, to know and compare the notions of the *Spaniards*, concerning the probability of this freight, by which a north-west passage might be opened into the *South-Seas* in the most early times. We have mentioned, at the beginning of this section, the expedition of *Don Garcia de Loaysa* to the *Moluccas*, by the straits of *Magellan*. It seems there was one *Esleevan Gomez*, an able pilot, who was desirous of making the voyage, but was rejected (19). This pilot had proposed to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, the discovery of a north-west passage into the *South-Seas*; which not being listened to, and being piqued at this ill usage, he proposed to the count *de Aranda*, and some others, to go by this passage to the *Moluccas*; for which purpose they furnished him with a galleon in 1525: he spent ten months in the voyage, went first to the *isle of Cuba*, then steered northward as high as *Cape Race* in the latitude of forty-six degrees north; and then his heart failing him he returned to *Corunna* (20). An unlucky jest ruined his reputation; and, which is stranger, hurt the credit of the north-west passage. When the ship came into port, somebody asked what they had on board? A seaman answered, *Esclavos*, slaves; a person who was watching on shore, mistook the sound for *Clavos*, cloves; and riding post to court, declared that *Gomez* was returned with a cargo of spice from the *Moluccas*; which, when the mistake came to be discovered, exposed him and his patrons to much derision (21). But what credit soever this passage might lose in *Europe*, both *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* remained firm in the belief of it in the *Indies*, as appears amongst other evidence, from the following

(16) Antonio de Herrera *Histoire de las Indes Occidentales*, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. ix.

Spanish chart of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage.

(17) See the

Mappe-monde a l'usage de Roy, par Guillaume de Lisle.

(18) Discourses and Proposals relating to a north-west Passage.

(20) Galvano's

Discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt.

(21) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection.

- ^a THE *Spaniards* settled in *America* must also know whether the old reports of a correspondence between the *Indians* in the north-west part of *America*, behind *California*, with the inhabitants of *Asia*, or of the continents, or islands between *Asia* or *America*, has any real foundation or not. This was once strongly believed, from arguments partly, and partly from authority, by the *Spaniards*, as well as other nations; and by the *Spaniards* in this part of the world, as well as in *Europe*. It is indeed true, that this notion has been also contradicted as positively; and that of late years very little has been said about it. But uncertainty or silence conclude nothing as to the nature of the fact, or its importance¹. The *Spaniards*, at least the *Jesuits* under their protection, have considerable missions in *California* and *Quivira*, who might easily resolve this doubt; the resolution of which, when their concerns in the *Indies* are thoroughly understood, and attentively considered, must appear of great consequence to the court of *Spain*, for reasons that will be seen in their proper place. After being in possession of these countries for upwards of two centuries and a half, it is certainly high time to be thoroughly acquainted with every circumstance that relates to, and every advantage that can be drawn from, them; for otherwise, such countries are rather discovered than possessed; if that possession consists only in holding them to little purpose; or rather with-holding them from others who might possess them to better purpose². But this will appear still more preposterous, if we consider, that almost two centuries ago this humour of keeping without using, was con-

The Spaniards do, or at least may, easily know whether any correspondence subsists between the northern Indians and any oriental nations.

¹ Historia natural y moral de las Indias en que se tratan las causas notables del Cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas, por el P. JOSEPH ACOSTA de la Compania de Jesus, 4to, en Sevilla, 1590, lb. ii. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA Historia general de las Indias, cap. ccxiv. HACKLUYT's Voyages, the original edition, p. 562. ² ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. Voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE, in Hackluyt's Collection. HACKLUYT's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 429.

passage of an account written by a countryman of ours in 1572, after residing in *New Spain* five years (22). "There is west out of *Mexico*, a port town, which is on the *South Sea* called *Puerto de Acapulco*, where there are those ships which they have ordinarily for the navigation of *China*, which they have newly found. This port is three score leagues from *Mexico*. There is another port-town which is called *Culiacan*, on the *South Sea*, which lieth west and by north out of *Mexico*, and is two hundred leagues from the same; and there the *Spaniards* made two ships to go seek the streight or gulph, which, as they say, is between the *Newfoundland* and *Greenland*, and they call it the *Englishmens* streight; which as yet was never fully found; they say that streight lieth not far from the main land of *China*, which the *Spaniards* account to be marvellous rich."

This author writes from information; we will next produce the sentiment of a *Spaniard*, writing from his own knowledge, and asserting matters of fact in relation of his own return from *China* to *New Spain* (23). "Running thus east and by north about three hundred leagues from *Japan*, we found a very hollow water, with the stream running out of the north and north-west with a full and very broad sea, without any trouble or hindrance in the way that we past; and what wind soever blew, the sea continued all in one sort with the same hollow water and stream until we had passed seven hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of *New Spain*, we began to lose the said hollow sea and stream; whereby I most assuredly think and believe that there you shall find a chanel, or strait passage, between the firm land of *New Spain* and the countries of *Asia* and *Tartary*; likewise all this way from the aforesaid seven hundred leagues, we found a great number of whale-fishes and other fishes, called by the *Spaniards* *Atuns*, or *Tunnies*, whereof many are found on the coast of *Gibraltar* in *Spain*; as also *Albacoras* and *Bonites*, which are all fishes, which commonly keep in chan-

nels, freights, and running waters, there to disperse their seed, when they breed; which maketh me the more assuredly believe, that thereabouts is a channel, or streight to pass through." From reports and conjectures we will now pass on to facts. Mr. *Michael Locke*, an *English* merchant, who was at *Venice* in the year 1596, became there acquainted with a *Greek* pilot, whose true name was *Apostolos Valerianos*, whom the *Spaniards* called *Juan de Fuca*; he had made two voyages by the direction of the viceroy of *New Spain*; the last in 1592, for the discovery of this streight, which he affirmed he did discover between the latitude of forty-seven and forty-eight degrees; which streight was thirty leagues wide at the mouth, with a head-land on the north-west side, having a remarkable spired rock rising up like a pyramidical pillar. Through these freights he sailed for some time, discovering several islands, and having a wide open sea to the north-east (24). At his return to *Acapulco* he was very highly commended by the viceroy, who advised him to go to the court of *Madrid* with certificates, in order to obtain an adequate recompence for this important service from his Catholic Majesty. He returned accordingly, was received with great testimonies of approbation and respect; but finding, after long solicitation, only reiterated promises, he returned into his own country most highly provoked against the *Spaniards*, and, by the interposition of Mr. *Locke*, made a tender of his services to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering, with a vessel of the burthen of forty tons, and a pinnace, to discover this streight from one entrance to another, in the space of thirty days. This proposal was well received in *England*; but the frugality of that queen's administration was so great, that, for want of a single hundred pounds to defray the *Greek* pilot's passage, it was delayed till the time of his death (25). That this Mr. *Michael Locke* was a very inquisitive and a very indefatigable man, we have an indisputable testimony yet remaining, in a copy of *Ramusio's Collection of Voyages*, with marginal remarks in his own hand-writing, now in the possession of Robert Harper, Esq; of *Lincoln's Inn*.

(22) Mr. Henry Hauke's Relation of his Observations in New Spain, addressed to Richard Hackluyt, Esq; (23) The Voyage of Francisco de Gualle, in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. (24) Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 412. (25) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 849, 850.

demned by the best judges of the *Spanish* interests in these parts, so that these are not notions either foreign to the subject, or incompatible with the genius of the *Spanish* nation; but, on the contrary, schemes advanced by their own writers, treated by them in a very masterly way, and insisted upon as absolutely requisite to connect the several parts of the *Spanish Indies*, and thereby compleat that plan of empire opened by discovery, pursued by conquest, and to be maintained, established, and completed, by a wise and well conducted policy ¹.

No less than four different schemes offered for opening a communication between the north and south seas, soon after their discovery.

We find that no less than four different schemes had been offered for opening a passage from the *North* to the *South Seas*, exclusive of that by the straits of *Magellan*, or of the north-west passage, if such a passage there be. The great object of all these schemes, was the rendering the navigation practicable from *Spain* to the *Philippines*, without being exposed to any of those inconveniences that had been experienced in passing the straits of *Magellan*, and were supposed to incumber that by the north west ². All these schemes went clearly upon a supposition, that the true interest of the *Spanish* crown consisted in keeping up a close and constant correspondence between all her colonies, however situated; and also between these colonies and their mother-country. Those who proposed, and those who supported, these schemes, were convinced that this regular intercourse was not only requisite to the reciprocal welfare of the colonies, by enabling them to assist and enrich one another, and the most effectual means of keeping them well stocked with people; and those people properly employed in exposing their persons, and exerting their faculties for their own emolument and the public service; but likewise that this would turn most to the benefit of *Spain* ³, as, by adopting any one of these schemes, the colonies would have been effectually secured from receiving the commodities or manufactures of *Europe*, otherwise than from, or by the permission of, their mother-country; and, at the same time, all the rich products of the *East*, as well as the *West Indies*, must have been transported to *Spain* (G).

THEY

¹ GALVANO'S Discoveries, by Hackluyt. DE GUALLE'S Voyage. Giro del Mondo del Dottor. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRIRI. ² GALVANO'S Discoveries by Hackluyt. ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. c. iv. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA Historia general de las Indias, c. ccxiv. ³ GALVANO'S Discoveries by Hackluyt. DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales.

(G) All the methods devised to open an easy passage from the *North* into the *South Seas*, ought to be considered in no other light than as attempts to accomplish the first and great design of *Columbus*, which we have so often mentioned, of reaching the *East Indies*, by a west course (26). Such as have best understood the interests of the crown of *Spain*, have continued to look at this as the principal object, as the means of uniting the capital sources of commerce, and securing thereby all the advantages of the richest trade in the world to the crown of *Spain*. The first of these communications that have been mentioned, is between the gulph of *St. Michael* in the *South Seas*, and the gulph of *Uraba* in the *North*. The river *Darien* falls into the latter; and this passage, through the province which the *Spaniards* call *Terra Firma*, is computed to be about five and twenty leagues (27). There is no doubt that this would be commodious enough, if the country was thoroughly peopled, the soil properly improved, and the roads rendered perfectly commodious. But then to the attainment of these conveniences, absolutely necessary to such a passage, there are very great, and perhaps insurmountable obstacles. In the first place the country is naturally very barren, which makes the climate exceedingly unwholesome. The low land is marshy, and, upon digging a few feet deep, there rises a foul stinking water, equally noxious and unpleasant (28). We shall therefore say no more upon this head. The second is between *Panama* and *Porto-*

Bello, of which we have taken notice sufficient in the text. The third by the lake of *Nicaragua*, would be so short, so easy, and so commodious, that it is a very difficult task to guess why it has not been attempted at least, or put in practice. This fresh water lake is perhaps the fairest and finest in the world, considering the country about it; which is so rich, so wholesome, and so pleasant, that when the *Spaniards* first came thither, they stiled it the *Paradise of Mohammed*, and it is still with great propriety called the *Garden of America* (29). They have two very large cities upon this lake, one called *Leon*, the other *Granada*; and a multitude of large towns, which are very populous. The lake is one hundred and thirty miles long, and communicates with the *North Sea*, by the river *Desaguadero*, that is the discharge; and a good port might be made at the mouth of it. There is also a fine river that falls into the *South Sea*, which is navigable within a few leagues of the city of *Leon*; and besides, the large and commodious port of *Rio Lejo*, where they build most excellent ships, is at no great distance (30). As the country of *Nicaragua* is one of the best, if not the very best peopled of all the provinces of *New Spain*, as having in it near half a million of *Indians*, who now live happily and at their full liberty, and are many of them in easy circumstances, which they have acquired by trade, no time need be lost in the execution of this project; which, permission once procured from *Europe*, would execute itself (31). The fourth is through the

(26) Antonio de Herrera Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. Relation Historica del Reyno de Chile, y de las Misiones y Ministrios que exercita la compania de Jesu, por Alonso de Ovalle, Fol. Roma, 1646.

(27) Galvano's Discoveries, translated by R Hackluyt. (28) Petr. Martyr, Dec. iii. lib. 6. (29) Hieron. Braxoni novæ novi orbis historia, lib ii cap. xiv. Voyage de Francois de Coreal, tom. i. cap. v.

Lopez de Gomara Historia general de las Indias, P. ii. c. xxxii. Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 215. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 322. (31) Voyage de Francois de Coreal, tom. i cap. iv.

a THEY conceived, and it is not easy to assign any competent motives why we should so much as suspect they conceived amiss, that the easier and the safer these voyages between their distant colonies could be made, the closer and the more extensive their correspondence, the more a spirit of industry would be cherished among the inhabitants, the greater wealth they would acquire, the more their commerce, and of course their naval power, would flourish; and, of consequence, the more lucrative that exclusive trade to which they were tied with Spain. Such was the old original scheme of *Spanish* power in the *Indies*, calculated to secure, maintain, and extend itself; such were the means contrived to keep alive that spirit by which these dominions had been acquired; and such the method calculated for raising a force adequate to the preservation and protection of these increasing conquests, out of the conquests themselves, and of obviating all the inconveniences that flow from a stagnation of wealth and power, by a continual and brisk circulation of both; finding such employment for the people and their rulers as might prevent their sinking into indolence and luxury, and drawing from their labours a suitable tribute to their mother-country, for the force originally imparted and all her occasional supplies. This was certainly a practicable method of maintaining things in a flourishing condition, of answering all the purposes of prince and people; and maintaining without decay, that vigour which had given rise to this amazing empire.

b OF all these schemes, in the sentiments of a very ingenious and judicious writer, who addressed the great work he composed to his Catholic Majesty, that seemed to be the most eligible, which proposed bringing the ships from the *East Indies* to *Panama*, in the *South Seas*; from whence their lading might, without much trouble, be carried by a plain easy road of not more than four leagues, or twelve *English* miles, to the river *Chagre*; and from thence on board large lighters to *Nombre di Dios*, or *Porto Bello*; whence with the products of *America*, they might have been transported on board the galleons to *Europe*. By this scheme he supposed that many good purposes might be answered; the voyage between the two *Indies* performed in the shortest manner possible, by sailing almost all the way under the same degree of latitude, parallel to, and at a small distance from, the equinoctial, through the *Pacific Ocean*, properly so called, in a short time, and with little hazard. Besides, this would have created scarce any alteration in the established method; which, as we have more than once remarked, is a thing of great consequence, since the *Spaniards* have naturally an attachment to the routes once fixed, and are not easily drawn to venture upon any alterations, though the advantages derived from them should be ever so probable. If this scheme, which, to do the author justice, was both natural and practicable, had taken place, the improvement of the *Ladrones*, so as to have rendered them fit to have been made the magazines of the commodities of both the *Indies*, for the sake of shortening the passage, rendering the correspondence more certain and uniform, and preventing, as might have been easily done,

Proposal for fixing this commerce between Panama and Porto Bello, in consequence of which the Ladrones would become the magazine.

* ALONZO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xiii. GALVANO'S *Discoveries*. P ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xiv. La *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, por el Capitan GONçALO HERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO, lib. ii. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*, P. ii. cap. xxxii. GALVANO'S *Discoveries*. P. JOSEPH ACOSTA *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. *History of Spanish America*, p. 189.

province of *Honduras*; and though the distance between the two seas be there three-and-fifty leagues from *Puerto di Cavallos*, in the *North Seas*, to the bay of *Fonseca*, in the *South*; yet, by means of two rivers which contribute to form those ports, the transit by land would have been but a few miles (32). The report of this being made to Philip the second, he ordered (which shews that at this time such a proposition was very acceptable, that it should be examined by Battista Antonelli, an experienced engineer, who, though he admitted the communication was practicable, yet thought it would be attended with such inconveniences as gave no encouragement to attempt it (33). We may add to these a fifth, which, though the least convenient of any, is the only one in use; and this is from *Acapulco* to *Vera Cruz*, of which

we have already spoken in another place (34). There seem to be three principal reasons why the *Spaniards* have fixed and continued their correspondence between the *East* and *West Indies* to these ports. The first is, the great difficulty they found in returning from the *Philippines*, or even from the *Ladrones*, by navigating within the tropics. The second, that though the passage between *Acapulco* and *Vera Cruz* is by land, and of so great an extent, yet it is very secure. The third, that they have been long jealous of, and little inclined to, the *East India* trade, as carrying away a great quantity of silver (35). However, it is not at all impossible, that means might be found for lessening, at least, if not for removing, all these difficulties, and putting this intercourse in a much better train than it is in at present.

(32) *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by R. Hackluyt. *Occidentales*, cap. xiii.

(34) *Modern History*, tom. ix. p. 476.

(35) *Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. iii. *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, y de las Misiones y Ministrios que exercitu la Compania de Jesu*, por Alonzo de Ovalle, lib. i. cap. iv. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 322.

any clandestine commerce, would have followed of course; and consequently must still follow, if upon due reflection any thing of this kind should ever be carried into execution: for it is impossible that the circumstances favourable to such a conveyance, should ever fall under mature consideration without producing this effect; and of course, there are very strong grounds to expect, that sooner or later this will happen; and this *Archipelago*, at present so little attended to, become very suddenly the center of as valuable a trade as any in the universe, merely from their commodious situation; which, however long neglected, is a benefit never to be lost, as there is no prescribing against the grants of nature^a.

But such a commerce as has been mentioned with any oriental nations, would be still better.

BUT, after all, perhaps still greater advantages might arise, from pushing their discoveries to the north, to the north-west, and to the north-east; since there is a very high probability, indeed almost a certainty, that this would be attended with very beneficial consequences; and if the accumulated commerce from these places could be fixed to some convenient port on the continent to the north-west of *New Mexico*, it could not fail of drawing such a resort of people into that province, by the inviting prospect of growing very rich in a short time, as would enable them to cover effectually that frontier which is most exposed; as the *French* have long had their views on this side, and have taken some pains to make themselves well acquainted with this very subject; though hitherto not at all in a condition to embrace such an undertaking^b. It is therefore of the highest importance to the *Spaniards* to provide for their own security in the proper season, by prosecuting their discoveries and settlements to the north and north-west; which, though otherwise very difficult, the prospect of such a trade would extremely facilitate.

More especially, as this would effectually secure *New Mexico*, and the provinces adjacent.

It is true, that they have very rich mines, and very considerable settlements in *New Mexico* and the adjacent provinces, with which they have had good reason to be content, if at the same time they could be secure. But, as in process of time these countries may be in as much danger as ours are at present, from the *French* carrying on their discoveries and intrigues with the *Indians* behind them, it may be fairly presumed that so wise and so penetrating a nation will not continue to neglect the shortest and most effectual method of providing even against this distant danger; more especially as they would find it not at all difficult to transport the produce of this new commerce by the great rivers that fall into the gulph of *Mexico*; and, by speedily raising considerable towns on the banks of which rivers, they would, considering the present disproportion between their establishments, and those of their ambitious neighbours, form such a barrier on that side as would free them from all apprehensions^c. A thing so necessary and so practicable, that though we have no direct authority to support the assertion, yet we cannot help believing, that it has already merited their notice; and that, whenever we have any distinct and authentic account published of the state of their dominions in these parts, in respect to which we must confess ourselves much in the dark, it may be found, that what we have represented as mere conjectures, which in truth they are, might have been supported from matters of fact, if they had come early enough to our knowledge. Whenever this shall happen, it cannot fail of doing us credit with our readers; and till it does happen, we must depend upon their candour, grounded on a persuasion, that the pains we have taken in travelling so far through an unbeaten road for their service, cannot be unacceptable to inquisitive and impartial judges^d.

Nothing laid down in this section but what is equally well founded on reason and experience, and consequently both possible and practicable.

ALL that has been proposed in the course of this section, is so far from consisting of guesses or suppositions, that on the contrary, nothing is laid down as either practicable or possible, but what is demonstrated so to be, either by arguments absolutely conclusive, or from matters of fact. The natives of the *Philippines*, of the *Marianne* islands, and of all the provinces of *New Spain*, are people not at all deficient in bodily strength, in abilities, or even in point of docility, if the best *Spanish* writers are to be believed; and consequently, there is not the least reason to doubt, that with proper instructions, kind treatment, and due rewards, they might be brought with a very small intermixture of *Spaniards*, to execute every thing that could be expected from them. As the *Spaniards* might chuse out of all these nations, might blend them in what manner they thought proper, and might employ them in such different services as they were fittest to execute, they might employ them without either fear or danger. They might tempt them with so many different recompences, and reward their services with

^a ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii. ALONZO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 322. ^b GALVANO's Discoveries. *Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARRERI*. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*. ^c ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xi. DU ROIS *Geographie Moderne* P. iv. c. iv. *Voyages de FRANCOIS DE COREAL*, cap. ii. ^d ALONZO OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis*, p. 297, 298. COXE's *Description of Carolina*, p. 15, 16, 17.

a such a variety of indulgences, as in a short time would furnish them with volunteers in all these countries. They might undertake and execute the several discoveries proposed; at least in a great degree from the *Philippines*, *Mariannes*, and *Mexico* at the same time; and, by carrying on such discoveries gradually and equally, make them facilitate and support each other. As they have such mighty benefits to expect from their progress in these improvements, so they have no great obstacles to overcome; no puissant enemy, they have any just reason to fear. They may act in what manner they will; they may do as much or as little as they please; they may publish or conceal what they think proper, and carry all their designs to a degree of perfection; or at least very near it, before the rest of the world knows any thing of the matter^a.

b BESIDES, as things now stand, the crown of *Spain*, instead of having all *Europe* for enemies, as in the days of their ambitious monarch *Philip* the second, have, under their present monarch *Ferdinand* the sixth, no enemies at all. There is therefore nothing difficult in undertaking, or in executing these designs. We will next say something in regard to their expediency. A sedentary inactive life is fatal to all colonies at a great distance from their mother-country; it is the parent of luxury and corruption; more especially where they have any people under subjection to them; for then the colonists become tyrants, and those who ought to be subjects only, are made slaves. Experience has shewn this amongst the *Spaniards*, and no remedy has been found effectual; because the true remedy was never applied^a. It consists in reviving industry and public spirit, in diffusing a sense of honour and reputation, and of putting these in the power of all ranks of men to acquire. If this was once done, men of birth, fortune, and education would pique themselves on entering on such enterprizes; and, as these could not be effected without the assistance of meaner people, the necessity of using would induce them to cherish their vassals, and in the space of a few years, such an alteration of manners would be made, as would greatly increase the *Spanish* power, how little addition soever might in that space of time be made to their dominion^b.

This subject more fully explained, and, by various arguments, clearly illustrated.

c ALL that we have offered falls naturally and clearly within the bounds of the present section, in which we undertook to prescribe what had, and what might be discovered to the north of the *Marianne* isles, which, of course, made it requisite for us to interweave facts and reflections, the latter being as much historical as the former, one having a retrospect to events past, the other exhibiting a prospect of those that may probably happen^a. It was our business to treat here of that part of the globe, which is in so very peculiar a situation, we scarce know to which quarter it belongs, some portions of it being known; such as the *Liquios*, and the other islands that lie in their neighbourhood; some again half known, such as the *Spaniards* have marked in their charts and given names to; some still less known, as the countries from whence the vessels came that are said to have been on the north-west coast of *America*, and some altogether unknown; but the existence of which may nevertheless be presumed, from a concurrence of circumstances; such as the continent, or islands that lie between *Asia* and *America*; that is, to the north-east of the former, and north-west from the latter^b. We have spoken of all these as far as our lights will carry us; and however little we have said, that little is much more than the reader will be able to find in any other book, or at least in any book that is come to our knowledge. Our aim in all this has been to point out the means of making farther discoveries; to encourage them, by shewing the facility with which they might be made; and, which is still more, the benefits that would result from it. In doing all this, we have seriously and conscientiously endeavoured to fulfil the will of our Creator, who made this world, and all the parts of it, for the use of men, and who regards all the nations of the earth as one family^c.

All these points fall naturally into the compass of this section, and could not have been properly introduced anywhere else.

d As the *Ladrones* and *Marianne* island were first discovered by, have always been, and still are, in the possession of, the *Spaniards*, what we have delivered in the former section and in this, come in their proper places, and, indeed, could come in no-where else, with any shadow of propriety. As those discoveries that may be made from them, may, with the greatest ease and certainty, as well as with the greatest security, and with the most probable hopes of

^a ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. ALONZO DE OVALLE Relación Histórica del Reyno de Chile, cap. vi. P. JOSEPH ACOSTA Historia y natural y moral de las Indias, lib. vi.

^b Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARRERI, P. V. C. ii. Voyages de la Mer du Sud, par FRESIER, p. 470, 471. Voyages de FRANÇOIS DE CORREAL, chap. viii. x.

^c FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA Historia general de las Indias, cap. xx. HIERON BENZONI nova novi orbis Historiæ, lib. i. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis.

^a ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. iii. ALONZO DE OVALLE Relación Histórica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii cap. iv. La Historia general y natural de las Indias, por GONÇALO HERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO.

^b GALVANO's Discoveries. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis. Voyage de GUALLE.

^c SIR WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection. ROBERT METHODE pour apprendre facilement la Geographie, tom. ii. p. 317. 325. Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 892.

Tho' the property of the Marianne islands, and the right of making discoveries from them, belong to the Spaniards, the right of knowing them belongs to all the world.

advantage, be made by their present possessors, we have stated things accordingly; and in stating them, respected chiefly *Spanish* authorities, agreeable to the nature and end of this work^a. But though the property and possession belong to the *Spaniards*, yet all mankind have an equal right to know the situation, history, and circumstances of these islands, and their inhabitants, as well as the advantages that have been drawn, and might be drawn from them. The less that has been said of them elsewhere, the more largely they ought to be considered here; since one principal intention of this work is not only to collect and digest into proper order what has been elsewhere said, but also to supply the defects of others. It may be, that some of the particulars we have mentioned have been little considered, at least of late years, by the *Spaniards* themselves; or, if they have considered them, it is pretty certain they have not favoured the rest of the world with their reasons for making so little use of them, or for declining the most apparent use, that of augmenting and extending their discoveries^b. But, whatever motives they may have for this, these can be no motives to us to be as silent as they seem to be indolent; and if, from the influence of these motives, they should continue for ages to come to act with the same supineness they have done for two centuries past, this will not alter the nature or the reason of things; or detract in any degree from the truth of what we have asserted, from the lights of history and experience, much less preclude the rest of the world from examining into the possibility or practicability of finding some means or other for bringing those scattered islands and continents, whatever they may be, lying in the vicinity of these possessions of the *Spaniards*, into connection and correspondence with other known parts of the globe; and therefore we thought ourselves at full liberty to treat this subject as freely and as copiously, as it appears to us that the advantages which might flow from a better acquaintance with these continents and islands deserved^c.

The present administration in Spain intent on promoting its true interests.

As we pretend to no more than a very indistinct idea of the reasons which have hitherto influenced the conduct of the *Spaniards*, in respect to a great part of their possessions in both the *Indies*, we presume not to decide positively, as to the propriety or impropriety of this conduct. We cannot, however, help thinking, that a time may come when so wise and prudent a nation may think proper to alter this conduct, and we conceive this time will come, when they apprehend the interest of all the parts of which their extensive empire is composed in their true light. We should certainly find it no hard task, if this was a proper place, to enumerate many probable causes why this has not hitherto sufficiently occupied their attention^d. The principal, without doubt, has been the confusion of their affairs in *Europe*, from their attachment to various ambitious plans; most of them repugnant to, and all of them far removed from, the true interests of their monarchy; that is, the support of the crown of *Spain*, and the promoting the happiness of its subjects. It is not often that these are the sole objects of the prince and his ministers; but, without the least intention, and therefore we hope without the least imputation of flattery, we may with the utmost probability affirm, that these are the sole views of his present Catholic Majesty and his ministers. They see the grandeur and the interests of *Spain* in the true point of light; and therefore bend all their endeavours to reduce the interior government of that great monarchy into the most exact order. They have persisted in this for some years, in which it must be admitted they have done a great deal; but, at the same time, it must be allowed, that they have a great deal still to do, before, even with their inflexible assiduity, so great a work as this is can be fully accomplished^e.

Highly probable, that when they have rectified their errors in their domestic government, they will also reform and improve their colonies.

WHEN this shall be accomplished, we cannot doubt that the same principle of public spirit will determine the *Spanish* administration to enter, with like diligence and circumspection, into every thing that regards the state of their colonies; and whenever this comes to pass, there is no question to be made, that the great importance of this *Archipelago* will be discerned, and the proper measures taken to draw from it all those advantages of which it is capable; and more especially those that may result from discoveries, for the making of which it is so happily situated^f. As, in order to this, it will be absolutely necessary to make a new disposition of the remaining inhabitants, and to labour the civilizing and converting them to the Christian faith, by methods better adapted to those humane and salutary purposes, than have been hitherto employed, we cannot doubt that these will be taken, or entertain the least diffidence,

^a LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. v. cap. iv. v. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection, Lord ANSON's Voyage, book ii. the last chapter.

^b ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. iv. cap. iv.

^c Hieron BENZONI novæ novi orbis Historiz, lib. i.

^d Discourse of LOPEZ VAN concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies, in Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts. Atlas Maritimus, p. 297.

^e History of Spanish America, from Spanish writers, p. 292, 293.

^f History of Spanish America, p. 292, 293. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 379.

a that when they are taken, they will not be attended with the most happy effects¹. For it is impossible, that if the natives of any one island were so thoroughly reclaimed as to live in the comfortable state of a Christian society, and in the possession of all the conveniences of life, with less labour than they now take, with an apparent peace of mind and undisturbed security; that their countrymen, who are far from being stupid, should remain inattentive to such an example, or prefer naked misery, and indigent indolence, with that profligacy of life which is naturally attended with checks of conscience, to freedom, quiet, and rational happiness; more especially, if some of their brethren were employed to exert their natural talents for eloquence, in displaying the numberless advantages that would attend so just and easy a change of manners².

b YET, if after all that has been said and shewn, there could so much as the colour of a doubt remain, as to the utility and importance of this chain of islands, or the great ease, and as great certainty, with which the *Spaniards* might be able to improve them to the utmost, and render them equal, if not superior in value, to the *Philippines*, or any province of theirs in *America*; this will be fully explained, and set in the clearest light possible in the next section; in which we are to examine what are, or what might be, discovered to the southward, to the south-west, and to the south-east of the *Marianne Islands*; what means there are of making these discoveries, and what beneficial consequences might be with probability expected from them; for the whole subject being then complete, the several parts of it will reciprocally reflect light upon each other.

¹ Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. de Chile.

² ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno

S E C T. XI.

The discoveries that have been, or probably may be, made to the south-east or south-west of the Mariannes; the gradual discovery of the Caroline Islands, or New Philippines; their situation, soil, climate, produce, and inhabitants; the appearance there is of many rich and valuable commodities in these isles; the certainty of raising spices of all sorts in them; and the advantages which would result from thence.

c **W**E have asserted, and we hope we have also shewn, that great advantages might have arisen to the crown of *Spain*, from the possession of the *Ladrones* or *Marianne Islands*, by the conveniency of their situation for making very important discoveries. It falls out notwithstanding, that tho' nothing could be well more obvious or apparent, yet almost all the discoveries that have been made since they were in possession of these islands, either to the north or to the south, have not been the effects so much of choice as of chance¹. That their number has been greater on the north than towards the south, is very plainly owing to the routes the annual ship is forced to take in going to *Acapulco*, which, notwithstanding all the care they can use, varies very considerably almost every voyage; whereas, in going from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, they bear down as near as may be to the latitude of *Guam*; and, meeting commonly a fair wind, continue their course in as direct a line as possible². Indeed this has not been always the case; because, before this transit was established, they sailed from different ports of *America* for the *Philippines*; and probably, if it had not been for this, they would scarce have made any discoveries at all, as in fact, notwithstanding this, they have made but very few³.

In order to be convinced of the truth of this observation, we need only cast our eyes upon the most authentic *Spanish* charts, at the distance of a long series of years, and observe the small difference there is between them⁴. This must appear the more extraordinary to every intelligent reader who has considered this subject with attention; when he reflects on the motives that first determined the *Spaniards* to attempt an intercourse with the *East Indies* through the *South Seas*, and the prodigious expence of blood and treasure with which, while

¹ GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt, lib. iii. Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S Naval Tracts, lib. iv. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. x. ² GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARRERI Giro del Mondo, P. v. lib. iii. c. vi. Discourse on Navigation and Discoveries, chap. xi. Lord ANSON'S Voyage to the South Seas, chap. x. ³ HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. iv. ⁴ See the Chart in HERRERA, and that in Lord ANSON'S Voyage.

they retained the dominion of the crown of *Portugal*, they laboured to preserve the *Moluccas*^a; since, if there was wisdom and fortitude in this conduct, notwithstanding it weakened and almost exhausted their settlements in the *Philippines*, it might seem a self-evident deduction, that acquiring in a less hazardous way as great advantages as could have been attained by the keeping of those islands, might have demanded some attention; more especially when this alone was necessary, and not any extraordinary expence, any naval armament, or any considerable effort whatever^c.

But still more
for with these
on which their
empire is estab-
lished in Ame-
rica.

BUT, notwithstanding all those circumstances of inattention, the very discoveries thus in a manner forced upon them, were attended with informations that ought to have excited curiosity; and certainly would have done it, if they had acted from those principles on which they first established their dominion in the *East Indies*. For the sight of islands, pleasantly situated, well inhabited, and in a good climate, might have deserved examination; since the richest countries are not always the most promising at first sight; and the smallest islands are sometimes found to be countries of great value. Besides, in these untraced parts of the globe, the knowledge of one country leads to the knowledge of another, and the reward of discoveries, though it comes late, comes at last^b. The small islands that were first seen and possessed by *Columbus*, were soon after slighted for the sake of better, to which he was led from the knowledge of these; but, if he had given himself no farther trouble, or if he had measured the profits of the new world by the acquisitions made by his first voyage, where had been the *Spanish* empire in these parts at this day^c? Or why, since this principle of examining and enquiring, from as little encouragement, proved so fortunate and so glorious to him and the princes who employed him, ought so opposite a conduct to be pursued here, where possibly the like pains and diligence might be still more amply rewarded?

The islands ly-
ing directly
south from the
Ladrones,
and when dis-
covered.

IMMEDIATELY to the south of the island of *Guam*, and between ten and thirteen degrees of north latitude, lie the islands of *Ban*, *Bota*, *Saint Baravel*, and the shoals of *Santa Rosa*. We have no description of any of these places; but it is highly probable, as we have shewn in a former section, that the three first islands were those seen by *Magellan*, and consequently the first discovered, since they agree better with the circumstances of *Pigafetta's* description than the island of *Guam*, and those in its neighbourhood^d. What seems to confirm this, is, that the names of these islands occur in all the old lists of the *Ladrones*, in which we do not find *Guam*; and also in some catalogues we find the names of the northern islands, mentioned in the former section, likewise inserted; which shews that things have not always stood, even in the sentiments of the *Spaniards*, in the manner they do at present^e. If these were the islands first seen by *Magellan*, they were even in those days well peopled, and those people were not ignorant of the arts of navigation, or naval architecture; so that in process of time, and when things were settled and reduced into better order, there might have been grounds for prosecuting these discoveries further, or, at least, for enquiring into the condition, manner of subsistence, and what correspondences were entertained amongst their inhabitants (A).

AMONGST

^a ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. iv. DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON, Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas. EDEN'S History of Travayle. ^b See the Proof of this at the Close of the Section. ^c See RAMUSIO, HACKLUIT, THEVENOT. ^d G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. ii. fol. 82 85. HERRERA Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. xiii. ^e G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 352. b. EDEN'S History of Travayle. ^f GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne.

(A) We have intimated more than once, that there are some points not clearly understood in the accounts we have of *Magellan's* voyage. It is expressly said, that from the *Ladrones*, which-ever of them it was he saw, he continued his voyage to the little island of *Zamal*. This island from its nearness could be none of the *Philippines*. The next day he went on shore upon an uninhabited island, upon which he bestowed the name of *Buenos Senales*, which we find placed by *Herrera* near to *Mindanao* (1). While he remained here, he was visited by a canoe with nine people on board from the island of *Zuluan*, who are very highly commended for their humanity and civility. These men afterwards brought other boats; and it is very remarkable, that the cargoes

of these boats did not speak a barren indigent country, any more than the behaviour of those on board shewed them a brutal or barbarous people. Amongst their merchandize, an eye-witness assures us, that there were cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, and gold, wrought into many antic forms. The people who brought them were naked, with large pieces of gold in their ears, and having jewels set in gold for bracelets; about their waists they wore a coarse cloth, made of the rind of a certain tree (2). Their island was situated in the latitude of ten degrees north; and taking all circumstances together of country, boats, and people, was probably one of the *New Philippines*. In those days the inhabitants of all the isles enjoyed a free and exten-

(1) *Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvi. *Eden's History of Travayle*. *Recueil des Voyages*, qui ont servi a l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 105. (2) G. Battista Ramusio Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 350. a. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. ch. ii. p. 57. *Eden's History of Travayle*, fol. 430.

- a AMONGST the islands to the south-east, we find laid down in the old maps *Abreoso*, which in the new charts are stiled *Islas de Abreos*; *Mira como vas*, which is as much as to say, *take care how you move*; these are laid down as three pretty considerable islands, with shoals about them. *Quita Sueño*, that is, *leave your sleep*; *La Poblado*, or *the well-peopled island*. Most of these are left out in the new charts, in some of which we find others inserted; such as *St. Stephan*, *Isla de Arceles*, *Casobas*, *Lafurganes*, and *Pescadores*, or, *the Fisher's Island*¹. The island of *St. Bartholomew* lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees north, and near twenty degrees to the east of *Guam*, and appears both in the old and the new charts to be larger than any of the *Marianne Islands*. We have no description of any of these islands, probably because they were only seen by ships in their passage; but they might be easily examined, and perhaps many more found in or near the same track, if any vessels were employed from *New Spain* to that purpose; and, though they might not happen to produce any valuable commodities, yet certainly they would facilitate the correspondence with the *Marianne Islands*, in case they were thoroughly settled and improved; and, in that respect, might be rendered equally beneficial and convenient². To say nothing of the probability there is, that some larger and more valuable countries might be discovered, since it is not easy to conceive that there should be so many small islands, with shoals about them, in so vast an ocean, without some great and more considerable continent, as is common in the like cases, and of which instances will occur within the compass of this section, as well as within the bounds of this *Pacific Sea*.
- b

- c As to the islands of the south-west, we find three islands lying in a triangle, in the old charts, which are called *los Corales*, or *Islas del Coral*, that is, *the Coral Islands*. The *Archipelago*, stiled *de los Reyes*, because discovered on the feast of *Epiphany*, consists of five islands. The island of *Sabavedra* is a pretty large one. The *Matalotes*, or *Companions*, are smaller. The *los Jardines*, or *the Gardens*, were so called from their having a very beautiful and pleasant appearance. *Isla de Aracifes*, or, *the island of Rocks*, is also pretty large, but in a manner inaccessible. *Pulo Vilan*, or the island of *St. Vilan*, is as large as any of the *Ladrones*; and the island of *St. Juan*, or *de Palmas*, is the most to the west of them all, and the nearest the *Moluccas*³. We know that when these islands were first discovered by the *Spaniards*, they were very full of people, the inhabitants had prows of different sizes, were not at all shy of strangers, but readily came on board the ships; but, though we have these and other particulars in our old collections, yet we find no mention of them in modern books; as if it was designed they should retire again from the knowledge of men, and relapse into their original obscurity. If this arises from negligence, it ought to be prevented; if from a point of mistaken policy, we ought, in justice to the rights of mankind, to defeat it. Discoveries are made for the common benefit; more especially, after they have been once published; and, tho' the *Spaniards* may improve or neglect those islands at their pleasure, yet they cannot prescribe against the rest of the world's knowing whether they improve or neglect them.
- d

- e We have before mentioned some of the discoveries of *Alvaro de Sabavedra*, whom his cousin, the famous *Ferdinand Cortes*, sent to the *Moluccas*. He, endeavouring to return from thence in the month of *May*, 1529, had sight of a large country to the south, along the east coast of which he sailed till the month of *August*, running in that time the space of five hundred leagues. Having run as low as seven degrees south, he judged it expedient to return, and in his passage saw several considerable islands, about which there were sands and shoals, though the coast of the larger country seemed to be clean and good anchorage. After

¹ G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 371. a. GALVANO's Discoveries translated by Hackluyt. EDEN's History of Travayle.

² Compare the Spanish Charts before mentioned. HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. GALVANO's Discoveries translated by Hackluyt. EDEN's History of Travayle.

five commerce; and in consequence of that, were far more humane, civilized and polite, than they are at present (3). They collected these rich commodities for the sake of trade, and exchanged them for others which they liked better. But when the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had settled some of the islands, those that lay at a distance lost all communication with them, the inhabitants preferring poverty with freedom to all the advantages that arose from commerce; and thus, by degrees, they degenerated from what they were, and be-

came less knowing and more savage than they had been, retaining however the knowledge of some mechanic arts, and some small remains of science; which still speaks plainly enough that their ancestors were another kind of people, as having lived in better times; and, by the help of this key, the reader will understand very clearly many things that would be unintelligible, if not incredible, in the relations he will meet with in the course of this section.

(3) Galvano's Discoveries, as translated by Hackluyt. Historia Indica, lib. i.

Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. Maffei

passing the line, he discovered an island lying some degrees towards the north, which he called *Isla de los Pintados*, or *of the painted People*; because the inhabitants were white, but had their bodies painted very curiously of different colours; he judged them, by their complexions and features, to be descended from the *Cbinese* *. They did not seem to have any government amongst them, were very timid; and, more especially, afraid of fire, which they had never seen. They buried their fruits and small fish in the sand, in places most exposed to the sun, for a certain time, and then took them up, eating them, as it were, baked. In the latitude of ten degrees north he discovered an *Archipelago* of islands abounding with palm trees and very fine grass. These people he also judged to have been originally from *Cbina*, tho' they now lived like the former, without any kind of rule. They were clothed in long white habits, made of a sort of grass, but were very lazy, living in the like indolent manner with the former; and had prows made of a sort of white pine, which at certain seasons came floating upon their coasts, they knew not how, or from whence; which, however, they wrought very neatly and ingeniously with tools made of shells †.

The inhabitants of this continent, and adjacent islands, black people, with curled hair.

THE inhabitants of the larger country, which, in respect to the islands, was a kind of continent, and the inhabitants also of most of the islands, were absolutely black, with curled hair like the negroes, and from thence called *Papuas*, which, in the language of the people of the *Moluccas*, signifies a dark-coloured people. Cortes afterwards sent other ships along this coast to perfect these discoveries, as the *Portuguese* had done before from their settlements; the result of which was the discovering many other islands, most of them peopled; and that the inhabitants of the larger country were divided into several kingdoms, some of which were tributaries to the monarchs of the *Moluccas*. The people in these islands and on the continent had considerable quantities of gold, some fine spices, and other rich commodities, and carried on at this time some degree of commerce †. But as yet they were not very well known, and the natives of the *Moluccas* affected to keep their intercourse with them, and the profits that accrued to them from it, very private.

This country comes from hence to be called Nueva Guinea, or New Guinea.

ABOUT the year 1545, *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos* coming into these parts with the title of General, and a squadron of six sail of good ships, gave new names to several of the places which *Sabavedra* had discovered; and, amongst the rest, bestowed that of *Nueva Guinea*, or *New Guinea*, upon the country of the *Papuas*. From this time till the end of that century the *Spanish* pilots examined the whole of the coast very carefully, bestowed names on several bays, promontories, and harbours, and gave it as their opinion, that either this continent was continued, or, that a multitude of large islands lay south-east from thence, as far as the straits of *Magellan* †. They likewise agreed, that the country was fruitful, well-peopled, and that the inhabitants had ornaments of gold. Amongst others they reported this singular circumstance, that there were intermixed with these blacks a race of white people, not like the *Europeans*, but of a chalky tallowish white, with very weak eyes, scarce able to bear the light of the sun, and a weak, languid, and helpless people withal; though there were also some, but very few, that were brisk, active, and had tolerable good eyes †. These sort of people the *Spaniards* distinguished by the name of *Albinas*; and they seem to be precisely the same kind of men with the *Moon-eyed Indians*, on the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, of whom we have a copious and circumstantial description †.

Don Joseph de Quirogoa causes search to be made for the island of Carolina.

WE have mentioned in a former section Don *Joseph Quirogoa*, who was governor of the *Marianne Islands*, and who completed the conquest of that whole *Archipelago*. This gentleman, having intelligence that a large island had been seen to the south-west, sent in the year 1686, Don *Alonso Poon*, a *Chamorris*, or one of the native nobility, to discover it, but without effect. He was sent four years after to as little purpose. This did not hinder the bestowing the name of *Carolina* on this half-known island, in honour of *Charles* the second, then king of *Spain*. In 1696, it was again seen by a vessel bound from the *Philippines* to the *Marianne Islands*, and was then stiled the isle of *St. Barnabas*, as having been seen on the feast of that apostle †. The year following an accident disclosed, what whoever considers their situation in a map, will conceive it almost impossible that the *Spaniards* should not have

* GALVANO'S Discoveries translated by Hackluyt. ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Molucas lib. i. HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. P. MAFFEI Historia Indica. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, p. 603. EDEN'S History of Travayle, p. 906. † FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA, Historia general de las Indias, lib. xi. HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. EDEN'S History of Travayle. † ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Marianas, lib. i. Relatione di JUAN GAETAN, Pilotto Castigliano, del discoprimiento del Isole Molucche, per la via del Indie Occidentali. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes lib. i. † GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. EDEN'S History of Travayle, p. 608. † ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. † P. LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. x. GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GENELLI CARRERI, Gir' del Mondo, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix. Du Bois Geographie Moderne.

a known before, that there was a large archipelago of fine islands between them and the *Mariannes* (B). This event fell out by two prows, on board of which were thirty of the inhabitants, being driven on the twenty-eighth of September, 1696, on the island of *Samal* by the eastern monsoon, which reigns in those seas from *October* to *May*. These people are in their own language called *Palaoes*; and some of them had been before blown by the like accident into other of the *Philippines*, without any great notice being taken of them; but the coming of these into an island where there were upwards of forty missionaries, occasioned a stricter and more effectual enquiry, as they drew from them competent accounts of their country (C).

THEY

* Philosophical Transactions, N°. 317. p. 189.

(B) That the *Spaniards* having before them the voyage of *Magellan*, and those who were employed to perfect his discoveries, should never gain any knowledge of this archipelago, or that they should conceal it, if they did, is not easily to be understood. But, be that as it will, we have before hinted, and we will now prove, that these islands have not been always hid from the eyes of the *Europeans*. Sir *Francis Drake* undoubtedly passed through them, and the account he gave of them very well deserves the reader's notice, who, from the foregoing sections, will clearly discern that the islands he mentions were not, as hath hitherto been supposed, the *Ladrões*, but the islands of which we are now speaking. He quitted the country of *New Albion*, which is a part of *California*, in the year 1578, and the next land he saw was this chain of islands. We will deliver this account in the words of the original voyage; for, though the language be old, yet the observation, that Sir *Francis Drake* first discovered these islands, is wholly new (4). "After we had set sail from hence, we continued without sight of land till the thirteenth day of *October* following, which day in the morning we fell in with certain islands eight degrees to the northward of the line; from which came a great number of canoes, having in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them coconas and other fruits. Their canoes were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a gloss as if it were of horn daintily burnished, having a prow and a stern of one sort, yielding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certain white shells for a bravery; and on each side of them lie out two pieces of timber about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness or bigness of the boat. This people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane, for the same purpose. Leaving this island the night after we fell in with it, the 18th of *October*, we lighted upon divers others; some whereof made a great shew of inhabitants. We continued our coast by the islands of *Tagulada*, *Zelus*, and *Zewarra*, being friends to the *Portugals*; the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon." It is plain, from the furniture of these vessels, from their having two outlayers instead of one, but more especially from the number of persons on board them, that they did not come from any of the *Ladrões* islands; though there is no need of adding any additional arguments to this, if we consider the latitude assigned, and the islands that our great seamen report to have been in their neighbourhood. By comparing this with the former notes,

and carrying their contents along in his mind, the reader will be thoroughly convinced that, exclusive of the entertainment he receives from the drawing together so many curious and neglected passages relating to these distant countries, we afford him incontestible evidence of the truth of our suggestion, that the *Spaniards* always had, and still have, spice islands in their possession, whenever they shall esteem it consistent with their policy to bring the produce of them into *Europe*.

(C) We may with some colour of justice suspect, that, notwithstanding what most of the *Spanish* writers affirm, the governors of the *Philippines*, and other sensible people in that part of the world, were not so long or so utterly ignorant of some such archipelago as this, before the accident happened that is mentioned in the text. For we know that some years before this, the king's brother of these new *Philippines*, in a sea voyage, was driven on the coast of *Caragan*, in the great island of *Mindanao* (5). The *Spanish* fathers, who have a very fine mission there, received this prince with a great deal of honour and friendship, and instructed him in the Christian religion; which he was so well pleased with, that he never thought again of returning to his own country. In the mean time the king, dissatisfied at the loss of his brother, fitted out a fleet of one hundred small vessels, which he sent to every island under his dominion, to see if they could learn any news of him. One of these little vessels was forced by a storm on the coast of *Caragan*, at the same place as the king's brother was before; where landing, they immediately knew him, and, with tears, told him the occasion of their journey, the discontent of the king his brother, and desired him to return back with them. The prince thanked them for the trouble they had been at, and desired them to satisfy the king that he was well and contented, but could not by any means be persuaded to return home again. One would have imagined that this single fact might have occasioned an inquiry, if nothing of the like kind had ever happened before. But even in *Samal*, the island to which these people came, there had small vessels run a-shore, sometimes with, and sometimes without, people on board them (6). From the reports of some persons thus cast away, a story was very current amongst the *Spaniards*, of an island of *Amazons* who were visited, at a certain season of the year, by men from an opposite island, who, after staying with them a short time, retired with all the male children of a certain age. They believed, upon the credit of the same persons, that in some island, at no great distance, there was such plenty of ambergris that the ignorant inhabitants caulked their boats with it. A very grave judicious writer, who seems to make no difficulty of admitting the story of the *Amazons*; which, however, might possibly be founded only in a mistake, because these people breed up their boys and girls at a distance from each other, and in separate houses; looks upon what is said of the ambergris as the most ridiculous

(4) *Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 738. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 54. *The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, p. 81.

(5) *Philosophical Transactions*, N°. 517. p. 198, 199.

(6) *Giovann. Franciscus Gemelli Carreri, Girs del Mondo* P. v. lib. i. cap. ix.

History of the
shipwreck of
thirty Palaos,
by which their
islands are
made known.

THEY had run before the wind for seventy days together, according to their own relation, a without being able to make any land till they came in sight of the town of *Guivam*, an inhabitant of which being on the shore, perceived them, and judging, from the make and size of their vessels, they were strangers, and out of their course, took a piece of cloth, and made them a signal of entering the road as he directed, to avoid the shoals and banks of land. These poor people were so frightened at the sight of this stranger, that they began to put to sea again; but the wind forced them back towards the shore: when they came near, the *Guivamese* made the same signal as before; but, seeing they would unavoidably be lost, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to one of the little vessels to bring them safe into the harbour *. He was no sooner got to them, but the women, with their children on their backs, and all that were in that vessel, threw themselves over-board, and swam to the other. He, b seeing himself alone in the vessel, resolved to follow them, and getting on board the second, shewed them how to avoid the shoals, and brought them in safe. In the mean time they stood immoveable, and resigned themselves up entirely to the conduct of this stranger, as if they had been so many prisoners. The inhabitants of *Guivam* received them very kindly, and brought them wine and other provisions. They eat cocoas very freely, which are the fruit of the palm-trees of this country. Their pulp is something like that of chesnuts, only that it is more oily, and it supplies them with a sort of sweet water, very pleasant to drink. They gave them rice boiled in water, which is eaten there, and all over *Asia*, as bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with surprize, and taking up some grains of it, threw them on the ground, supposing them to be worms. Upon bringing them larger roots, called *Palavan*, c they eat them hastily and heartily *. They brought them soon after two women that had formerly been driven on shore on the coast of *Guivam*, and who understood a little of the language of this country; one of the women found amongst those strangers one of her relations, and as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The inhabitants of *Guivam* strove with each other who should entertain these strangers at their houses, and furnish them with provisions, cloaths, and other necessaries. Of thirty-five persons that embarked, there remained but thirty; five dying through want of provisions, and other hardships in so long a voyage; and, some time after their arrival, another died *.

Account given
by them of
their islands,
and of the peo-
ple who in-
habit them.

THEY related, that their country consisted of thirty-two islands, which could not be far distant from the *Mariannes*, as was judged by the smallness of their vessels and the form of their d sails, which are very like those of the *Marianese*. It was supposed that these islands were in eleven or twelve degrees of north latitude, more southerly than the *Mariannes*, and under the same degree of longitude as *Guivam*; for, sailing directly from east to west, they came ashore at this town. These strangers added, that of the thirty-two islands three of them were uninhabited, but abounded with wild fowl, and all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the number of inhabitants, they pointed to a heap of sand, to shew that their number was very great. The names of these islands are *Pais*, *Lamululutup*, *Saraon*, *Taoropie*, *Valayyay*, *Satavan*, *Cutac*, *Yfaluc*, *Piraulop*, *Ytai*, *Pic*, *Piga*, *Lamurrec*, *Puc*, *Falait*, *Caruvaruvong*, *Ylatu*, *Lamuliur*, *Tavas*, *Sayen*, *Tacaulep*, *Rapiyang*, *Tavon*, *Mutacusau*, *Piyilu*, *Olatan*, *Palu*, *Cucumyat*, and *Piyalucunung*. The three islands that have nothing on them e but wild fowl, are *Piculet*, *Hulatan*, *Pagian*. The most considerable of all these islands is *LAMURREC*, where the king of the country keeps his court, and to him the governors of all the other islands are subject (D). Among those strangers there was one of the governors, and his wife, who was the king's daughter; though they went half naked, yet their deportment

* Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 317. p. 189.

Y Pere LE GOBIEN, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 399.

Z Phi-
Lettres

of all fictions (7). Yet, how absurd soever it might appear in *Spain*, the people of *Samai* did not in the least hesitate at believing it; and for this plain reason, that the very same thing had happened more than once upon their own island. But, before much of this precious drug had been thus abused, the Father Jesuits smelt it out, bought it for a trifle of the *Indians*, and sold it for a good price to those who knew where to bring it to a still better market (8). It appears evidently enough from hence, and we could prove it from many other instances, that it is a fashionable doctrine at present in *Spain*, that

these undiscovered countries are all barren and have nothing in them worth seeking.

(D) As a proof that these people were very intelligent to a certain degree, it is sufficient to observe, that they exhibited a map of the whole archipelago, consisting of eighty-seven islands. The method they took to do this, was very singular, and we may likewise say, in some measure correct. They laid down upon a table as many small stones as there were islands, placed them in their proper position, and, as these were copied upon paper, they gave the name of each, and directed a figure

(7) Fr. B. G. Feijo, *Theatro critico universal en Madrid*, 1742, 4to, tom. iv. Dis. x. § xvi.
Francisco Gemelli Carreri, *Giro del Mondo*, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix.

(8) Giovan.

- a deportment, and a peculiar air of greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The husband had his body painted all over with certain lines, in such a manner that they formed several figures. The rest of the people were also painted more or less. The women and children were not painted at all; there were nineteen men and ten women of different ages; the make and colour of their faces were much like the *Philippinese*. The men had a sash wrapped several times round their bodies, covering their reins and thighs; they wore on their shoulders about an ell and an half of coarse linnen cloath, like a cowl, tied before, and hanging loose behind. Both men and women dressed much alike, only that the women had a piece of cloth somewhat longer, that hung from their waist down to their knees ^a.
- b THEIR language differs from that of the *Philippinese* and *Mariannese*; their manner of pronouncing comes nearest that of the *Arabs*; and some, who understood the language, observed the women that seemed the most considerable amongst them, had several rings and necklaces of tortoise shells (called here *Carey*), and others made of a substance much like amber, but not transparent. The manner of their living at sea for seventy days together, continually driven by the wind, was thus: They cast out a sort of net, made of a great many twigs of trees tied together, with a large mouth for the fish to enter, and terminating in a point, to prevent their getting out. The fish they took after this manner was all the nourishment they had; and rain-water saved in cocoa-shells, which is the fruit of the palm-trees, and of the figure and size of a man's head ^b.
- c THEY have no cows in their islands, and at the sight of them they run away, as they did likewise at the barking of a dog; neither have they cats, stags, horses, or, in general, any quadrupede; or any fowl, but sea-fowl, excepting them which they breed up; but never eat their eggs. Notwithstanding this, they are very chearful and well-contented with their condition. Their songs and dances are exact and regular; when they sing, it is all in concert, every one observing the same humour and gestures, which makes it very agreeable. They were surpris'd at the government, politeness, and manners of the *Europeans* ^c. They admired not only the solemnities and ceremonies of the church, in celebrating the divine service, but also the music, instruments, dances, and arms of the *Spaniards*; and gun-powder was what surpris'd them most. They wondered at the whiteness of the *Europeans*, in respect of whom they were perfectly tawny, as well as the inhabitants of this country. It did not appear that they had any knowlege either of a Deity, or that they worshipp'd idols. Their customs were perfectly savage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which, though they observe no set time or place, when hungry or dry, and when they can find any thing to satisfy nature; yet they eat but little at a time, and never enough to suffice for a whole day ^d.

Their language, ornaments, and manner in which they supported themselves at sea.

Advantages and disadvantages of their country, and manner of living, and their admiration of the customs of the Europeans.

^a Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 317. p. 189. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 403. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. ^b Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 399. Fautes Chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. ^c Du Bois, Geographie moderne, p. 701. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire de Isles Mariannes, p. 406. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. ^d Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 317. p. 189. Du Bois Geographie moderne, p. 701. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

to be inscribed in it, to shew how many days sail it would take to pass round it; and a figure to be placed between every two islands, shewing how many days sail was between them. The whole very clear and intelligible; nor have we any thing better of the kind since (9). The island from whence these people came, was *Amorsot*, in the latitude of ten degrees thirty minutes north; and the island to which they were bound was *Paiz*, lying to the south-west, at the distance of about twelve days sail, and in the latitude of ten degrees north. The island in which they lived, was three days sail in circumference; that to which they were bound, four. The largest of these islands, which the *Spaniards* write *Panloco*, the *French* *Panloque*, and in our *English* maps it is *Panlog*, lies but three days sail east, from the point of *Guivam*; and not above two days sail north-east of the island of *Mindanao*, between the latitudes of eight degrees twenty minutes, and eleven degrees thirty minutes north (10). According to this description of theirs, the whole five provinces of these islands lie from one degree thirty minutes south, to

sixteen degrees north, having the island of *Samal*, that of *Mindanao*, the *Moluccas*, and *Gilolo*, to the west; the *Marianne Islands* to the north-east, and the *Pacific Ocean* on all sides (11). The reader will perceive, that this differs in some respects from what is advanced in the text; but we cannot help that; the former stands upon the credit of the first narrative, written upon the spot, and at the time; the latter, upon a subsequent epistle to Father *le Gobien* at the time that he transmitted the former to his brethren the Jesuits in *France*; and, as he affirms, that his remarks were written from later informations, and with a view to supply the deficiencies of the first account, it was thought they could not appear more properly here than in a note (12). It may not be amiss to add, that this reverend father, not being initiated into the maxims of *Spanish* policy, assures us, that there is great probability, from their situation, and many other circumstances, that these islands may abound with gold, amber, spice, and other valuable commodities (13).

(9) Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 317. p. 199. Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 317. Letter is not in his History of the Marianne Islands.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims.

(11) See the Map in the

(12) See and compare the Map before cited with Delisle's.

(13) This

Great resem-
blance in their
manners to
those of the
Marianese.

THEY shewed much respect and deference for their king, and the governors of towns, and obey them very punctually. Their civility and respect consists in taking hold of the hand or foot of the person they would honour, and gently rubbing their faces. Amongst their utensils they had some saws, not made of iron, but of a large shell, called here *Tacobo*, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of stone. They were surpris'd to see the number of carpenters tools, used in building a merchant-man at *Guivam*. They have no metals in their country. The father missionary made each of them a present of a large piece of iron, which they received with as much joy as if it had been gold; and, for fear it should be stole from them, they laid it under their heads, when they went to sleep^c. They have no other arms than lances or darts armed with human bones, vey sharp and well fixed. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some cuffs on the head, which yet very rarely happens; for, when they would come to a closer fight they separate them, and they are soon reconciled. They are not dull and heavy; but, on the contrary, have a great deal of liveliness and spirit. They are not so lusty as the inhabitants of the *Mariannes*, yet are they well-proportioned, and shaped much like the *Philippinese*. Both the men and women let their hair grow long, and hang loose on their shoulders. When they understood that they were to be conducted to the presence of the father-missionary, they painted their bodies all over with a yellow colour, which is looked upon by them as a great ornament. The oldest of these strangers was once before cast on the coast of *Caragan*. They are very expert at diving; and they said, that, in fishing, they took two large pearls in their shells, but threw them into the sea again, not knowing their value^f.

Are most kindly
treated by
the missionary
and people of
Guivam, and
are very sensible
of it.

WHEN they were brought into the presence of the father-missionary, and saw the profound respect that was paid him, they, as was very natural, governed by the remembrance of their own customs, immediately conceived that he must be the monarch of this country, and as absolute as their own, and, of course, that upon the breath of his lips their future fate must depend. They approached him therefore with all possible testimonies of awe and reverence; and he, on the other hand, laboured as much as in him lay to console them, and to make them sensible that they had nothing to fear. He was particularly careful to caress their children, of whom three were still at the breast, and five were but just weaned, and able to go alone. He likewise took care to distribute them properly; so that the married people should not be separated, and that at least two of them might always remain together, and that they might not pine for want of society. This care had proper effects; the people were extremely sensible of the kindness shewn them, conformed themselves gradually to the customs of those amongst whom they lived, and offered very readily to go with any that should be sent to convert their countrymen to the Christian religion, and bring about a correspondence between their islands and those under the dominion of his catholic majesty^g; to all which they had been sollicitated by the missionary.

Several years
elapse before
any attempt is
made to per-
fect this disco-
very.

THIS was well received by the governor of the *Philippines*, who talked of the expedition to the islands of the *Palaos* as a thing worthy of being undertaken; but never undertook it, nor his successor after him. Father *Andrew Serrano*, a missionary of great piety and probity, who had spent thirty years in preaching to, and protecting the *Indians* in the *Philippines*, took the matter sincerely to heart, went in the year 1706 to *Rome*; and having obtained recommendations to the court of *Madrid*, in consequence of these, orders were sent for dispatching thither two missionaries immediately^h. These orders were executed in the month of *November* 1710, when a ship was sent on the discovery, with two missionaries on board, and one of the converts that had remained at *Samal*. After sailing fourteen days, they observed two islands bearing from them north-east, which the fathers called the islands of *St. Andrew*. A boat came from one of these islands; and, upon their countryman's shewing himself, the people came on board, crying out, *mapia! mapia!* which, in their language, signifies *good folks*ⁱ.

The attempts
that are made
are defeated,
and the views
at length
abandoned.

THEY were very kindly received, and extremely well pleased. They said, that the name of their island was *Sanfarol*; and that the principal isle of their archipelago was called *Panlok*, lying north-north-east. They mentioned also two other islands to the south-west and the south-east, which they called *Merieres* and *Paulo*. The captain could find no port or road; however, the two missionaries would land, and were accordingly put on shore, with the *Palaos* they brought with them, his wife and children. These islands were in the latitude of five d grees and twenty-eight minutes north. They afterwards steered for *Panlok*, which was fifty leagues distant; but that also proved destitute of a port; nor was it possible, in their return, so much as to send the boat on shore at *Sanfarol*; so that they returned without any

^c Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 407. Du Bois Geographie moderne, p. 701. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

^f Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 408. Philosophical Transactions, N^o 317. p. 196. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

^g Fastes chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 409.

^h FR. B. G. FEIJJO Theatro critico universal. tom. ix. p. 183. Du Bois Geographie moderne, p. 71. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

ⁱ Relation en forme de journal de la decouverte des Isles de Palaos, ou Nouvelles Philippines.

a news of their missionaries. Upon his coming back to the *Philippines*, father *Serrano* embarked on a like expedition; and many years elapsed before any news was heard of any of these fathers. At length came advice from *China*, that the fathers *Duberon* and *Courtil*, who were sent first, were murdered by the natives, who were no such innocents in their own country as they appeared to be at *Samal*^k (E). As for father *Serrano*, he prevailed upon the captain of his

^k *Fastes chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde*, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. FR. B. G. FEIJO *Theatro critico universal*, tom. ix. p. 138. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*.

(E) In order to throw some light upon what is said in the text, and to give the reader as good an account of these people as possible, we shall transcribe some passages from the original journal of this expedition, penned by a person who had a considerable command on board the ship, and who appears to have written with equal perspicuity and impartiality (14): "The people are extremely well-shaped, and of a very robust constitution; they were naked, except that about their middle they wore a piece of mat. Their hair was curled; they had very little beard; and, to defend themselves from the rain, they wore upon their shoulders a kind of mantle made of a thick, soft mat, and on their heads hats of the same sort of stuff, round which they stuck birds feathers upright. They were extremely surprised to see our people smoke tobacco; and of all things seemed most to esteem iron, and whenever they saw it, they gazed on it in such a manner, as visibly betrayed how much they coveted it, and, in case we did not understand their dumb signs, they made no difficulty of earnestly and frequently demanding it."

"In the afternoon there came off two other boats, in each of which there were eight men. As soon as they came near us, they began to sing, beating time with their hands upon their thighs. When they were on board, some of them began to measure the length of the ship, taking it for granted that it was made of a single tree, while others counted our number of men. They brought us some loaves, some fish, and some herbs. These islands were all covered with trees to the sea-shore. Their boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made use of triangular sails, having a lee-board on the other side the boat, in order to preserve it from going over. When we were very near the land, I sent my under-pilot to sound, that I might bring the ships to an anchor."

"The shallop being arrived within a quarter of a league of the island, there came off three boats full of people; and some of them going on board our shallop, one of the *Indians* took notice there of a sabre, which after he had for some time considered attentively, he jumped into the sea, and took it with him. My under-pilot, at his return, reported that there was no fit ground for anchorage; inasmuch as there was a great depth of water, and a rocky bottom all along the shore. I afterwards sent another man on the same errand, who quickly returned with the same answer. All this time I had made a shift, by keeping under sail, to stem the current, which ran very strongly to the south-east; but the wind failing in the evening, we began to drive at large: the *Indians* then got into their boats to go ashore."

"Our missionaries laboured all they could to keep them on board; but could not prevail upon them by any means. They talked with them, however, some time on the first principles of our religion, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy names *Jesus* and *Maria*. We asked them several questions, as to the bigness of the island, and the number of its inhabitants. They answered, that the island was about two leagues and a half in circumference; and that very probably there might be eight hundred people, who lived chiefly on cocoas, fish, and fallads."

"The currents carrying us away to the south-east with great violence, we were not able to recover the land till the fourth, about six in the morning. We then found ourselves at the mouth of the chanel betwixt the two islands. I then sent the shallop once more to look for an anchorage: it was to no purpose; for, about four in the afternoon, they returned with an account, that the coast was an intire rock, and that it was to no purpose to let go an anchor."

"On the 5th of *December* 1701, about seven in the morning, the two fathers came to a resolution of going ashore, and setting up a cross. Don *Padilla* and myself represented to them the dangers to which they would be exposed, and how much they had to fear from these islanders, with whose tempers we were so little acquainted, and how much they might be embarrassed, in case the currents carried us to such a distance as might put it out of our power to send a boat to bring them off, or to afford them any assistance. Their zeal was so warm, that they made little account of these difficulties; but persisted firmly in their resolution, in spite of all we could say. At last, therefore, leaving brother *Baudin* on board the ship, they went into the shallop, taking with them the quartermaster of the vessel, and the ensign of the land-forces we had on board; they likewise carried with them the *Palaos*, together with his wife and children."

"After the two missionaries were gone, we held a council of war, to consider what we should do next. Don *Padilla*, the lay jesuit, my sub-pilot, and myself, were of opinion, that the wisest thing we could do was, to steer for the island of *Panloque*, the largest of these isles, and which was distant from that we had quitted about fifty leagues. It was about nine o'clock in the morning of the eleventh that we discovered that island. At noon we were in the latitude of seven degrees fourteen minutes north, the land being about a league off. At four in the afternoon came off four boats, which kept at the distance of about half a cable's length, and were soon after followed by two other boats. At last, some of the people jumped over board into the sea, and swam on board us, with intent, as it appeared, to steal any thing on which they could lay their hands. One of them laid hold of an iron chain, and pulled at it, in hopes of breaking it; another caught hold of a hammock that was hung out to dry; and a third was endeavouring to get in at a port-hole."

"Don *Padilla*, considering the behaviour of these people, thought proper to put the soldiers under arms, there being at least fourscore men in these boats, and, at the same time, made a sign to the islanders to keep at a distance. Upon this, they began to row towards the shore; but, at their going off, let fly a shower of arrows, four of which fell on board our ship. Don *Padilla* then thought fit to order a general discharge of our fire-arms; upon which the *Indians* jumped over board, leaving their vessels, and swimming towards the shore at a prodigious rate; but, when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their boats, reembarked, and made for the land as fast as they were able. These *Indians* were all of them naked, and some had painted their bodies of different colours."

"Their

(14) *Relation en forme de journal de la decouverte des Iles de Palaos, ou Nouvelles Philippines*.

his ship to attempt running into a creek ; but his zeal proved fatal alike to himself and the crew, one *Indian* only excepted, who afterwards, by some means or other, was carried to *Cbina*, and gave this account to the fathers jesuits there, by whom it was transmitted to their brethren at the *Philippines* ¹.

An account of
the whole archipelago from
some of the natives, cast
ashore upon the
east end of the
island of
Guam.

At length, however, this whole archipelago, to the number of eighty or eighty seven islands, was discovered in the same manner that parts of it had hitherto been, that is, by accident. In 1722, a strange bark ran on shore on the east end of the island of *Guam*, having on board eleven men, seven women, and six children. One of the natives, who was fishing near the place, having given notice to the chief man of the village, he persuaded the people to come on shore, which they did, and were very kindly entertained. Their vessel appeared very curious, even in the eyes of the *Mariannese*, whose prows all the rest of the world so much admire. In many respects it resembled these ; but in some was very different. The head and stern were exactly alike, representing the tail of a dolphin ; upon the deck were four little cabins wonderfully neat, and very artificially covered with palm-leaves ^a. Of these there was one at each end of the boat, and one on each side of the mast upon the outlayers ; for they had two : whereas the *Marianne* prows have but one. The hold was, in like manner, divided into several apartments, some for containing their cargo, and others to hold their provisions. This vessel had sailed, in conjunction with four others, from the island of *Fariolep* for that of *Ulcea*, and had been driven out of their course by a storm. According to the account they gave, these islands lie from the *Line* to eleven degrees of north latitude, having *New Guiney* on the south ; the *Philippines* on the west ; the *Marianne Islands* to the north ; and the *Pacific Ocean* to the east. This archipelago is divided into five provinces, each of which has its peculiar language ; but all have such an affinity, that, tho' with some difficulty, the inhabitants of one province can make themselves understood by those of the other ; and some think, that these five languages are only different dialects of a corrupt *Arabic* ^b.

The inhabitants
are an active,
well-made, vi-
gorous, and in-
dustrious peo-
ple.

THESE islands enjoy as fine a climate, except in the time of hurricanes, as can be wished : the soil is very fruitful, producing excellent grafs, some delicious fruits, and abundance of very beautiful and shady trees. It is true, they have not rice, or wheat, or barley, or *Indian* corn ; but they have fruits, roots, and fish in great plenty, and some fowl ; but no quadrupeds of any kind. The people are tall, and well-made ; their hair is a little inclined to the crispness of the negroes ; their noses larger ; their eyes full, and very piercing ; and their beards thick, which no other *Indian* nation have. What is most singular, their complexions differ through all the shades from a light olive to a dark copper colour (F). They have a very grave

¹ Fautes chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. FR. B. G. FEIJO Theatro critico universal, tom. ix. p. 138, 139. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. ^a Fautes chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. ^b Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

" Their skin is generally of an olive-colour ; but some
" were darker skinned than others. They had nothing
" with them that we saw, but a few cocoas."

It appears from these passages, that the gentleness of these *Indians* is not to be relied on ; but that, when they cannot accomplish their designs by fair means, there is an absolute necessity to guard against their attempting to complete them by force. It may be, however, that this regards strangers only ; for it seems to be a principle amongst barbarous nations, taking that word to signify such as have no correspondence with the rest of mankind, to believe, that all sentiments of humanity, tenderness, and justice, belong singly to their own nation, and that such as come among them by chance are not intitled to any other usage than suits with their good pleasure, unless, as the *Spaniards* did who were set ashore, they contract alliances with them, and become one people (15). This relation, however, confirms three great points : that there is such an archipelago as the *New Philippines* ; that the islands, of which it is composed, are very numerous, and thoroughly inhabited ; and that these people have very good boats, and, in their own seas, are very dextrous sailors (16). We are therefore to consider these as *Spanish* witnesses, deposing on their own knowledge, in part at least, as to the truth of what the *Indians* had declared.

(F) The author, mentioned and commended in the text, is the learned *Padre Feijo*, whose judicious writings do honour to *Spain*, and are very justly admired all over *Europe*. His great view is to combat popular errors, and to establish truth at the expence of legendary traditions. A very laudable and useful design, in which tho' other great men have embarked, yet it must be allowed, that none have pushed it either so far, or treated so great a variety of subjects in so exact, so able, and so agreeable a manner as he has done (17). Amongst the number of popular mistakes, he places that of believing the existence of countries upon slight and insufficient evidence ; instances, in the first place, the *Batuecas*, a tribe or nation supposed to be discovered in the mountains of *Castile* ; which story, tho' it had imposed upon authors of distinguished abilities, and those too of different nations, he has very fully and plainly proved to be a fable, equally void of foundation and probability (18). He then mentions the *Atlantis* of *Plato*, *Panchaya*, an island mentioned by several ancient writers ; as to both which, no doubt, there is great uncertainty. He treats the island of *San Beroudon*, or *St. Blaudon*, supposed to lie near the *Canaries*, as a fiction, as very likely it is ; neither is it of any great consequence whether it be or not. He explodes the island of *Freezland* in the northern ocean ; tho' some have supposed that this really exists in

Forbisher's

(15) Pere Le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 401. (16) Du Bois Geographie moderne, p. 701.
(17) Fr. B. G. Feijo Theatro critico universal, en Madrid. 1742, 4^{to}, tom. iv. disc. x. sect. 16. (18) Nitremb.
Curios. philos. lib. i. cap. 35. M. Alonso Sanchez de rebus Hisp. lib. vii. cap. v. Heylin's Cosmography, London, 1703.
fol. p. 219.

a grave and decent deportment; but are very far from being melancholy; on the contrary, they sing and dance much, and, even in the sentiments of *Europeans*, not ungracefully. They are very affectionate and good-humoured to each other; and we may easily form a judgment of their disposition from a saying that is common amongst them, tho' not heard any-where else: *One man, say they, never kills another.* They sometimes quarrel and fight; but, as soon as there is any blood shed, the dispute is over, and the conquerors erect arches of triumph^o.

As to religion, they have no distinct idea of a Supreme Being, or of a Providence; but they believe that there are good and evil spirits; and that both of them marry, and beget children: concerning whom they have a multitude of idle fables and stories, with which we shall not tire the reader's patience. They have a tolerable notion of a future state, in which they believe that the good are happy, and the wicked miserable. They have priests and priestesses, who pretend to converse with the spirits of the deceased, and pronounce very peremptorily who are, and who are not, happy. When the common people die, their bodies are carried out to sea, and abandoned to the fish; but their nobility are buried with great pomp and ceremony, and have tombs erected to their memories. They consider these as guardian spirits, distinguish them by the name of *TAHAPUTS*, invoke their assistance upon every occasion, and make offerings to them, which they never do to the celestial or infernal spirits. As to their notions about the latter, they do not perplex themselves much; render them no divine honours of any sort; seem not solicitous to please, or afraid of offending them^p. There could not therefore be any great, and much less any insurmountable difficulties in bringing these people to embrace Christianity, by shewing them how little tendency these fictions have to render men wiser or better, and, on the contrary, how well the doctrines of the gospel are adapted to promote both.

THEIR government is well established in a regular aristocracy. There are in every island several families of nobles, and the eldest of each of these is stiled a *TAMOL*, and there is, besides, a chief *TAMOL* in every island, who administers justice, with the advice of the other *Tamols*. These nobles always appear in very decent robes, with long beards, and affect a stately majestic gravity. When they give audience, they sit in their own houses upon a table. Such as approach them bend their bodies, and never look up while they are speaking; and are very careful, in retiring, not to turn their backs on them: but, with all this gravity, and all this respect, there is nothing of tyranny on the one side, or of slavery on the other. Their authority is exerted only in giving good advice, and supported by giving a good example^q. They have but one revenue, and that of a strange kind: all the iron that, by wrecks or any other accidents, comes into the hands of these people, belongs of right to the *Tamol*, to whom it is carried; who makes of it useful tools, and lets them out at a pretty high price; which is what principally enables him to support his dignity. Every *Tamol* is sung to sleep in the evening by the youth of the village, whom he rewards in their turn with some little present. It is, after all, but a painful preheminance; for the *Tamol's* whole study is to maintain, by a correct and irreproachable behaviour, the dignity of his character, which procures him a submission the most arbitrary princes are strangers to, and a veneration and respect scarce mingled with fear; for the *Tamol* never punishes but by reproof; and, if men are incorrigibly wicked, they are banished by the council of *Tamols* to some distant islands^r.

In every village there are two houses destined for the education of youth. In the one the boys are lodged, and in the other the girls. In this point, perhaps, they exceed the most civilized nations; for there every boy is brought up in all the knowledge that the nation possesses, by old men, who have attained to perfection the several things they teach; such as the art of

^o Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes. Philos. Transf. N^o 317. p. 199. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.
^p Fautes chronologiques de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. Discourse on navigation and discoveries. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.
^q Fautes chronol. de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. ^r Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

Forbisher's Streights (19). He treats in like manner the island of *Java Minor*, which we find in some old maps; but he afterwards retracted this, and acknowledges, that it is now called *Bali*; which is the truth (20). He exposes the strange stories that have been told of a country supposed to be in *South America*, and to which the Spaniards had given the name of *el Gran Paititi*; with which Sir Walter Raleigh was amused. He derides the inquiries that have been made after the city of *de los Cesares*, held to be somewhere near the Streights of *Magellan*; and is of opinion, that as little credit is due to the ancient accounts of the country of *Quivira*, in the most distant parts of *North America*; and yet it must be

allowed, that, in this part of the world, we know no more of these countries than when those accounts were given (21). And, lastly, he places the islands of *Palaos* in the same catalogue; tho' he does not absolutely deny their existence, but represents the search after them as a thing of no consequence; to which he adheres, even after he was acquainted with all the evidence that we have produced in the text, of their situation, number, and inhabitants. The reader cannot expect or desire any clearer proof, that discoveries and improvements are points no longer regarded with a favourable eye in *Spain*; which is the reason of our mentioning particularly the contents of his discourses in this note.

(19) Hakluyt's Collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 31.
 de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 110, 111.

(20) Recueil des voyages qui ont servi a l'etablissement
 (21) Du Bois Geographie moderne, p. 842.

cultivating fruits and roots, odoriferous herbs and flowers, of which they are passionately fond. ^a
The method of making domestic utensils, weaving nets, and heading spears, is the succeeding part of their institution; they next instruct them in every kind of fishing; and, when they are big enough, initiate them in boat-building: last of all, they are taught a little astronomy, by shewing them the few stars they know upon a sphere, and directed how to apply this small portion of science to navigation, and the art of steering their vessels. On the other hand, the girls are taught to dress fish, fruits, and roots in different manners; to sow the seed of a certain kind of grass; to dress that in such a manner as to make thread; to spin and weave it into cloth; and to draw out the fibres from the bark of a tree called *balibago*, of which they make mats and sails ^b.

Their diversions, amusements, and exercises well contrived, and properly timed.

THEY have several diversions amongst them, and of these singing and dancing are the chief; ^b
but they have no conception of any such thing as instrumental music. On such occasions, both men and women pique themselves upon being extremely well-dressed: neat and clean they always are, for they wash thrice a day. They wear plumes of feathers, and garlands of flowers, upon their heads: they have large holes in their ears, which they fill with sweet-smelling herbs: on their wrists they wear a kind of bracelets, as also on their ankles and arms. The men also have exercises suited to their sex; they wrestle, throw the lance, fling stones at a mark, toss balls in the air, catching and throwing them up continually ^c. These pastimes are varied according to the seasons, and are all calculated to render them active and agile in the several kinds of labours upon which their subsistence depends. In the month of *February* all their *Tamols* have a meeting in the chief island, and pretend to predict whether the fishing will be good, and whether the ensuing year will be fortunate, or not; which kind of superstition it is likely they have found very conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to support their authority; for all barbarous nations have a wonderful desire to look into futurity, and naturally reverence those who assume to themselves the knowledge of events that are to come, and are easily persuaded to believe, that such things as are artfully foretold shall actually come to pass; and thus ignorance is every-where the mother of superstition ^d.

The different names given to this archipelago, and the reasons of its being so little known.

THIS new archipelago, which, tho' perhaps inferior in value to the *Philippines*, is at least a very valuable addition to the *Marianne Islands*, to which it is almost connected, passes under very different names. At first these isles were styled the *Palaos*, which seems to have been the name given them by the natives: then the islands of *St. Barnabas* and *St. Andrew*, ^d
from circumstances that have been already mentioned: sometimes we find them called the *Caroline Islands*; but their most common denomination is that of the *New Philippines* ^e. We find them, however, in very few maps; our modern geographers scarce mention them, differ as to their situation, and preserve but very few particulars that regard them. This might, perhaps, have justified us in the same neglect; for history seldom takes any great notice of countries that geography has not fully described; but we are so far from thinking this a motive to pass them over hastily, that we thought it incumbent on us to treat of them largely, to draw together all the particulars we could meet with in respect to these islands and their inhabitants, in order to excite the curiosity of the public, and thereby, as far as lies in our power, their further discovery; for as yet, after all we have said, they are but very darkly discovered. ^e

Very little noticed by historians or statesmen, but considered by philosophers.

IT is indeed very singular, that, considering their situation, the number of them, and their lying as it were within several circles one within another, in the very midst of countries possessed by the *Spaniards*, they should remain for two centuries in a manner unknown, or, at least, unnoticed. It is yet more strange, that after the first intelligence of them, and that too by accident, they should remain upwards of fifty years in a manner half discovered. It is certainly very surprising, that, in an age so enlightened as this, an event of this sort should be so little considered or attended to; and that the finding of these islands should be registered only amongst the relations of missionaries, the collections of societies destined to the promotion of science, and be in a manner wholly slighted by the great world, by geographers, historians, and statesmen; from all of whom, from the nature of things, discoveries of this kind claim more immediate regard ^f. This certainly shews, that the noble and heroic spirit which distinguished the fifteenth century, and which was attended with so many illustrious events, and such prodigious advantages to the inhabitants of *Europe*, however ill managed in some respects, and in all, perhaps, but too much misapplied, has been gradually evaporating, and is now on the point of being extinguished; and this from the very principle that first excited and ought ever to keep it alive, a propensity to commerce, which while we endeavour to monopolize, we cease to extend, and, while we quarrel and dispute about what we have, discourage those discoveries that might employ, enrich, and content us all ^f.

^a Fastes chronol. de la decouverte du nouveau monde, par Pere CHARLEVOIX, p. 44.

^b Lettres edifiantes

et curieuses. ^c Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire de les Isles Mariannes, lib. i. Du Bois Geographie moderne.

^d Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 401, 402. GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARRERI Giro del mondo, P. v. lib. i. c. 9. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. ^e L'Esprit des loix, liv. xx. c. 18. ^f FR.

B. G. FEIJU Theatrico critico universal, disc. x. sect. 10. Lettres edifiantes.

- a But the most extraordinary circumstance of all is, that not only the benefits that might result from this discovery have been overlooked, but the very circumstances that attended it have been so little known, that the very certainty of there being such islands has been lately disputed by one of the most learned men in *Spain*. It is not above fifteen years ago, that, in a discourse relating to dubious and fabulous countries, too hastily credited upon indistinct relations and ill-founded reports, these islands of *Palaos* were mentioned by this inquisitive and judicious writer, who was then acquainted with only the first accounts of them, as published by father *Andrew Serrano* during his stay at *Madrid*². However, four years afterwards, upon the review of his work, which is justly in high esteem, he very fairly and honestly confessed his mistake, and acknowledged, that the reality of this archipelago had been proved by incontrovertible evidence; and that there was no more reason to doubt the existence of the *New* than the *Old Philippines*³. But even, after all this, he attempts to extenuate and lessen the merit of the discovery, by observing, that tho' it had been furnished, from their situation, that these islands must abound in gold, silver, and spices, yet there appeared no grounds, from their discovery, to adopt those notions as facts; because, from the excessive fondness the natives discovered for iron, it was evident they were unacquainted with other metals (G). This seems to be a very strange deduction by so wise and so penetrating a writer; for the value these people set upon iron most certainly arose from their knowing the use of that metal; and, without having commerce with other nations, it was impossible they should be acquainted with the uses of silver and gold, which arise chiefly from their being common measures, and consequently the great instruments of trade; which, however, does by no means shew, that they have not these

long known, and very hard by admitted to exist, by the more learned Spaniards.

² FR. B. G. FEIJO *Theatro critico universal*, tom. ix. p. 138.

³ Ibid.

(G) There is no circumstance in the history of these people that can excite our curiosity more, or better deserve our consideration, than this strange variety of complexions, which clearly intimates, that these are a mixed people; and therefore it is worth our inquiry, how this should happen; and, in making this inquiry, we may lay it down as a certain rule, that whatever solution will best connect this with the other circumstances of their story, must be that which comes nearest the truth. In the first place, we may lay it down with great probability, that their nobility, out of whom their *Tamols* are taken, are one race of people, and, it may be, the original possessors of these islands. Whence these people came, is not so easily settled, but in all likelihood from the *Philippines*; and possibly they might be *Moors* or *Arabians*, which is the more likely from their language, and their long beards (22). There is nothing incredible or absurd in supposing they either brought with them, or found here, other *Indians* like those in the *Ladrones*. The third nation were negroes from *New Guinea*, to whom they owe their crisp, curling hair; and we need not hesitate in admitting this, when we remember, that these negroes penetrated beyond this archipelago into most of the *Philippines*, and were the sole inhabitants of one at least, if not more, of these islands (23). But the hardest question of all is, how they came by whites amongst them; for such they must have had, to reduce the bulk of the people to a tawny complexion; and this could hardly be accounted for at all, if the *Spanish* writers had not helped us out by the following matters of fact (24). When *Martin Lopez de Legaspi* was sent, in 1565, to settle on the *Philippines*, the pilot of his vessel entered into a conspiracy, with twenty-eight more of the crew, to murder all the rest of the people on board the ship, in order to turn pirates on the coast of *China*; but this plot being happily discovered soon after they left the *Marianas*, these desperate people were set on shore in an island, which, with great appearance of truth, is supposed to have been one of this archipelago; and thus, upon the whole, we see this matter

tolerably well explained. We may likewise observe how soon the manners of a nation may be changed, and all footsteps of their first condition worn out, since, except this circumstance of their colour, and it may be some addition to their skill in manual arts, there is nothing to be traced out among these people that has the least connection with the *Spaniards*, either in point of language, science, or religion. In reference to the first, we may very easily conceive, that, being strangers in these islands, and having probably no inclination to return amongst their countrymen, they were constrained to learn the tongue of the natives, that they might obtain wives and habitations. This once accomplished, they must have accommodated themselves to the same manner of living, which did not admit, much less require, any sort of learning; and, if it had, we may well enough suppose these fellows had no very great stock. Lastly, as to religion, such desperate wretches could not be supposed either to have been well versed in the principles, or much addicted to the practice of it; so that, in a generation or two, their offspring became of course intermixed and blended with these people, and gradually lost all sense of their original: and the very same is supposed to be the case of that race of white *Indians* before-mentioned, who are said to occupy the city of *Los Cesares*, and are thought to be descended from *Spaniards* shipwrecked in the *Streights of Magellan*. These are not, as *Padre Feijo* supposes, the crew of one ship, but of three; so that they were a considerable body of men of different ranks and degrees, and who might be therefore supposed capable of preserving themselves intire and in a body. Now the *Indian* nations reporting, that, in the continent south from *Chili*, there are people of a white complexion, with ruddy cheeks, and in their dispositions resembling the *Europeans*, which people they call *Cesares*; the *Spaniards* persuade themselves, that they must be the offspring of those who were thus left on that side of the streight; in which there is nothing either of improbability or absurdity, any more than of certainty.

(22) G. Battista Ramusio *Raccolto delle navigationi et viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 375. b. Galvano's *Discoveries*, translated by Hackluyt. *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi a l'establissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. viii. p. 210, 211. (23) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Molucas*, lib. ii. Giovan. Francisco Gemelli Carreri *Giro del mondo*, P. v. lib. i. cap. 9. D. F. Navarette *Tratados historicos de la monarchia de China*, lib. iv. cap. 31. (24) *Pere Le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 408, 409. Don Juan Grau y Montfalcon *justification de la conservation de las Islas Filipinas*. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*. (25) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. iv. Alonso de Ovalle *Relacion historica del reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. 5. Fr. B. G. Feijo *Theatro critico universal*, en *Madrid*, tom. iv. disc. x. sect. 14.

metals in their countries, or that they have not spices, concerning which they made no declarations one way or other ^a.

Gold and silver
not at all ne-
cessary to ren-
der colonies
valuable to
their mother-
countries.

THIS rivetted opinion that even the wisest *Spaniards* have, that the importance of colonies can arise only from treasures dug out of the earth, has been the source of so many mistakes, that, without having recourse to that invincible steadiness, which their enemies stile obstinacy, it is impossible to conceive, that so prudent and so penetrating a nation could persist in such a mistake ^b. The mother-country of such colonies is the mistress only of mines and miners; and they are, in all countries, a very poor, despicable people, who work not for themselves, but for those who employ them, and such as supply their wants. It is not indeed true, that a certain proportion of mines, more especially of the baser and more useful metals, may conduce to the welfare of a country, and make its inhabitants rich, which more valuable mines rarely, if ever, do ^c; yet, if the same proposition be stated in other words, in the acceptance of many equivalent to the former, the *Spanish* deduction is perfectly right; for there can be nothing more true than this, that colonies are beneficial in proportion to the gold and silver they produce to their mother-country: but the fallacy lies here; this must not be the work of nature, but of art. Gold and silver are precisely the same thing in possession, however produced; but the gold and silver which enriches a country is not that obtained by digging, but that which is the effect of industry. The former is a kind of volatile gold, which not either law or force can retain; but the latter is so fixed and permanent, as not to be withdrawn but by superior industry ^d. These principles once understood, the reader will not be amazed when we affirm, that these islands may be extremely rich and valuable, tho' we should allow the supposition, and it is no more than a supposition, that there is not so much as a single grain of either of these precious metals in any of them. ^b

This archipe-
lago of inex-
pressible conse-
quence, even
if destitute of
mines.

THESE islands are unquestionably rich and valuable, because they possess almost all the blessings that the indulgence of nature can bestow. They have a soft and serene climate, not exposed to excessive heat, tho' in the midst of the torrid zone, and never visited by a blast of cold; their soil is wonderfully fruitful; and, from the conjunction of these, they produce all the necessaries of life (H). Their situation, again, is so fortunate, that, if they wanted the greater part of these blessings, this alone would compensate all their wants; for they lie at an equal distance from all the rich countries in the world, surrounded by the widest and the mildest of all seas, and capable from thence of the safest, the most commodious, and the most extensive navigation ^e. Are these then countries to be desired? Yet neither are these all their

^a Philosophical Transactions, N^o 317. p. 189. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 401. Du Bois Geographic moderne, p. 701. ^b HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 27. Pere LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, lib. i. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du monde, vol. i. p. 214, 215. ^c GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARRERI Giro del mondo, P. vi. l. i. cap. 10. L'Esprit des loix, liv. xxi. ch. 18. ^d Discourse on navigation and discoveries. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval tracts. Wood's Survey of trade, P. iii. ^e GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. EDEN's Hist. of travayle. Du Bois Geographic moderne, p. 701.

(H) As we are sincerely persuaded of the great importance of the *New Philippines*, and look upon them, considered in this light, as a kind of literary introduction to a commercial discovery in favour either of *Spain* or some other country, we have treated them accordingly, and stated very fully and fairly all the different evidence that has come to our hands; in which though there are some, it may be very material differences, yet perhaps there may, without much difficulty, be removed, or, if they could not, they do not in the least affect the substance of the relation. We have mentioned two descriptions or maps of these islands, which may seem to contradict each other with respect to their situation. It must be observed, that the first was delineated from the account of the natives, and, laying all circumstances together, seems to us most likely to be true (26). The other, however, is said to be corrected, that is, laid down according to the conception of the *Spaniards*, who would willingly have it believed, that none of these islands were ever visited either by them or any other *European* nation; which very possibly may be beside the truth (27). If it was not, how came these people by any notion of iron, or by the small quantities of that metal which they have amongst them? As to the difference of names, they might easily arise from the relations of natives of different provinces: those who landed in the island of *Samal* came from the south-west part of

the archipelago; those who were driven into *Guam* from the north-east; and it is allowed, that they speak a different dialect of the same language in each of the provinces (28). It must be admitted, that these people have probably given the fairest side of their own character; and yet it does not at all appear, that their behaviour, either in the *Philippine* or *Marianne Islands*, discredited their accounts. It may indeed be said, that the murder of the two missionaries does it effectually; but then we must consider, that these fathers are extremely apt to intermeddle in secular affairs, and, under colour of teaching a new religion, to countenance alterations in government, which, amongst a people utterly unacquainted with the rest of the world, and wedded to their own customs, might easily transport them beyond the bounds of moderation; but, after all allowances made, the great facts, as to the number and nearness of these islands, their abounding in the necessaries of life, their having a multitude of inhabitants, their living under a certain form of government, their having the art of boat-building and navigation in some degree of perfection, and their being an ingenious and docile people, are, by these testimonies, put beyond all manner of doubt; and consequently those material circumstances, from which our deductions are made, stand altogether unimpeached, and ought therefore to be considered as fully proved.

(26) See before in note (D).

(27) See p. 276.

(28) *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*.

- a advantages ; for mark but the number and the nature of their inhabitants. The latter shews us that the former must be very great ; we know but very little of them, but we know enough to be sure of this, because we know that they are peaceable and prolific. In these eighty-seven islands there cannot well be fewer than an hundred thousand inhabitants : suppose we were to take one half, yet fifty thousand such people, so settled, would be a prodigious acquisition. They might easily be converted to Christianity, if taught them as a system of rational happiness. There would be no difficulty in introducing improvements in their conduct of civil life, which would lead them to the discovery of more wants, but, at the same time, would instruct them how they might be supplied. They have already a great fund of industry, which is the genuine source of wealth ; they have such a turn for mechanic arts as will soon bring them to perfection, and such an inclination to, and such principles of useful science amongst them, as, with a very little help, would render them a civil, polite, commercial nation in countries the best adapted to, and probably as well furnished as any with materials for an enlarged commerce.
- b

For in spite of suppositions, which are very far from being arguments, and still much farther from being facts, these people, for any thing we know, may have gold or silver, or both ; and, which is somewhat stronger than any supposition, some relations actually say that they have them. That they have spice too is more than probable, since almost all the countries to the west of them certainly have spices, tho' the inhabitants, from prudential motives, chuse to conceal them^f (I). But whether they have, or have not, precious metals or rich spices, they may have many other valuable commodities, of which we, and perhaps they, have not the least knowledge ; but which a spirit of commerce would quickly bring to light. In order to excite this, the people are not to be conquered, much less oppressed ; for this would be to hatch chickens by crushing the eggs ; but they are to be instructed and informed, and, after that, protected in the full enjoyment of their trade and freedom. This would make them valuable in the strictest sense ; and we shall shew very succinctly, but to a demonstration, how all this might be so conducted as to become infinitely beneficial to *Spain*, without trespassing, in the least, on the natural rights of a good-natured and active nation.

But no such supposition ought to be admitted, as a fact unproved either by probable arguments, or positive authority.

^f FUNNEL's Voyage round the world, p. 157, 158, 159. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 350. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.

(I) The scope of these three sections has been to shew, that, how much soever neglected, the *Ladrones* are really very valuable possessions, or at least might be made so from the happiness of their situation, for a variety of purposes, more especially of discoveries. In treating this subject, we presumed it as highly likely, that, notwithstanding there is so little appearance of it in our common maps, yet, in all probability, the *Pacific Ocean* might be full of islands ; and have also hinted more than once at an hypothesis, that, if admitted, would establish this system (29). But, without insisting much upon this, we have gradually proved all that we have advanced from facts, which, in cases of this kind, are incontestable proofs. In the text we have considered them, either in the order of situation or time ; we will now close all our observations by taking them together, and examining how far, in this collective light, they will amount to a proof of our fundamental proposition, that the *Pacific Ocean* is very full of islands. In the first place, then, we have shewn, that discoveries have been made in all directions ; and that there has been no expedition thro' this ocean, of which we have any distinct account, without new islands being discovered. We have shewn, that *Magellan* saw other islands ; and that the number of the *Ladrones*, and their names, have differed anciently from what they are now accounted (30). We have shewn, that *Sir Francis Drake* actually passed through the *New Philippines*. We have shewn, that subsequent *English* commanders made other discoveries ; and, tho' this is a great deal, we could have shewn much more. We have observed, that incidentally, and without seeking them,

a chain of islands has been discovered to the north, almost as high as *Japan* (31). The *New Philippines*, notwithstanding, is the most striking proof of all, since they render it evident, that what we suppose of the whole, is at least true of a part ; nor is this proof at all the less authentic for its being accidental ; for that is a pregnant testimony in favour of another proposition, more than once mentioned, that the *Spaniards* are not so much ignorant of this, as indisposed to acknowledge, and unwilling to have it discovered. This appears from the extraordinary strictness of their sailing orders, which, we have good reason to believe, are not casually defective, but intentionally restricted, in this particular (32). The same thing appears from their charts, but managed with great prudence and address ; for all new islands are inserted as soon as discovered, to prevent the surmise of their wishing to conceal them ; but then islands long before discovered are left out ; so that the modern charts are not at all fuller than those made two centuries ago. Add to this, that no discoveries whatever tempt this nation to proceed any farther, how easily soever that might be done, or with whatever advantageous consequences it might be attended. But, to bar the pretensions of any other nation, and to secure their title to islands not yet known, and which, perhaps, they never will know, they plead an exclusive right, from the first discovery by *Magellan*, of the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, comprehending, according to their computation, eleven thousand islands (33) ; so that how much soever our doctrine may clash with their politics, there is nothing clearer than that they differ not much from us in their opinion.

(29) *Observations physiques et mathématiques de l'Académie*, p. 223. *Hooke's posthumous works*, p. 422. *Kircherii Mundus subterraneus*.

(30) G. Battista Ramusio *Raccolto delle navigazioni et viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 375. b. *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by Hackluyt. Du Bois *Géographie moderne*, P. ii. chap. 14. art. 5. (31) *Herrera De-*

scription de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 28. *Eden's Hist. of travayle*. *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*. (32) *Gal-*

vano's Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*. Lord Anson's *Voyage to the South Seas*. (33) G. Battista Ramusio *Raccolto delle navigazioni et viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 375. b. *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. i. *Pere le Gobien Histoire des Iles Mariannes*, liv. i.

Cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs, if they do not grow in these islands, might be transplanted thither, and would certainly thrive in them.

WE shall shew, in a subsequent chapter, what prodigious pains the *Dutch* take to prevent cloves from growing in those islands, to which they were given by nature, and with what pains, as well as policy, they have secured the monopoly of mace and nutmegs, as well as with what anxiety they prevent cinnamon from being brought into *Europe* by any but themselves^a. We have already shewn in this chapter, that, notwithstanding all this care and concern, there are both cinnamon and cloves in *Mindanao*; and it is very certain, that there is still greater plenty in the small islands of *Meangis*, which either make a part of this archipelago, or are within a few hours sail of it. We further know, that the finest nutmegs in the world lie at no great distance from these islands, and yet where they are out of the power of the *Dutch*^b. What then should hinder the transplanting all these rich spices into some or other of these islands? or what should hinder them from growing, when transplanted out of islands nearly in the same latitude where they grow by nature; more especially when it is remembered, that the very thing we propose to be done, the *Dutch* have actually done already, and with the greatest success^c. For managing such a design, and carrying all the arts of cultivation to the highest perfection, what nation could be wished for more fit, than, without the least thought of an attempt of this nature, these people are described to be? What, with less injury or corruption of their old manners, could supply the wants that a higher degree of civility would introduce, better than this project, if carried into execution?

This would prove highly advantageous to the colonies, and to Old Spain.

THERE is no need of arms, of expence, or much trouble, to do all this; so that, if the sources of immense wealth are not in these islands, they may be fetched from next door: they may be kept too with the same ease that they are brought. In return for the protection afforded them by the *Spaniards*, the natives of this archipelago might be permitted to trade to the *Philippines* and the *Marianne Islands*; and the *Spanish* court might restrain its subjects from all commerce with them. In consequence of these regulations, the people of the *Philippines* might revive their old trade to *China* with spices, and save that balance which they pay at present in silver. Returns might be made to this archipelago for spices in piece-goods and *China* silks. Magazines of *European* commodities might be erected in the *Marianne Islands*, and the spices that purchase them be deposited there also^d. To bring all this to pass, there wants only an active spirit, a tolerable degree of contrivance, and a steady perseverance in those who shall attempt it.

The *European* commerce might be carried on directly from Spain to the *Marianne* islands.

In reference to the *European* commerce, it might, with the greatest profit, and without any considerable difficulty, be carried on directly between the *Marianne Islands* and *Old Spain*^e. The voyage might very well be performed in six, or, at most, in seven months, round *Cape Horn*, without touching any-where; or, till the terrors of this navigation are totally banished, which experience would quickly perform, the vessels thus employed might touch at *Buenos Ayres*, and, after refreshing there, proceed round the cape; and, having delivered their cargo from *Europe* at the *Marianne*s, receive their cargo of spices on board, and bring them into *Europe* much fresher, and in a far better condition, than we now receive them, and yet afford to sell them at a more moderate price to those interested in the commerce by the galleons; which would abate the annual balance against *Spain*, and consequently preserve immense sums of money in that country, which now go out of it: whence it plainly appears, that the *Spanish* subjects in *America* employ their labour in the mines for the benefit of strangers; who, on the other hand, by supplying their wants, acquire a just title to their commodities, gold and silver^f.

Or the trade may be regulated between the *Marianne*s and *Baldivia* in *Chili*, and be sent from *Chili* into Spain.

If it be objected, that so long a run as from *Cadiz* to the *Ladrones*, or from the *Ladrones* to *Cadiz*, tho' performed in the wholsomest climate, and with more certainty, in respect to wind and weather, than almost any navigation, will prove an unsurmountable bar to almost every thing of this kind, even that difficulty may be removed; for the kingdom of *Chili* is exceedingly fertile, abounds with almost every thing that the carrying on this commerce would require, and have always had the obtaining a share of it in their view^g; for which, if we allow them to be the proper judges, they think their country extremely well situated, and apprehend no difficulties at all, as in truth there are none, in the navigation, as it would be performed from *Baldivia* to *Guam*. If therefore the returns were made to the last-mentioned city, and a few ships were annually sent thither from *Spain*, it might answer the purpose very

^a See chap. vii. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 891. DAMPIER'S Voyages, vol. vi. p. 173. ^b GAI-VANO'S Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. DAMPIER'S Continuation of the voyage to New Holland. chap. 3. Histoire de l'expédition de trois vaisseaux, chap. 18. sect. 3. ^c FUNNELL'S Voyages round the world, chap. 9. Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois dans toutes les états et empires du monde, p. 145. 147. ^d ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion historica del reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. 4. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 891, 892. ^e GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARRERI Giro del mondo, P. v. L'Esprit des loix, lib. x. cap. 18. History of Spanish America, p. 81. 301. ^f ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion historica del reyno de Chile, l. ii. c. 4. COWLEY'S Voyage round the world, p. 11. FREZIER Voyage de la mer du Sud, p. 131.

a well^a, and would certainly have very beneficial consequences, as well in respect to the commerce of the colonies as the mother-country, which must either thrive, or dwindle and decay together; so that there can be nothing more preposterous than the apprehensions that are sometimes formed from the flourishing state of colonies, as if the mother-country was exhausted thereby, which neither is nor can be the case: for if the latter really declines while the former thrives, this can only arise from errors in government at home, which do not affect the administration in the colonies; and therefore, lessening the affluence of the subject, these would only increase, instead of alleviating the distress here: a truth that can never be too well known, or too much considered^b.

But still, even according to this scheme, the navigation round *Cape Horn*, or through the *Streights of Magellan*, is still in the way. However, even that bar might be removed: for, supposing the commerce between *Chili* and the *Ladrones* to be settled in the manner before-mentioned, the *European* commodities and manufactures might be transported from, and the spices carried to, *Buenos Ayres*^c. Without affirming this to be the best or the most eligible method of fixing such a commerce, one may safely and truly say, that it is liable to the fewest exceptions, and might be carried into execution with the smallest alterations; which will be always a point of great consequence in *Spanish* councils. Register ships are sent annually to *Buenos Ayres*, which is one of the most commodious ports in *America*^d: the inhabitants of this city have a regular correspondence cross the continent with the inhabitants of *Chili*; and tho' it must be admitted that it is none of the most convenient, yet even that cannot be swelled into an unfurmountable objection, when it is considered, that the distance is not above a third of that between *Vera Cruz* and *Acapulco*, by which the commerce with the *Philippines* is at present carried on^e.

By this last method a new and great branch of trade will be added to the *Spanish* monarchy, without the least diminution of any that at present subsist, and without the smallest alteration in the manner by which they are carried on, the maintaining of which is another fundamental maxim of *Spanish* policy; for otherwise the galleons had long ago changed their route, and gone to *Buenos Ayres* instead of the *Havannah* and *Vera Cruz*, more unfortunate accidents having happened between those two ports, than in the navigation between *Cadiz* and *Buenos Ayres*; and besides, one fleet would serve then instead of two^f. By this scheme of transporting *European* commodities from *Buenos Ayres* to *Baldivia*, and from thence to the *Ladrones*, the exportation from *Spain* would be greatly increased; her colonies on the *North* and on the *South Seas* would be exceedingly improved; the connection between her dominions strengthened; her navigation increased; and of consequence the number of her subjects, and more especially the number of those usefully employed: all of them objects, which, if there are any that can, may be truly said to demand their utmost attention.

Thus we have finished all that we have to say on this intricate and almost untouched subject; and the intelligent reader will not surely think either his or our pains ill employed in tracing out the many advantages that might be derived from these *New Indies*, better situated, and much pleasanter, than either the *East* or the *West*; and which, with a reasonable proportion of industry and contrivance, might be brought to connect both, and to augment the wealth, the power, and the shipping of *Europe*, in a degree that may be much more easily imagined than described.

^a Voyages de François de CORREAL aux Indes Occidentales, chap. 10. Relation of a voyage to Buenos Ayres, p. 83. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 921. ^b HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 29. ARGENSOLA. G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, c. 16. WOOD'S Survey of trade, p. 111. ^c ALONZO DE OVALLE, lib. ii. c. 4. FREZIER Voyage, p. 79. Hist. Span. America, b. ii. c. 15. ^d Relation of a voyage to Buenos Ayres, p. 25. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1018. Du BOIS Géographie moderne, p. 877. ^e GEMELLI CARRERI, P. vi. lib. iii. cap. 3. FREZIER Voyage, c. 10. ANSON'S voyage. ^f Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. Hist. Span. America, b. ii. c. 18. Proposal for humbling Spain, p. 39.

C H A P. VI.

History of the English East-India Company.

S E C T. I.

Of the charters, first expeditions, settlements, rise, progress, and establishment, of the English East-India Company; together with a complete view of their colonies, commerce, &c. to the present times.

^a FROM the time that a passage to the *East-Indies* round the *Cape of Good Hope* was discovered by the *Portuguese*, the voyages thither by the *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, have been almost infinite. Each of these nations has made its particular discoveries; and that country now is as well known as many parts of *Europe*. *Introduction to the history of the East-India Company.*

It is, however, with reason, that we have complained of the want of proper materials for compiling a full, just, and accurate history of our expeditions into *Asia*; and the rise and progress of the *English East-India* company. No nation has been less careful than we, of preserving, and of digesting into method, the memorials of such occurrences as are absolutely necessary to our design of tracing this great branch of *English* commerce from its original. Perhaps, greater helps are to be met with from foreign writers, of many important transactions, than from our own. Here little occurs, besides a few rough narratives, or succinct passages in our general historians, that can reflect any light upon our subject, during the earlier period. The great misfortune of foreign authors is, that they write with a visible partiality, prejudice, and passion; which greatly diminishes the weight of their authority. They almost constantly represent the *English* as an imperious, arrogant, and cruel people; fond of power, without knowing how to use it. The *Dutch*, in particular, accuse us of treating the natives with an unrelenting severity, punishing with the utmost rigour the most trivial faults; and rather of governing with a despotic insolence, than treating in the friendly manner of merchants and traders*. *The Dutch writers prejudiced against the English.*

SOME particular instances, we are sensible, may give an appearance of truth to this general asseveration; but we hope to make it appear, from undeniable facts, that our good allies have, in palliation of their own conduct, retorted upon us a character *more*, and perhaps *only* applicable to themselves. As faithful historians, we shall relate true facts from the best authorities; leaving it to the reader's judgment to make what reflexions he may think natural. Comparisons in this instance would be invidious, and necessarily attended with an air of national prejudice, least becoming historians of all men; and many cases in the course of our narrative will occur, in which it would be impossible to refrain from an acrimony destructive of that candour we profess, and believe we have hitherto preserved, without engaging in a long disputed political point; *viz.* whether the *East-India* trade in general, and particularly the method of carrying it on by an exclusive company, is not in itself prejudicial to the community, as well as injurious to the individual. It may not be improper to adduce, previous to our history, the allegations of both parties.

THOSE who favour this trade, and a monopoly, assert the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce have drawn from it. They instance the *Hebrews*, *Tyrians*, *Ægyptians*, *Greeks*, whose paths have been pursued with equal avidity by the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, and *French*. Thus, by the universal consent and practice of the wisest states, do they prove the importance of this trade, than which scarce another argument is needful. But to wave authority and example; what, say they, can more contribute to the increase of our naval power, the bulwark of our state, than this commerce, in which such a number of ships and seamen are employed? What can better improve the art of navigation, than voyages along so many shores, into so many seas, through so many climates, and round the greatest part of the globe? Besides, what a flux of riches does it bring; and what useful subjects does it constantly employ, both at home and abroad? How many thousands, after amassing large fortunes in *India*, have returned to settle in their native country, and enlarge the common stock of wealth? What part of commerce carried on by the merchants of this island is not in some measure dependant on, or connected with, that to the *East-Indies*? How unjust is it to overlook the great quantities of home manufactures they are

* V. Recueil des voyages de la Compagnie, tom. 3. passim. Vid. Histoire des voyages par l'Abbe Prevost, vol. ii. p. 153.

obliged by the terms of their charter to export; and the prodigious importation of unwrought commodities, by means of this company; yet are these important particulars omitted in every estimate made by the enemies to this traffic! But it is likewise said, that the method of conducting the *East-India* trade, by an exclusive charter, is both injurious to the individual, and hurtful to the community. Does the conduct of other nations countenance this assertion? It seems to be the universal opinion of all states engaged in this traffic, that it can only succeed by a monopoly. The real state and condition of the trade can be known, the necessary regulations and instructions given or executed, by no other means; precautions without which this commerce must inevitably fall to ruin. Experience fully declares the inconveniences which attend the settlements of any trading companies being in possession of the crown. The ministry, aware of this, has not only granted *St. Helena*, but *Bombay*, the dowry of king *Charles* the second with the infant of *Portugal*, to the company, for the public good. Lastly, if two companies only, say they, could not possibly subsist, which we have seen was actually the case, how is it reconcileable to reason, that a multiplicity of traders, whose interests must eternally disagree, should flourish, or indeed produce any thing but repeated losses, and the intire ruin of the trade? For these reasons, they conclude, there is no alternative, but either the traffic carried on to the *East-Indies* must be abandoned, or it must be pursued under the conduct of a company, and the method we now enjoy in common with all other nations ^b.

Arguments
against the
trade in gene-
ral, &c. Mo-
nopoly of it in
particular.

THESE arguments would seem to carry weight, and the appearance of truth and reason; but they are answered by others no less specious. The enemies to this monopoly, and the trade in general, urge, that as it causes a prodigious exportation of silver, the common treasure of commerce, and the sinews of the state, it has therefore a natural tendency to impoverish and exhaust the nation ^c. That the returns from *India* are, for the most part, articles of luxury, of which we have no need; and that it manifestly contributes towards depriving our own poor of employment; thus compelling them to leave their country for bread; than which a greater evil cannot befall a state. They urge, in direct contradiction to the others, that this trade, instead of a nursery, is really a grave for seamen; scarce one-third of the crews returning, or escaping death, from the unwholesomeness of the climate, and length and fatigue of the voyage. Besides, this commerce, say they, differing from other branches of trade, requires no great number of shipping, employing few seamen, and is therefore of little consequence to the maritime power of the state. Even the exportation of *India* goods, they assert to be a pernicious circumstance, since hereby the consumption of our own manufactures in those countries, supplied by *Indian* stuffs, is lessened, nay destroyed ^d. Hence the nation loses the advantages arising from the employment of its own poor, in the improvement of its manufactures, the most solid source of wealth and power. But granting the necessity of the trade, is there no method of continuing it, but by giving away the natural privilege of every free-born *Briton*, to a set of men who fatten on the spoils of their country, and have no other pretences to the singular protection they enjoy, than being serviceable to the views of an ambitious and designing ministry? Cannot those free merchants, who conduct the other parts of this vast machine of commerce in the nation, likewise support the charge, and superintend the management of this one branch, which a few directors conduct at their ease, and with very little notion of trade? Cannot the illustrious body of free merchants fit out seventeen ships, and support the charge of a few factories, with pensions for the few necessary servants, or furnish a stock sufficient for a traffic carried on by some of the poorest states in *Christendom*? Where is the advantage or necessity of buying at the warehouses and sales of one company all the goods of those remote countries, which the free merchants of *Great Britain*, the only exporters of such goods, may have occasion for? ^e

THESE are the arguments of those who pretend, that the trade in general is pernicious; or at least, that the only method of rendering it beneficial is, to make it free, and lay the traffic open (A). We shall not pretend to decide upon the merits of either assertion; though we

^b V. An Address to Parliament, A. 1748. Also Dodley's History of the East Indies, vol. ii. Political Essays. ^c CHILD upon Trade, p. 52. ^d HUME's The Pamphlet and Hist. cited.

(A) Whoever carefully examines the nature of trade in general, will be able to form a judgment how far this commerce is advantageous to the public, and in what particular manner it may the most commodiously be carried on. When our readers have perused our account of the companies trading to *Asia*, established by other *European* states, the emolument and empire derived by the *Hollanders* in particular, from this branch of traffic, they will probably be of the opinion of those who assert the advantages of an *East-India* commerce, and perhaps of those who imagine it can only be con-

ducted under a company and joint stock. As to the allegation, that it is a losing trade, the arguments seem too general, and contradict the policy of the wisest and most thriving nations. It would indeed be surprizing, that the chief *European* potentates should be so insensible to their interest, as zealously to cultivate a traffic pernicious to them; that new states should struggle to obtain a footing in it; and that they should unanimously agree in carrying it on upon joint stock, with such privileges and immunities as shall give them weight, influence, and power, in that part of the world, proportionable to

- a we cannot help remarking, that some arguments, made use of to evince the prejudice of the *India* trade to the nation, will hold good with respect to most branches of trade we are engaged in.

BUT

to the importance of the trade. While other nations trade upon joint-stock corporations, thus endowed, it does not seem advisable in any of the rest to resist the measures pursued by them. A regulated company, without a joint stock, will not, 'tis probable, effectually counterbalance the weight of the former. An equality of force and union, the basis of strength, would seem absolutely necessary in a comparative view; nor perhaps is a balance of power in trade a less useful or ideal maxim, than that long pursued one of a balance of power in politics. The want of union, and its advantages, would be the inevitable consequence of a free and open trade to all the subjects of any state; and this might be illustrated by examples in our own nation.

With regard to the exportation of our bullion; a question proposed by the learned *Camden*, upon the first institution of the *East-India* Company, many of our best political writers have proved, that a free exportation is for the benefit of the kingdom. It is certainly a mistake, to imagine, that money is the cause of the increase or decrease of trade; since it is not money that so much influences trade, as it is trade that discovers money; the medium whereby commerce is conducted, but not the source from whence it arises. No company or private trader exports bullion, but with a view of enlarging his capital, and gaining by it. It was a maxim with *Ferdinand* the First, one of the most political princes of his time, to lend his subjects money, and permit them to export it in trade; by which he raised the commerce of the state to an incredible height. Mr. *Munn*, an *Englishman*, tells us, that himself experienced the duke of *Florence's* liberality, who lent him 40,000 crowns, without interest, all of it exported in specie to *Turkey*. Hence *Leghorn*, a pitiful, poor, and contemptible town, soon became a fair, rich, and flourishing city.

As to an exclusive trade and monopoly, we cannot do better than oblige our readers with the sentiments of Mr. *Posilethwayt*, who seems to have accurately examined the subject. His words are: "Although the government should be at the expence of supporting and maintaining forts, troops, and a fleet in *India*, or lay a duty on all exports and imports *ad valorem*, yet it is greatly to be feared, that such measures would not enable the *British* nation to maintain that weight of influence, dignity, or commerce, that either the *French*, *Dutch*, or *Portuguese*, at present do. Nay, such is the peculiarity of this trade, that a mere military force, capable only of supporting forts and garrisons, might be more liable to destroy, than to cultivate and cement commercial friendships, upon a footing equal to those, who wisely constitute a proper trading interest, at the head of their military, which is absolutely necessary on these occasions.

"A regulated company, duly supported by a *British* government, might certainly be very well devised for the temporary support of a general freedom of trade; but that the nation could permanently preserve so distant a commerce, any thing like what our rivals do, I have never yet seen satisfactorily proved. Till it is, I must, for my own part, always be an advocate for the continuance of the *East-India* company, rather with additional power, privileges, and immunities, than any diminution of those which they at present possess.

"It is frequently said, that our *East-India* company do not trade and exert themselves to the full extent of their charter; but that if private merchants had the unrestrained liberty to drive this trade to the full latitude it would admit of, they would leave no part of the *Indies* untraded to; especially all that are within the limits and jurisdiction of the *British* rights.

"In regard to the company's not prosecuting this commerce to its full extent, as is pretended, it cannot proceed from a deficiency of capital or credit. What reason have we to believe they would be backward in augmenting their gains to the utmost degree in their power? A company, it is said, cannot trade at so small an expence, and therefore cannot offer to trade at so small a profit, as trivial traders can. This is allowed to be true in general: but before this matter comes to be considered, the previous question is, whether we should enjoy any trade at all to this country, if not by virtue of the company's forts, castles, and settlements? The extensive correspondence, and high credit of this company in the *Indies*, will certainly capacitate them to traffic in every corner of that quarter of the world within their rights and privileges, where they can be gainers. To do so, where they must be losers, would shew little regard to the interest of the proprietors. The point, if I am rightly informed, lies here. Such branches of trade, by which the company cannot gain at all, or at least but in a less beneficial manner than in other branches; these are actually carried on by private *British* traders, under the company's licence and authority. Nor is the company scrupulous in granting such licences to persons of reputation. Their profits undoubtedly are less, than if they were admitted by a free trade to export their own goods, and import them to and from *Europe*; that is, the profit to the individual is smaller; but nearly the same to the nation, in proportion to the quantity of goods exported, and hands employed.

"To pursue this point a little farther, in regard to the continuance of this national company; for such, in our opinion, is the distinguishing characteristic of this company in particular. The trade to the *East-Indies* is of such a nature, that it is of the last consequence to the nation, to have from time to time distinct accounts of its state and condition, which could not be so well, or at least so easily received, if it was not managed by a company. On the other hand, the instructions could not with such facility be delivered, conveyed, or executed. What seems to strengthen this opinion is, the conduct of all other nations. Whoever considers how things are to be distributed or conducted in the *Indies*, and what a connection and dependency there is between the commerce of the several countries included within the extent of the *East-India* company's charter, will easily discern, that if the whole trade were in the hands of a disjointed number of separate traders, it would be impossible this commerce should continue prosperous, or even that it should at all subsist. It may in like manner be conceived, that if the forts and settlements were in the crown, and the management of the trade only in the hands of the company, it could not but be attended with numberless inconveniencies; as, indeed, experience shewed in the reign of *Charles* the Second, when *Bombay* and *St. Helena* were granted to the company for the public good. It is plain, from the disorder of the company's affairs, in that reign and the following, that it is highly detrimental to this commerce, and the benefits resulting from thence to the nation, that the company should be immediately under the power of the crown, so as to stand indebted for all encouragement, and to have no other resource in case of grievances, than what they can draw from royal power. This, on the one hand, renders trade precarious; and on the other, interests a great body of people in the support of the prerogative, which might be attended with consequences injurious to the constitution.

"Experience has effectually shewn the mischiefs flowing from the subsistence of two *East-India* companies

The Indies
not unknown
to this nation
in the time of
Alfred the
Great.

How we re-
ceived Indian
goods before a
trade was
opened thither.

BUT not to waste the reader's time upon a subject rather political than historical, we will observe, that next to the *Dutch*, the *English* nation is justly reputed to possess the largest share of the commerce to the *East-Indies*. Some historians allege, that those countries were not unknown to the *Britons* in very antient times. The great *Alfred*, the ornament of the annals of this country, must, to his other virtues, have this glory superadded, of relieving poor christians in the *Indies*. *Sigheimus*, we are told, executed this commission of the king, and distributed his charity; leaving at his death, in the treasury of the church of *Sherburne*, a valuable quantity of spices and jewels; an unquestionable proof of the certainty of his having performed his commission, though we are not told in what manner he carried on this traffic (B) ^f. It cannot here be deduced, indeed, that there was any direct kind of commerce between this island and those remote kingdoms; nor has the assertion the appearance of truth. On the contrary, 'tis probable that our knowledge of the produce of the east was conveyed by the *Venetians*, who, with *Genoa*, *Pisa*, and other free states, had possessed themselves of this rich commerce, from the time that the northern barbarians had overthrown the *Roman* empire, and with it all the traffic of the east, which had changed its chanel from *Alexandria* to *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, and *Trebizond*. From *Venice* this country was supplied with *Indian* commodities, by an annual ship of great burthen; which, as the *Venetians* had it in their power to sell at their own price, cost the nation an infinite deal of treasure. In this condition did the *Indian* commerce continue, till the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when a *Venetian* carack, of immense value, was cast away on the *Isle of Wight*; the sight of which whetted the ardor of the merchants to attempt a trade by *Turkey*, the only route by which the *East India* commodities were brought to *Europe* in those days ^g. This accident gave birth to the *Levant* trade, and was the foundation of our commerce with the east; which was soon after im-

^f Vit. ALFRED Magni. fol. p. 45. V. A Tract upon Trade, addressed to Lord Halifax, A. 1751. ^g See RAPIN under this reign. DODSLEY's Hist. vol. ii.

“panics at the same time: so great were they, that
“each became sensible, that nothing but an union of
“interests could possibly afford a remedy. Yet we can
“conceive, that laying this trade open, which is what
“hath often been contended for, would be a scheme
“big with still greater evils, because it would be in
“fact a multiplication of companies, all acting upon
“separate interests, perpetually clashing and interfering
“with each other; which would give the powerful
“and united trading interests of other nations oppor-
“tunities to destroy all, and extirpate *Britons* from the
“*Asiatic* commerce. From a just sense of this, we
“may presume it is, that so much is done by parlia-
“ment in favour of this company, and so many new
“powers granted them.” In short, this judicious au-
thor concludes, that the sole objection to the *India* trade
or company lies in this; that it is against the interest of
the western to correspond with the eastern part of the
world. Yet are the arguments made use of to prove
this only plausible, not conclusive. It is said, that the
balance of trade is against us; that we export silver in
exchange for the luxuries of *India*; that since the disco-
very of the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *East*
has gained from the *West* upwards of 200,000,000 *l.*
sterling; which immense sum they possess, while all
that we have received in lieu is long since perished.
This, say those zealots, who greatly overshoot the
mark, incontestably proves, that the commerce is pre-
judicial.

But admitting the argument, yet does it by no means
affect us. Are we the legislators of *Europe*? and can
we oblige other nations, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*, to
withdraw their commerce? Granting that the trade is
founded upon the caprice, whim, and imaginary ad-
vantages which other nations draw from it; yet still is
it our interest effectually to maintain and support it, as
long as they continue in this humour. While the rest
of the world has a taste for *Indian* commodities, we
must engage our company to take off as large a quan-
tity of home produce and manufactures as possible,
otherwise labour will cease; we shall be underfold at
every market in *Europe*; and *Britain*, instead of the
most formidable maritime power, and greatest commer-
cial nation in the west, will become the most contemp-
tible. Upon the whole, the *India* trade seems to be

one great wheel that sets every other branch of com-
merce and industry in motion. Nor does there seem
any very weighty reason against its being in the hands
of an exclusive company. It is now established upon
a sure basis, greatly beneficial to the nation; however
some, rather sanguine than judicious, persons may
think. In our considerations upon this trade, it should
always be remembered, that from its earliest period,
the shipping, commerce, and naval power of *Europe*,
has been so much increased, that this alone is sufficient
to evince its importance and advantage.

(B) *Alfred*, the glory of whose reign, even the con-
fusion of succeeding times, and the obscurity of that
period of our history, has not buried in oblivion, sent
this favourite ecclesiastic, A. 883. to carry alms to the
distressed christians of *St. Thomas* and *St. Bartholomew*,
in the *Indies* (1). The fact is, indeed, pretty extraor-
dinary; to which we should hardly give our assent, had
it not as clear and distinct evidence to support it, as any
one point of record. *Sigheimus* not only performed the
voyage, as the *Saxon* annals testify, but returned rich,
was made bishop of *Sherburne* in *Dorsetshire*, and left in
the treasury a valuable catalogue of the wealth and cu-
riosity he imported. Yet it must be confessed, that
the most curious inquirers into this subject have been
able to trace no vestiges of the continuance of this
commerce. *Eden* and *Hackluyt* descend to much more
modern times; and first mention the travels of an
Englishman, whose name they omit, through *Tartary*.
But though no footsteps appear of the travels or voyages
of individuals, yet in those days, as appears from the
Venetian historians, there was a direct commerce be-
tween the eastern and western parts of the world (2).
When the *Goths* and *Vandals* over-ran the *Roman* empire,
the commerce through the *Red Sea* by *Alexandria* ceased,
and was afterwards carried on by the way of *Trebizond*,
Damascus, and *Aleppo*, by the free states of *Italy*, *Genoa*,
Venice, and *Pisa*, &c. *Indian* commodities were not
only sold in all the countries bordering on the *Mediterranean*,
but in *Germany*, the *Low Countries*, *England*,
and all over the *Baltick*. Upon this was founded the
commerce of *Bruges*, which was a sort of granary for
the northern states; their commodities being exchanged
by the merchants of *Bruges* to the *Italians*, for the pro-
duce of the *East*.

(1) *Guth.* vol. i. *Rapin*, vol. i. *Smollet*, vol. i. (2) *Sabellia Hist. Venet.* l. ii. d. 1. *Dandolo Hist. di Ven.* l. i.

a proved into a direct traffick, by means of the lights and informations communicated by Sir Francis Drake, after his return from his voyage round the world, A. 1580 (C).

PREVIOUS to this, very extraordinary privileges were granted by the Grand Seigneur for the establishment of a *Turkey* trade, in consequence of a treaty between the queen of *England* and the *Porte*. The *Turkey* merchants were at this time looked upon as the true *East India* traders, by means of their factories at *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and the different ports of *Egypt*, and the *Turkish* dominions. However, the queen, though she had procured her subjects the liberty of trading to *Turkey*, for the produce of the *East*, was sensible that something greater was still wanting to bring this commerce to a flourishing pitch ^b (D). Thorne, a London merchant, who had long resided at *Seville*, and there acquired some knowledge of the *East India* trade, had represented to Henry the 8th, the advantages this kingdom might derive from the *Eastern* commerce; but the scheme he formed was found more specious than solid. Thorne's proposal was to open a passage by the north-west passage to *Tartary*, *China*, or *Cathay*, the difficulties of which have never yet been surmounted. An. 1576, some merchants of *London*, in expectation of reaping the benefit of this discovery, as it would greatly shorten the voyage, fitted out two ships under captain Forbisher; but this gentleman, as all his successors have been, was unsuccessful in three several attempts (1). In short, the hint communicated by Thorne, was, after repeated fruitless trials, rejected as hazardous, if not impracticable. Sir Francis Drake confirmed this, upon his return from his curious circuit; and this gentleman had the additional honour of communicating to the public the most rational intelligence and information yet received, which have given birth to this trade by a direct course ⁱ. An. 1582, Captain

^b LEDIARD'S Naval Hist. reign Q. Eliz.

ⁱ Collect. of voyages from the Oxford library, vol. viii.

(C) Sir William Monson was an eye-witness of the loss of this rich carack, of which he gives a clear, entertaining, and minute account. After describing the accident at large, he adds, "About this time our merchants of *London* began to take into consideration these great and inestimable riches brought into the land by the *Venetians*, &c. They devised how such commodities might come into our hands by a more direct way, than to be served, as we were, at second hand; and therefore resolved to make an overture, by favour of the queen, and her letters, to the *Great Turk*, for an immediate traffick from *England* to *Turkey* and his dominions, and so thence again, with ships of her own subjects, without being beholden to them. These letters were sent by her majesty, and received with great humanity and courtesy by the *Grand Seigneur*, as appears by his letters yet extant. In conclusion, the articles were agreed upon, and a grant of great privileges and immunities to her majesty's subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoyed (1)." Thus did we open a trade to *India*, first by the *Levant*, some years before it was attempted by a direct passage.

(D) It appears that our trade to the *Levant*, on *English* bottoms, was very considerable in the year 1512. Hackluyt says, that in the years 1511, 1512, &c. till the year 1534, several stout ships from *London*, *Southampton*, and *Bristol*, had a constant trade to *Candia*, *Chios*, *Cyprus*, *Tripoli*, *Baruth* in *Syria*. Thence they imported silks, camblets, rhubarb, malmesies, muscadels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton, carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. Their exports consisted in home manufactures, such as fine and coarse kerries, of various colours; white western dozans; cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, calves skins, leather, &c. Our author says, that besides the natural inhabitants of those places, our merchants employed *Jeews*, *Turks*, &c. both in person, and by their shipping, so considerable was the trade; and to evince the fact, and to assert its credit, he says, he has carefully transcribed those particulars from the ledger books of some of the greatest merchants in *London*, viz. Sir William Loche, merchant of *London*; Sir William Bowyer, alderman of *London*; Mr. John Gresham, and other eminent traders (2).

(E) That there was a passage from the *North* to the *South Seas*, which would greatly shorten the voyage to

many parts of *America*, as well as the *East Indies*, was the opinion of John Cabot, and other very experienced seamen, before the time of Forbisher. A variety of reasons have been offered in support of this conjecture, all of them plausible, specious, and perfectly consistent with our knowledge of the terraqueous globe, but baffled and foiled by experience. The first advantage proposed by this discovery was, the reaching *Japan*, the land of *Yedzo*, &c. by a much easier, shorter, and more wholesome route, than either by *Cape Horn*, or the *Cape of Good Hope*. Supplying the northern countries with our produce, as well as opening a commerce with many parts of the *Indies* now unknown to us, would indisputably be an infinite advantage to the nation, and obvious on the bare inspection of a globe, or charts of the northern hemisphere. The immense tract, whether islands or continent, between *California* and *Yedzo*, must, from the nature of its situation, afford valuable commodities, as well as a good mart for our woollen manufactures. 'Tis not without reason then, we have seen so much written on this subject; so many attempts for the discovery set on foot, and such a variety of undertakings, both here and in *Holland*, made to come at a north-west passage.

Without entering upon the arguments advanced for and against the possibility of this attempt's succeeding, we shall observe, that the famous John Cabot preceded Forbisher in this enterprize, which he undertook towards the end of the 15th century; but was prevented from finishing his voyage by a mutiny on board. About fifty years after, Sir Martin Forbisher attempted the passage with two small vessels. He discovered, in the height of 62° on the coast of *Greenland*, a large inlet, to which he gave his own name. He sailed through this streight for sixty leagues, with main land on both sides, and saw some of the inhabitants. In the year 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert made the same attempt, and was succeeded by other voyagers after the same plan in 1585; by John Davis, who made three different voyages on this pursuit; by Mr. Henry Hudson, 1610; by James Hall and Baffin, in 1612; by Sir Henry Button, in 1611; and by many other succeeding persons. In short, the passages to the *East Indies*, by the north-east and north-west, were, for a great series of years, assiduously pursued, both by the *English* and *Hollanders*. The attempt is now in a manner abandoned, though the arguments in favour of it still subsist.

(1) Sir William Monson's voyages, p. 69. c. xxii. p. 93.

(2) See his collect. P. ii. p. 96. See also Led. Nav. Hist. b. i.

*Expedition of
Cavendish
round the
world.*

Stephens went to the *East Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and sent a full account from *Goa*,^a of what occurred in his voyage; but the route was still precarious, till the famous *Cavendish*, in the year 1587, opened a certain passage into the *East*, in his voyage round the world (F). This gentleman, after consuming a pretty fortune in a life of gallantry and dissoluteness, resolved to recover it by a voyage to the *South Sea*. He sailed with three small ships, equipped at his own expence, arriving on the 25th of *August*, 1586, at *Sierra Leona*. From thence he made the *Cape de Verd Islands*, and entered the *Streights of Magellan* by the 7th of *January*, 1587. Coasting directly north, he made *Conception Island* in *March*. Thence he steered to *Moro Moreno*; thence to *Paita*, and at last to *Puna*, in three degrees S. L. Getting sight soon after of *New Spain*, he came to an anchor in the river *Copalitu*, in 6° N. L. By the third of *January*, 1588, he got sight of *Ladrones*; and, by the 6th of *March*, passed the *Streights of Java*^b Major and Minor. In *May* he came to the *Cape of Good Hope*; and in *June* arrived at *St. Helena*, and from thence arrived at *Plymouth* in *September*^c.

*His voyage and
Sir F. Drake's
instrumental in
the erecting an
India company.*

As this voyage was highly instrumental in forwarding the design of her majesty to open a direct trade to the *East Indies*, we thought the tracing *Cavendish* in a few lines, would not be disagreeable to the reader. In consequence of the lights afforded by *Drake*, *Cavendish*, and others, who had been in the *East Indies*, application was made to the queen by many rich merchants, for a charter, empowering them to undertake this trade. In *December*, 1600, their request was granted, and an *East India Company* erected, under the title of “*The Governor and*

*A charter
granted to the
merchants of
London, to
trade to the
East Indies.*

“*Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies.*” A charter was granted, and they were formed into a body corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure^d. The first governor (*Thomas Smythe*, Esq; alderman of *London*) and twenty-four directors, were nominated in the charter; a power vested in the company to elect a deputy governor; and also to elect for the future a governor, and all other members. The freedom was granted to them and their successors; their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one; to their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed by them for the space of fifteen

The terms of it.

years, in the following terms; viz. “*Freely to traffick and use the trade of merchandize by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be found out or discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, into and from the East Indies, into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa; and into and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, where any trade or traffick may be used to and from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should, from time to time, agree upon.*” They were also empowered to make by-laws; to inflict punishments, either corporal or pecuniary, provided such punishments accorded with the laws of *England*; to export goods free of duty for four years; and afterwards the duty of all exports which should miscarry, to be deducted from future goods when shipped. For the customs of imported goods, they were allowed six months credit for half, and twelve months for the payment of the remainder, with a free exportation for thirteen months. They were also permitted to export to the amount of 30,000 *l.* in foreign coin or bullion, provided that 6000 *l.* were recoined in her majesty's mint. All other her majesty's subjects were, by this charter, excluded, under severe penalties, from this traffick, without the assent and leave of the company. The charter was not to extend to any place in the actual possession of any of her majesty's allies. The company were obliged to return, six months after the completion of a voyage, the same quantity of silver, gold, or foreign coin, as they had exported, the first voyage excepted. This proviso was likewise added, that if, within the space limited by the charter, this monopoly should appear, in any respect, detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years warning under the privy seal, become null and void. But if experience proved this new corporation was for the weal and benefit of the nation, in this case her majesty passed her royal word not only to renew their charter, but to add such other clauses and graces as should appear most conducive to the interest of the commerce, the undertakers, and the kingdom in general; the true end of all public enterprizes^e (G).

Privileges.

Restrictions.

IN

^a LED. Nav. Hist. ibid.

^b Vid. CAMB. Brit. p. 102, 4to. HARRIS's Col. p. 56.

^c RAPIN,

ubi sup. HARRIS's Col. p. 57, vol. i. LEDIARD, N. H. p. 377.

(F) Previous to this voyage by *Cavendish*, we find a journal of *Ralph Fitch*, a merchant of *London*, of a voyage performed A. 1583, to the *East Indies*, by a different route. This gentleman went by the way of *Tripoli* in *Syria* to *Ormuz*, and so to *Goa*. From thence sailing to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Molucca*, visiting the islands of

Ceylon, and the cities of *Cochin* and *Calicut*, he returned to *Ormuz*; and so through *Turkey* to *Tripoli*, where embarking, he arrived in *England*, A. 1591 (3).

(G) The subscriptions or shares in this company were only 50 *l.* originally. The directors having a considerable dividend to make in the year 1676, it was judged

(3) Vid. Col. voy. from the Harleian library, vol. vii.

- a In consequence of this charter, the merchants of *London* began to raise a joint stock for the execution of the design; which became so popular, that, in a short time, 72,000 *l.* were put into the treasurer's hands. A fleet of five stout ships, consisting of the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 200 tons; the *Swan* of 200 tons, and the *Guest*, a flore-ship, of 130 tons; was equipped and manned at the expence of 45,000 *l.*; the remainder of the capital being sent in money and goods as a trading stock. This squadron, manned with 480 stout seamen, under the direction and conduct of captain *James Lancaster* (*), put to sea the 13th of *February* 1601; and, after a sickly voyage, came to anchor in the road of *Achen*, on the 5th of *June* 1602. Here Captain *Lancaster* (†) sent the queen's letter and present by an embassy of seven of his officers and merchants to the king, which was received with great satisfaction and marks of favour and distinction. In short, so happily did this expedition succeed, that a treaty was concluded with the king of *Achen*, and the following privileges granted to the company; viz. Free entry and trade, duty-free, without regard to the goods imported or exported: the power of making wills, and disposing of their estates, when, and to whom, they thought fit: ample security as to all contracts and bargains; in which respect the natives were bound to a punctual observation of the measures of justice and fair dealing: authority to inflict punishments on their own delinquents, without appealing to the civil magistrates of the country: an assurance of steady justice in all cases of injuries received from the natives, upon complaint made: an exemption from arrest upon goods or prizes: and, lastly, liberty of conscience was granted, and the undisturbed exercise of their own religion. Having thus happily settled this important point, Captain *Lancaster* finding the price of pepper high, on account of the barrenness of the preceding year, he dispatched one of his ships to the *Moluccas*, and erected a factory in the island of *Java*. His reception at *Bantam* was no less gracious than it had been at *Achen*; and so successful in every respect was this fleet, that it excited the jealousy of the *Portuguese*, who soon began to do the *English* all the ill offices in their power. After completing his business, *Lancaster* set sail for *England*, and arrived, after a prosperous voyage, in the *Downs*, in *September* 1603, to the great joy and emolument of the company (‡).
- b
- c
- d JAMES I. succeeding in the following year to the crown, his majesty gave this new establishment all the countenance shewn it by his predecessor. This, and the profits of their late adventure, determined the company to make a fresh attempt (H). Sir *Henry Middleton* was appointed

*A fleet raised of 72,000 *l.**

A. 1601. A fleet equipped

Treaty with the king of Achen.

Success and return of the fleet.

A. 1604. A second expedition under Sir H. Middleton.

* HARRIS, ubi sup. LEDIARD, N. H. p. 378.

• Ibid.

eligible to add to the profits of the stock, instead of withdrawing them. By this the shares were doubled, and became advanced from 50 *l.* to 100 *l.* Thus the original capital of 369,891 *l.* 5s amounted to 739,782 *l.* 10s to which, if the profits of the company to the year 1685, that is, 963,639 *l.* be added, the whole stock will be 1,703,422 *l.*

(*) In the journal of his voyage, we find that Capt. *Lancaster* stopped to take in fresh water at *Comora*, where the king came on board him, and the *English* were civilly treated for some time by the natives. But at length they took an opportunity, when the boat was on shore for water, to fall upon the men, and cut thirty-two of them to pieces in sight of the ship, the Captain being unable to relieve them, having no other boat. From hence he steered his course to *Zinzibar*, a *Portuguese* factory, where he built a new boat, and continued for some days, but without having the smallest connection with the *Portuguese*, who refused to have any commerce with *Englishmen*; and withal informed the natives that they were cannibals, which effectually deterred them from dealing with them (4).

(†) This was the same *Lancaster*, who in 1594 performed a voyage with *Venner* to *Brazil*; the first *Englishman* who undertook a trading voyage to those parts. Here it was, that by his intrepidity and conduct he took the castle and town of *Fernambuc*, got a great booty, and with a slender force resisted all the attempts of the enemy (5).

(‡) In *Ant. Fran. Prevost's Histoire Generale des Voyages*, we find a journal of Capt. *John Lancaster's* voyage to *Zinzibar*, and round *Cape Comorin*, in A. 1591. His fleet consisted of three ships of no great burthen. It is

uncertain, whether this squadron was equipped at the expence of the crown, or at that of a society of merchants; but certain it is, that the discoveries he made were considerable, though the voyage in general ended unfortunately, the admiral having lost his whole fleet, and been saved by a *French* ship. This expedition reflected great light upon the navigation of seas intirely unknown to *English* mariners; *Lancaster* having not only doubled *Cape Comorin*, but coasted along *Malacca* to *Junfaleon*, a kingdom situated between *Malacca* and *Pegu*. It is even imagined, that coasting the *Nicobar* land, he passed through the *Streights of Malacca*, and proceeded to the *Moluccas*; but this is no more than the conjecture of the journalist, unsupported by any other authority (6).

(H) *Purchas* takes notice of an unfortunate voyage, begun in 1596, by Captain *Wood*. Three ships were fitted out at the charge of Sir *Robert Dudley*, previous to the company's charter. They sailed from *England*, and were designed for *China*, having queen *Elizabeth's* letter to that emperor: but not one of the company ever returned to give an account of the fate of the rest. Some intelligence of them was afterwards received, from an intercepted letter of the auditor's of the royal audience at *St. Domingo*, and judge of *Porto Rico*, written to the king of *Spain*, and his council of the *Indies*. It imported, that *Wood* had taken three *Portuguese* ships, subject to his majesty (for the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* were at this time united upon one head, and at war with *England*). That soon after a contagious disorder prevailed in the *English* fleet, which swept off the whole crews, except four men, who took to the long-boat, and arrived with some rich effects at an island three leagues from *St.*

(4) *Histoire generale des voyages par l'Abbé Prevost*, tom. ii.

(5) *Vid. Antoine François Prevost's Histoire des voyages*, vol. i. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 368 to 384.

(6) *Lediard Nav. Hist.* p. 307. b. ii. 47.

Domingo.

The conduct of
the Dutch.

The poor de-
fence of the
Dutch writ-
ers, who pre-
tend to vindi-
cate them.

His return
and success.

Sir Edward
Michel-
bourn's voy-
age to the In-
dies.

His spirited
conduct, and
arrival in
England.

appointed to conduct this expedition, at the head of three ships, with all necessaries and affort- a
ments. Arriving at *Bantam* in *December*, he delivered his letters and presents to the king;
which being well received, he left two of his ships to take in a cargo of pepper, and sailed with
the third to the *Moluccas*, the natives shewing him all manner of respect and civility, both here
and at *Bantam*; a conduct not observed by the *Dutch*, the old allies of *England*. Already they
began to view with jealousy the success of a nation, whose advantages and talents for trade
were at least equal to their own. They therefore put in practice every base and mean art to
prejudice them with the natives, representing them as cruel, perfidious, and ambitious, of
having intentions very different from those specious ones of commerce they pretended. How-
ever, in defiance of all their calumnies and aspersions, Sir *H. Middleton* found means of making
himself acceptable to the kings of *Bantam*, *Ternate*, and *Tydore* ^a. The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* b
were at this time at war, not indeed in their own names, but as allies to the kings of *Ternate*
and *Tydore*, the former siding with the king of *Ternate*, and the latter taking the part of his
majesty of *Tydore*. The *Dutch* writers accuse *Middleton* of a partiality against the *Hollanders*
on this occasion, though indeed they acknowledge, that it arose from his ignorance of certain
forms with which an entire stranger could not be supposed to be acquainted; therefore, their
own countrymen cannot be acquitted of the mean jealousy and insidious arts laid to their charge,
as their only plea is a trespass arising from ignorance in the *English* admiral ^c. This conduct
of the *Dutch* towards our countrymen in the very infancy of the *Indian* commerce, gave occa-
sion to those disputes which ensued between both nations, and ended in the fatal catastrophe at
Amboyna (1).

It would be unnecessary to pursue *Middleton* in his voyage to the *Moluccas*, and through every
every step of his conduct there, and at *Bantam*; sufficient it is to observe, that two of his ships
having completed their cargoes, set sail for *Europe* before his return. One of these was lost in
her passage; the other he overtook in a distressed condition, at the *Cape of Good Hope*. Re-
turning from thence to *England*, after discovering great proofs of magnanimity in a storm
which happened in the voyage, he arrived in the *Downs*, on the 6th of *May* 1606, with letters
and presents from the kings of *Bantam* and *Tydore* to king *James*, and a rich and valuable cargo,
such as had never been seen from *India* in *English* bottoms ^c.

DURING Sir *Henry Middleton*'s absence, another fleet was sent under *John Davis*, an expert
pilot, to the *Indies*. Before his arrival at *Bantam*, *Middleton* was sailed about three weeks for d
England. Sir *Edward Michelbourn*, who commanded in chief, but in some respects under the
direction of *Davis*, coming into the roads of *Bantam*, was informed by the *English* factors, of
the arts the *Dutch* had used to prejudice them, and the danger which they stood in of being
oppressed by force, if fraud would not prevail. Upon this notice, Sir *Edward* weighed anchor,
and steered directly to the *Dutch* fleet, sending their admiral a message, that, if either direct or
indirect methods were taken to disturb the *English* factories, he would immediately use his
power to avenge them, and sink the *Dutch* fleet. This declaration occasioned the *Dutch* to
keep quiet during the stay of the *English* admiral, which was but short; for he returned with
his fleet to *Portsmouth* in *June* 1606 ^a, soon after the arrival of Sir *H. Middleton*.

^a LEB. N. H. vol. ii.
N. H. p. 390.

^b Voyage generale des voyages par PREVOST, t. ii p. 162.
^c PREVOST, t. i. Voy. 2. p. 174.

^d LEB.

Domingo. Three of these were surprized and murdered by the *Spaniards*; the third escaping on a piece of timber to *St. Domingo*. He discovering himself to the governor, revealed the whole affair; upon which, Don *Rodrigo de Fuentes*, who commanded the party that assailed the *Englishmen*, was seized, and the treasure taken from him. During the prosecution against him, Don *Rodrigo* procured the surviving *Englishman*, the only evidence against him, to be poisoned: and thus perished the attempt to open a passage into *India* (7).

(1) The Abbé *Prevost*'s relation is this: *Middleton* sailing along *Tydore*, observed two gallies with white flags rowing towards him, and pursued by seven other gallies. The first two gallies made signals of distress, pulling with all their might, till the one came to his ship, the crew

of which he immediately received on board. In it was the king of *Ternate*, with several of his nobility, and some *Dutchmen*; but the other was boarded by the enemy before she came within reach of the ship's guns, and every soul on board put to the sword, excepting three, who jumped into the sea, and were saved by the *English*. After this, *Middleton* sailed to *Ternate*, where the king and people, in gratitude for the services done them, were not only inclined to traffick, but to enter into the warmest friendship with the *English*. This disposition induced the *Dutch* to insinuate reports, equally to the prejudice of the *English*, and inconsistent with truth; the very fact here related confuting their surmises, that *Middleton* favoured the king of *Tydore*.

(7) *Harris's Col.* vol. i. p. 57.

S E C T. II.

Containing an account of Keeling's voyage; the conduct of the Dutch, Turks, and Portuguese to him, and other officers of the company, with the success of several different expeditions.

- a** **T**HE former voyages had been so prosperous, that the company, resolving to pursue their good fortune, equipped a fourth fleet, under the conduct of captain *William Keeling*. In this expedition three ships were employed, and about three hundred and ten seamen, besides the servants of the company. Upon his arrival at *Banda*, *Keeling* found he had to combat not only the difficulties which naturally occur in a new established commerce, but likewise to surmount numberless obstructions laid in his way by the *Dutch*. Among other practices of the *Hollanders*, one deserves particular mention (K). The *English* had contracted with the natives of *Pooloway*, for the settling a factory in that island, which was opposed by all the intrigue, chicane, and tricks of the *Dutch*. The *English*, in the mean time, having intelligence, that the *Hollanders* proposed erecting a fort at *Banda*, and knowing the consequences of it to their trade, proposed to some of the chief natives, that a formal delivery of it should be made to them, in the name, and for the use, of the king of *England*, for a valuable consideration; and this before the *Dutch* had entered upon the execution of their project. This proposal was relished in appearance, though, in fact, it was a secret connivance between the *Dutch* and the natives, to deceive the *English*. *Purchas* says¹, that the natives actually signed a surrender in the strongest terms to the *English*; but be that as it will, it is certain they designed nothing less than performing it (L). In fact, both the *English* and *Bandanese* were deceived by the cunning of the *Hollanders*, who treated them both with the utmost contempt and insolence, after their fort was completed, and they could bid them defiance. The resentment of the *Bandanese* soon after confirmed the suspicion of the artful conduct of the *Dutch*; for they put the resident and several of the *Dutch* council to death; having first, with great boldness, drawn them out of the fort. A general massacre would have followed, had not the *English* interposed, and taken the *Dutch* into their protection; though they were requited by unreasonable restraints upon their commerce; and, at last, by a peremptory order to depart before they had fully completed their cargoes. However, in spite of ingratitude, intrigue, and unjust opposition, this voyage proved remarkably successful, especially at the *Moluccas*, notwithstanding all the attempts of the insidious *Hollanders*².

- b** **KEELING** returned to the *Downs* with a rich lading, in *May* 1610; and, what is very extraordinary, without the loss of a man. Among other things, he brought home 3481 bags of pepper. Captain *David Middleton* had been sent by *Keeling* to the *Moluccas*, where he received part of his loading; with which setting sail, he entered the *Streights of Bangaya*, receiving great marks of civility from the king of *Botun*, who came on board his ship. After completing his cargo from some *Java* vessels, he returned to *Bantam*; but the admiral being sailed, he steered his course for *England*, where he arrived after a prosperous and very profitable voyage. Captain *William Hawkins* had been sent out with this fleet in quality of an ambassador, to settle a treaty of friendship and commerce with the *Great Mogul*; which commission he executed with address, prudence, and success³.

- c** **WITH** this special privilege of exporting their goods to the extremities of the *Indies*, the *English East India* company wanted one advantage, which other nations enjoyed for a long time, and what they were daily improving. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had harbours of which they were absolute masters; forts which they had built and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession, either by trea-

¹ V. 4. See *KEELING'S* voyage. CHAS, *ibid*.

² LED. N. H. 404. HARRIS, Coll. P. P. 79.

³ PUR-

(K) On his arrival at the island of *Nero*, he delivered his majesty's letter and presents to the *Oran Cayas*, or states of the island, which were well received. The same he did at *Lantore*, or *Proper Banda*, and with equal success. Afterwards he agreed with the *Oran Cayas* of *Pooloway* to settle a trade with them, and erect a factory there, receiving of them 225 catces of mace, and 1307 pounds of nutmegs.

(L) Certain it is, that the islands of *Pooloway* and

Poleroon engaged by a written contract with *Keeling*, to deal with the *English* only for all their mace and nutmegs. On this occasion, they declared the *Dutch* should not have a handful; for they had rather it should rot on the ground, than be of any use to those boors. And soon after this it was, that the *Oran Cayas* of *Nero* drew the *Dutch* into an ambuscade, from which they escaped, through the humanity of the *English* (8).

(8) *Purchas*, v. iv.—*Prevost*, t. ii.

chery or the right of war, and over which they exerted an absolute and despotic sway. The *Dutch*, after their example, had begun to fortify themselves in different places, by which means they kept the inhabitants in subjection, and assumed a kind of exclusive property in those places, preventing the natives from carrying on any sort of traffick with strangers^a. Whatever may be said against the justice of such a proceeding, the advantages of it cannot be denied, as it not only secured them against any change in the sentiments of the natives, formed a barrier both against them and interlopers in the trade, but likewise served the purpose of a magazine, to prevent their ships returning empty, and also to embrace the opportunities of plentiful seasons and low markets. Instead of this, the voyages of the *English* company were hitherto necessarily precarious, depending not only on the uncertainty of seasons and markets, which were frequently engrossed or anticipated by others, but also on the will of the *Dutch* and other powers, who, in consequence of their forts, could either deny or admit them into the harbours. Thus were they subservient both to the caprice of other *Europeans* settled in *India*, and of the natives, who frequently had a distaste to *Europeans* of all nations. Their success depended entirely on chance, the civility of the natives and the established *Europeans*, or upon the address and courage of their officers and factors: but daily experience, and the practice of other nations, soon convinced them of the necessity of supporting the simple title of merchants by power. Thus reflection, experience, example, honour, and interest, all coincided to make the company depart from their first principles, and establish a different conduct, however they might have exclaimed against the usurpations of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Dutch*. The late treatment which *Middleton* met with at *Banda*, confirmed them in their resolution to follow the maxims of other states, and oppose force by force: but to succeed effectually in this, the authority and power of a new-formed company was insufficient, and the court was too much engaged otherways, to lend the necessary assistance. The success of their voyages and the money saved to the nation, which foreigners were wont to drain from it by supplying us with their commodities; the great acquisition of wealth and other profits to *England*, by the exportation of her manufactures and produce, and of *Indian* goods and manufactures sold to other *European* states; were, indeed, strong arguments with the king and ministry, to countenance a company that appeared so beneficial to the public. Accordingly their charter was enlarged to what extent they required, but no national force sent out for their assistance. However, they resolved by perseverance to overcome all difficulties, and reap the fruits of so many advances. They now began to build their own ships, which they had formerly purchased of the *Hanse Towns*; a considerable advantage to them, and to the nation in general. Two ships had been sent out in the year 1607, to the coasts of *Arabia* and the *Red Sea*, with indifferent success. In 1608 captain *Middleton* was a second time dispatched, with a single ship, to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* formed a design of seizing his ship; notwithstanding which, he had the address to escape (M), and sailed for *England* with a prodigious rich cargo, having brought home, 'tis said, one hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, the same quantity of mace, besides pepper, and other valuable commodities^c.

Necessity of
forts and gar-
risons.

A. 1607.

The company
builds its own
ships.

Capt. Middle-
ton's voyage.

The company
builds a ship of
1200 tons.

This success inspired the company to higher attempts: accordingly they built a ship of 1200 tons burthen, their first essay in naval architecture, and the finest and largest ship which had ever been built in *England*, at the same time a proof of the company's wealth, and of their spirit for commerce. A pinnace of 250 tons was likewise built, to accompany her as a tender. This was then esteemed a matter of so much moment and utility to the public, that the king and prince of *Wales*, with a great number of the first nobility, were present at their launching. So great was the magnificence of the company, and the public joy on this occasion, that all the rich utensils used at the entertainment given his majesty on board, were left to be taken away by the by-standers and populace. The greater vessel was named by his majesty *The Trade's Increase*, and the pinnace called *The Pepper Corn*, by the prince of *Wales*^d.

DURING these preparations, two ships, under the conduct of captain *Sbarpey*, were sent to *Achen* in *Sumatra*, from whence they returned with good success, before the other fleet was ready to sail. Now *The Trade's Increase* and *Pepper Corn* were equipped for sea, with two

A. 1610.

^a Recueil des voyages, t. viii.

^c DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

^d LEDIARD'S N. H. p. 417.

(M) While Captain *Middleton* was at *Banda*, he received advice that the *Dutch* governor of *Nassau Port* had laid a scheme either to burn him by means of a fireship, prepared for that purpose, or, if that failed, to send two ships of a thousand tons each, with some frigates, to sink him. Upon this, he went on shore to expostulate with the governor, and shew him his commission; but was told that the islands of *Lantore* and *Nero*

belonged to the *Dutch*, and that no native should be permitted to trade there. Not chusing to enter upon hostilities with a power greatly superior to him, he sailed to *Poolaway*, and took in his cargo, steering from thence to *Bantam*, where the *Dutch* followed him with two large ships and frigates above-mentioned, with a resolution to sink him, but were prevented by the calms and contrary winds which happened in the voyage (9).

(9) *Prewost*, H. G. des voyages, tom. ii.

- a other ships, under Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the spring of the year. In *Purchas* and *Harris*, *Voyage to Sur* especially in the former, we have a minute and circumstantial detail of his voyage, and particularly of the ill usage the admiral received from the *Turks* at *Mocha*: his imprisonment and escape; the insolence of the *Portuguese* at *Surat*, and the defeat of their fleet by the *English*; the taking of several *Portuguese* and *Indian* ships, and the farther success of the voyage. Not to pass over all these circumstances in silence, at *Mocha*, Sir *Henry*, after delivering his majesty's letters and presents to the *Bashaw* and *Aga*, was received with all possible marks of distinction and friendship; a sun-shine that was soon followed by a tempest of misfortunes. The civilities of the *Turks* were intended to ensnare the admiral, and to allure him and his officers on shore, as well as to entice their ships into their harbours; but disappointed in the latter part of the scheme, they fell upon the admiral, killed eight of his attendants, wounded himself and fourteen men, and, after stripping them, threw them, chained, into a dungeon. They next made an assault upon one of the ships, but were repulsed with great loss. Finding that open force could not reduce the ships into their power, they threatened the admiral with death and the torture, if he did not order them to surrender; but Sir *Henry* preferring the most excruciating tortures and death to an ignominious life, and the loss of honour, bravely defied them, and triumphed over their menaces and cruelty. After six months imprisonment, he found means, with most of his attendants, to make his escape, and arrive at the ships, which had lain in harbour on the *Abyssinian* shore. He had now an opportunity of shewing his resentment, which he accordingly did in a message to the *Aga*; "That if he did not instantly release the remaining prisoners, and render ample satisfaction for the damages he received, he would sink all the ships in the road, and afterwards batter the town about his ears." This menace had its effect; his men and pinnace were set at liberty, and 18,000 rials of eight paid him for his damages.

His escape from the Turks at Mocha.

- From hence he steered his course to *Surat*, where he was informed, that the *Portuguese*, with a fleet of twenty ships, well provided, lay at the bar of *Surat* to intercept him; at least to prevent his carrying on any commerce there. Having no alternative, but either losing his voyage, or fighting his way with a greatly inferior force, he chose the latter, as most honourable; and success crowned his resolution (N). He not only, after a sharp engagement, broke through the enemy, but intirely dispersed them, with the loss of their ships which he took. Notwithstanding this prosperity, he still met with unsurmountable obstructions from the insinuations and influence of the *Jesuits*; and, after a series of noble, but unsuccessful, conduct, was at last compelled to leave *Surat*, without effecting any thing material to his design. Captains *Hawkins*, *Sbarpey*, and the whole factory, were likewise forced to abandon it, without having time allowed them to call in their debts. From *Surat* the fleet steered to *Dabul*, where it had better fortune; and, as an addition to it, Sir *Henry* had an opportunity of being farther

Conduct of the Portuguese at Surat.

Sir Henry's revenge.

* PURCHAS, vol. i. Hist. of his voyage.

(N) Captain *Hamilton* relates a battle, which he says was fought about this time with the *Portuguese*. He does not specify the year; but, from the circumstances, it can be none of those we find mentioned by other authors. We shall venture therefore to insert it upon the Captain's authority, and that of the old *Persee*, from whom he had the account. His words are, "When the *English* first settled a commerce in this country, (*Surat*) they were held in great esteem; but the *Portuguese* pretending a right to that trade solely, disturbed the *English* in theirs, murdering their people, and making prize of all ships and vessels they could overcome. One season the *English* had eight large good ships riding at *Swalley*, which is about ten miles from *Ranier*, where the president and his council then resided; and *Swalley* was the place where all the goods were unloaded from the shipping, and all goods for exportation were then shipped off. The *Portuguese* thinking it a fit time to give a deadly blow to the *English* commerce, came with a fleet of six men of war, ten or twelve half-gallies, and ten small ships, and anchored to the northward of the *English*, in a narrow chanel, not musket-shot wide, and a tide generally of six or seven miles an hour. The *Portuguese* landed near 3600 men, and had seized some carts laden with the company's goods. The *English*, not able to bear the insults they daily received, held a council, wherein it was resolved to land 800 men out of the ships, and attack the *Portuguese*, while they were lulled in secu-

rity of their own strength and numbers; and if they were overpowered, that those left on board the *English* fleet should try if they could cut a *Portuguese* ship's cables that lay near them; and her driving on board of another might, with the force of the tide, put them all a-ground on the shore, or a sand-bank that they lay very near to. Accordingly, by break of day, the *English* were all landed, and every ship's crew led by their own commander. As they had conjectured, so it fell out; the *English* were among the *Portuguese* before they could get in a posture of defence, and put them in confusion. Those on board had done as they were ordered; one being cut loose, soon made all the rest run a-ground, and most of them were lost, especially the great ships. The little *English* army pursued the *Portuguese*, and killed many in their flight; but at a point of sand, about three miles from the ships, the *Portuguese* made a stand, and rallied; but the little victorious army soon made them a second time take to their heels, and so the *English* got an intire victory, with a small loss; for there were not twenty killed on the *English* side, but about 1500 of the *Portuguese*." The Captain informs us, that A. 1690, he was on the field, where he saw heaps of human skulls; a proof there had been a battle on the spot. For the rest he trusted to the authority of the *Persee*, who remembered the action; and to the tradition of the country, which scarce varied a tittle in the circumstances of the fact (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 166.

His death.

A. C. 1611.
Hippon's
voyage.Capt. Saris's
voyage and
success.

revenged on the *Portuguese*. Here he took two of their ships, richly laden; after which he returned to the *Red Sea*, and procured farther satisfaction for the damages sustained at *Mocha*, by seizing seventeen *Indian* ships, from 1500 to 200 tons burthen, all rich cargoes. As the inhabitants of *Mocha* were deeply concerned in this fleet, it was ransomed for a large sum, after it had been pillaged by the *English* seamen. From *Mocha*, Sir Henry went to *Bantam*, where he died; but the fleet returned to *England*^b.

WHILE Sir Henry was absent, the *Globe*, captain *Hippon*, was sent upon a trading voyage to *Bantam*, &c. in which he met with numberless difficulties from the base conduct of the *Dutch*; one instance of which it may not be amiss to specify. The king of *Narvinga*, who had given the *English* an invitation to establish a factory in his dominions, dying while *Hippon* was there, the governor of the *Dutch* fort took the advantage of the confusion that event occasioned, to put off the payment of a just debt to the *English*, though they were ready to depart. *Hippon* tried all in his power to settle the affair by fair means; but finding this ineffectual, he determined upon force, and to seize either the governor or his son's person. The last he accomplished in the presence of 4000 spectators, who made not the smallest resistance; and the governor was compelled to pay a just debt as a ransom for his son^c.

THIS year three more ships were sent out, under the command of captain *John Saris*; the expence of which equipment amounted to 60,000 pounds; so that, in all, the company had a prodigious venture at sea, in the bottoms of eight ships. *Saris* intended a trading voyage to the *Red Sea*, *Java*, the *Moluccas*, and *Japan*; in the last of which he was, if possible, to establish a commerce, which had not hitherto been attempted by the *English*. *Saris*, after visiting the kings of *Firando* and *Goto*, by whom he was favourably received, went by land to *Suranga*, the emperor's residence. Here he had the honour of an audience of his imperial majesty; and delivering king *James*'s letter and present, was not only graciously received, and kindly treated, but successful in obtaining a grant for the company of certain very important privileges, together with letters and presents from the emperor and king of *Firando* to the king of *England*, and assurances of a constant and warm friendship for his majesty (O). This fleet returned to *England* in September 1614, after having performed a very successful voyage; but *Hippon* did not return till the year 1616; he having spent four years in his voyage, chiefly owing to the intrigues of the *Dutch*, who omitted no opportunity of raising obstacles in his way^d.

BUT besides the obstructions and impediments thrown out by the *Dutch*, to prevent the progress of the *English* company in the *East*, their late prosperity was attended by a new incon-

^b LEB. Nav. Hist. p. 427.^c PURCHAS'S Pilgrim. ubi sup.^d HARRIS'S Collect. vol. i. p. 227.

(O) The following privileges were granted by *Ogosafama*, emperor of *Japan*, to the *East India* company.

- I. We give free licence to the subjects of the king of Great Britain; viz. Sir T. Smythe, governor, &c. for ever, safely to come to any port of our empire of *Japan*, with their ships and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to reside, buy, sell, and barter, after their own manner, with all nations; to stay here, or go at their pleasure.
- II. We grant them freedom of custom for all such merchandize as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring, into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign port. And we do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive from *England*, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without the expence or trouble of sending up to court.
- III. If any of their ships should happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we do straitly enjoin our subjects not only to assist them, but to return such part of the ship and goods as shall be saved to the captain, merchants, or their assignees. And we do decree, that they may build one or more houses for their own use in any part of our empire, and, at their departure, to make sale thereof.
- IV. If any of the *English* merchants, or others, shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the *British* factors. We ordain likewise, that all delinquents be punished by their own magistrates, and according to their own laws, without appeal to the civil power of the nation, which have no power over their persons or goods.

V. We will that our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same according to agreement, without delay, or return of the commodity so bought.

VI. For such commodities they now have brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service, and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be settled with the company's factor, according as they sell to others, and immediate payment upon delivery of the goods.

VII. If, in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, it is our pleasure that our subjects furnish them for their money, as their occasions shall require.

VIII. And that without other passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of *Yedzo*, or any other part in or about our empire.—From our castle in *Suranga*, &c.

A council of merchants and officers being called, it was determined, for the following reasons, to settle a factory in *Firando* in *Japan*; viz. The encouragement which by private intelligence there was reason to expect in the *Moluccas*; the large privileges obtained of the emperor of *Japan*; the certain advice of the *English* factories at *Siam* and *Patane*; the commodities left unsold intended for those parts, and the hoped for profit upon them, from what experience had shewn. Eight *English*, three *Japan Jarabasses*, or interpreters, and two servants, were accordingly constituted, and left with the name of a factory, and with orders to make all possible discoveries of the coasts, ports, manners of the natives, and productions of the countries (1).

(1) Purchas, v. i. p. 379.

- a venience. The *Portuguese* did all that lay in them to hinder their trafficking upon the *Mogul's* coasts, which obliged the company to be at a great expence in equipping the next fleet that put to sea, *an.* 1612. This armament consisted of four stout ships, well manned and mounted, under the command of captain *Thomas Best*, a resolute officer. *Best* arriving at *Surat* in *September*, applied himself diligently to the establishment of a factory, in which he was countenanced by the governor, and all the *Mogul's* officers in the city. But intelligence of his activity and success coming to *Goa*, the *Portuguese* governor fitted out a squadron of four large galleons, and twenty six frigates, having on board 5000 men, with 150 pieces of great ordnance*. The little *English* squadron was at anchor at the bar of *Surat*, when they first discovered a fleet of 240 *Portuguese* merchantmen, steering for *Cambaya*. This alarmed the
- b *English* commodore; however, he soon perceived they had no intention to molest him. As he was comforting himself with this agreeable hope, he received advice of the armament equipped at *Goa* against him, which was in full sail to drive him from the *Mogul's* ports, notwithstanding the emperor's grant for establishing factories at *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Amadavas*, or where-ever else the *English* thought proper. *Best* was not discouraged; but determined to stand his ground, or perish in defence of his right, and the trust committed to him. He no sooner descried the *Portuguese* admiral, than weighing anchor, he went to meet, and got in the midst of the fleet, before he fired a shot. Here he poured his broadsides and small shot so thick upon the enemy, that they chose not to engage him that day; nor till the admiral had deliberated upon the manner of attacking the *English* *Fury*, as he was called. The two fleets
- c lay that night at anchor, within a small distance of each other; the *Portuguese* admiral holding a council of war, and *Best* animating his men, reminding them, that they were *Englishmen*, who had often triumphed over *Spaniards*; and telling them, that their only safety consisted in an obstinate defence, and resolute spirit; which, with their small force, and great courage, would be able to resist all the attacks of this formidable navy. Next morning, weighing anchor, both fleets engaged with great fury; the enemy relying upon numbers, and the *English* putting all their hopes in their valour. They plied the enemy so warmly, that three of the large galleons were driven upon the sands, where the *Oslander*, one of the *English* vessels, continued pouring her shot upon them so warmly, that not a man could stand upon deck, or at the guns. In the afternoon, the galleons being afloat again, with the tide of flood, the *Portuguese* renewed the action, but with as little success as before; and at last were forced to sheer off with the loss of their honour, and of 1200 men. *Sardar Cbaune*, a great nobleman of the *Mogul's* court, who happened to see the action from shore, was so taken with the bravery of the *English* admiral, that he sent for him, treated him sumptuously, and made him valuable presents. The *Portuguese* fleet, after refitting and recruiting, returned again to *Surat*, with intention to fight the *English* at sea, and make captures of them. This gave great uneasiness to *Sardar Cbaune*, who did all in his power to prevail on *Best* to make his escape by a speedy flight; but *Best's* constant reply was, that numbers would never frighten him out of his duty, which he was determined to pursue, amidst every difficulty and danger. He a second time attacked the *Portuguese*; and in the space of four hours, drove them intirely out of sight, in
- d presence of thousands of the natives, who crowded to the shore to see this extraordinary and unequal engagement. In short, the fame of the *English* soon reached the *Mogul's* court, and raised his astonishment no less than it gained his esteem; for he always imagined, that no nation was equal in skill and valour to the *Portuguese* at sea. The brave captain, after making the best use of his victory for the prosperity of the factory, set sail for *Achen*, and obtained of the king a ratification and renewal of the former treaty with the *English* (P). Thence he went to the island of *Java*, where taking on board a rich cargo, he departed for *Britain*, and arrived in the river in the month of *July* 1614^f.

- f Sir *Thomas Smythe*, then governor of the company, was employed to remonstrate to the king, that it would be not only to the advantage of the company's affairs, but highly to the honour of the nation, if a person of rank and distinction were sent to the court of the *Great Mogul*, vested with the character of ambassador to the emperor, instead of the agent the company retained at the court of that monarch. This, it was thought, would give weight and consequence to their applications, and be more agreeable to the pride and pomp of the *Easterns*. Sir *Thomas Roe* was accordingly sent out in this high quality, and captain *Keeling*, *Sir Tho. Roe sent ambassador to the Great Mogul.*

* LED. Hist. p. 430.

f PURCHAS, v. i. PREVOST's Hist. des Voy. t. ii.

(P) The king of *Achen* earnestly desired of *Best* to commend him to the king of *England*, and tell him, he would be very glad to have a couple of fair women out of his country; for then, said he, if I have a son by one of them, I will make him king of *Priaman*, and of all

that country from whence you procure your pepper. This, said the monarch, will be of infinite advantage to you, as you may then go to your *English* king, without asking my consent about those commodities (1).

(1) See Harr. Coll. p. 137.

or, as some historians affirm, captain *Nicholas Downton*, was ordered to sea, with four fine ships, to convoy him to *India*, where he was safely landed, and afterwards performed his commission with great success. He attended the court for several months, got into a great degree of intimacy with the emperor, had valuable presents made him, and at last procured the end of his embassy; *viz.* some very considerable privileges, grants, and immunities for the *British* company. Sir *Thomas*'s journal affords matter of great entertainment as well as utility; and from his account of the *Mogul* empire (Q), did the *East India* company receive very accurate and distinct lights into the nature of the trade.

Settlements of the India company. THE *East India* company began now to extend her power, and the sovereignty of her mother country, over different parts of *India*. In the year 1616, they had settlements and factories at *Bantam*, *Jacatra*, *Surat*, *Amardavas*, *Agra*, *Azmiro*, *Bramapore*, *Calecut* (R), *Musulipatan*, *Pattapoli*, *Patana*, *Siam*, *Bencarmasse*, *Socodonia*, *Macassar*, *Acben*, *Jambe*, *Tewo*, *Ferando* in *Japan*, *Japar*, *Banda*, &c.^a The island of *Banda* was, by their industry, procured to the crown of *England*; the inhabitants surrendering it by a formal instrument, after their quarrel with the *Dutch*. Notwithstanding this, the *Hollanders* still attempted to reduce those places under their own power, pretending they founded their claim upon a more antient surrender. The *English* soon after procured *Lantore*, by a like solemn instrument of surrender.

A. 1615. Sir T. Shirley sent envoy to Persia, on account of the company. PREVIOUS, however, to this, many successful voyages had been made to various parts of the continent and islands of *Asia* and *Africa*. Among others, in the year 1614, a ship was sent with Sir *Robert Shirley* and Sir *Thomas Powell*, ambassadors from the crown for the *East India* company, to *Persia*. Nothing memorable in the voyage occurred, besides a plot formed by the *Baluches*, a people tributary to the crown of *Persia*, for seizing the persons of the *English* ministers; but their design was defeated, and the commission of the ambassadors executed to its full extent. Next year another fleet, besides that with Sir *Thomas Roe*, consisting of four ships, was dispatched to *Surat*, and other parts of the *East Indies*. In *October* they arrived at *Surat*, and found the natives and *Portuguese* at open war. In *January* the *Portuguese* admiral, with a fleet of six galleons, three men of war, and about sixty frigates, bore down on the *English*, said to be commanded by *Downton*. The *Hope*, a ship of 300 tons burthen, bravely began the fight, by attacking the *Portuguese*, before the other three *English* ships were come up. She fought desperately with four galleons, and was often boarded by the frigates, but as often repulsed the enemy, strewing her decks with the bodies of the slain. At last, as she was ready to sink under numbers, the *English* commodore came up, who soon turned the scale, obliging the *Portuguese* on board the *Hope* to save themselves by leaping over-board into the sea. The viceroy of *Goa*, who was on board the *Portuguese* admiral, perceiving that no force could prevail against an enemy determined not to be conquered, sent a number of fire-ships among them, which the *English* had the address and good fortune to escape. Defeated in every attempt, he retreated with equal dishonour and precipitation, leaving to *Downton* the glory of having triumphed over a fleet of ten times his number and strength (S). The *English*, having finished their commerce, set sail for *Bantam*;

Portuguese defeated by the English, with great loss.

^a PURCHAS, v. i. PREVOST'S Hist. des Voy. t. ii.

^b Collect. Harleian. Voy. t. viii. p. 249.

(Q) Sir *Thomas Roe* went from the *Mogul*'s court to that of *Persia*; when *Shah Abbas*, a prince worthy of a crown, finding the *Portuguese* settled at *Ormuz* extremely troublesome, by the perpetual incursions of their light frigates, entered into a treaty with the *English* ambassador. The king offered any reasonable indulgence to the *English* trading in *Persia*, provided they would assist his land army with a fleet, to expel the *Portuguese* from the gulph of *Persia*. The conditions of this treaty were, that the *Shah* would defray the charges of the expedition; grant the *English* a free trade, without duty or impost, over all the *Persian* dominions; and allow them a moiety of the customs raised upon merchandize in the gulph. On the other hand, the ambassador agreed, not only to drive the *Portuguese* from *Ormuz*, but to keep constantly two ships in the gulph for the protection of the trade. In consequence of this treaty, the company immediately sent out a fleet of five ships, amounting to forty guns each, taken all together. *Shah Abbas* likewise sent an army of 50,000 men, with trankies for transports, to land them on the island of *Ormuz*. The *English* soon destroyed the *Portuguese* fleet; but had one of their ships sunk by the fire from the castle. In the space of two months the *Portuguese*

were forced to capitulate, upon no other terms than liberty to depart without baggage, or any thing else belonging to them. The plunder, which was equally divided between the king's forces and the *English*, was very great. And tradition affirms, that so immense was the quantity of bullion, that it was measured by long-boats. *Shah Abbas* was punctual in the observance of his engagements, which were sacredly kept by his successor, till the year 1680; at which time the *India* company failed in their part of the contract; *viz.* keeping the gulph clear. It ought to be observed, that the *English* had a small settlement on the coast, previous to this, about seven leagues from the mouth of the gulph to the eastward, called *Jasques*; but it was continually harrassed by the *Portuguese* (1).

(R) *Calecut* is the capital of *Samorin*, a country stretching along the sea-coast from *Ticori* to *Chitwa*. The *English* had formerly a settlement there, which was afterwards removed to *Tellicbery*.

(S) *Domingo Francisco*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, afterwards taken in *Savally Road*, gave the following account of this armament; *viz.* that it consisted of galleons of 350 men and 40 guns each; 60 frigates of 30 men, 18 oars each, with swivels and small arms; 9 large

(1) *Hamilton's Hist. of the East Indies*, v. i. p. 102

a *jam*; but were scarce got from the bar, when they descried another *Portuguese* fleet, superior in strength to the former. After offering battle, *Downton* proceeded on his voyage, and arrived safe at the island of *Java*, where this brave officer died¹. Here they found it matter of the utmost difficulty to complete their cargoes of mace, &c. without involving themselves in quarrels with the *Dutch*; who, they had certain advice, had exerted the most despotic tyranny and arbitrary measures over the *English* settlement at *Macassar*. At last, after completing their loadings, they arrived in *England*, A. 1616, after a prosperous voyage.

A. 1616.

We find in *Purchas* a journal of a voyage performed this year to *Surat*, and from thence to *Jasques* in *Perfia*, by captain *Child*. At the former he had an engagement with the *Portuguese* carracks, which lasted three days, and concluded in his favour, he having burnt one of the largest ships of the enemy. *Purchas*, *Harris*, and a number of other collectors of voyages, recite several letters from the *East Indies*, in this and the ensuing year, with particular relations of the injuries sustained by our factories and trade from the *Dutch*. To mention them minutely, would be to write a volume, they were so many and various, 'Tis sufficient that we have it, upon incontestable authority, that no treachery which malice, envy, and jealousy, could suggest, was left unpractised. The great strides the company had made towards procuring a competent share in the spice trade, their insinuating manner with the *Indians*, and their great success, served only to hasten the destruction of their most valuable traffick (T). Repeated accounts arriving in *Europe* of the divisions between the *English* and the *Dutch* settlements, negotiations were set on foot for adjusting these mercantile affairs². For this purpose, king *James* had issued out two several commissions for treaties on this head; the one in 1613, when the conferences were held in *London*; the other in 1615, when this affair was canvassed at the *Hague*; both times to no manner of effect. The *Dutch* even boasted, that their money could determine the *English* court which way they pleased; and said, that every thing there was viewed through the medium of corruption, and a certain price affixed to each of the virtues¹.

Portuguese carrack burnt.

Treaties set on foot between the English and Dutch, which end in nothing.

But before we enter upon the particulars of a treaty, set on foot A. 1619, we shall touch upon two voyages, performed two years immediately preceding. A. 1617 the company fitted out five ships, one of 1000 tons, one of 900, one of 800, one of 400, and another of 150 tons burthen, well armed and manned, being the most complete squadron they had ever equipped, all under the conduct of commodore *Pringle*. After the fleet had reached a certain latitude, it divided, and branched itself into a variety of separate coasting voyages; hardly a

A strong fleet sent out by the English company.

¹ PURCHAS, *ibid.* LEDIARD, *Nav. Hist.* p. 432.
² PREVOST, p. 229. tom. ii.

² Harleian Collection of Voyages, tom. viii.

large ships, mounting from 10 to 28 guns, with their full complement of seamen, besides marines. He likewise related, that of *Portuguese* were slain, on board the *Hope* only, above 300 men, besides 150 drowned by leaping into the sea; that before she was boarded, her great and small arms did incredible mischief in all the galleons and ships that surrounded her; and that the loss of the whole fleet amounted to about 850 slain (1).

(T) Mr. *Thomas Spurway*, factor for the *English* company at *Banda*, in a letter to his constituents, acquaints them, that when he was at *Macassar* with captain *Courtthop*, in November 1616, a large *Dutch* ship came within five leagues of land, and sent her boat with eight men on shore: that the *English* met the *Dutch* at their landing, and told them, their lives were in danger, for that the king and court of *Macassar* were highly enraged against them, on account of some late outrages their countrymen had committed. While they were delivering this intelligence, the natives assembled about them; and the king, with a body of 2000 men, came down to the sea-side, with intention to destroy the *Hollanders*, had not the intreaties of the *English* prevailed and saved them. Next day the *Dutch* captain was imprudent enough to send another boat, with sixteen men armed; which so provoked the king, that he ordered his *curra curras*, or shallops, to board her, which they did, and put every soul to death, hewing them in pieces. The *Dutch* crew, upon their arrival at *Ambonya*, were ungrateful enough to report that the *English* had stirred up the *Macassars* to commit this massacre. *Spurway* farther relates, that on the

24th of *October* the *Oran Cayas*, or states of *Poelouway* and *Paleroon*, came on board *Courtthop*, to treat about a formal surrender of their islands to the *English*, in consideration of their being protected against *Dutch* usurpation, and annually supplied with rice, cloathing, and other necessaries, by the *English*. Captain *Courtthop* demanding, whether they ever had made any contract with the *Hollanders*, or entered upon any articles of a surrender? they all replied, they never had, nor would, upon any terms. with men they esteemed their mortal enemies. In December 1616 articles of cession, or surrender of those islands to the king of *England*, were executed by the *Oran Cayas* of the islands, and delivered into the hands of captain *Courtthop*, Mr. *Thomas Spurway*, and Mr. *Sophon Cusake*, to his majesty's use. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree with fruit upon it, and a live goat, by way of seisin; desiring to have the *English* colours planted on the islands, and thirty-six guns fired, in memory of this contract, cession, and resignation of their right; which were accordingly done.—We find the contract at large in the eighth volume of *Osborn's* collection of voyages; but it would be tedious and unnecessary to insert it, as the above is sufficient to evince the falsity of a fact which the *Dutch* constantly insisted upon. By an instrument of the same nature, the countries of *Wayre* and *Refingen* were formally surrendered and ceded to the king of *England*, A. 1616. And the preceding year captain *Castleton* was at *Banda*, when the *Oran Cayas* of that country gave up their rights, by articles and instruments equally full and valid (2).

(1) *Lediard's Naval History*, p. 437.

(2) *Osborne's Collection*, tom. viii.

The Dragon
Indiaman
taken by the
Dutch.

A. 1619.

Treaty be-
tween the
English and
Dutch.

Conditions of it.

settlement in the *Indies* that was not visited by some or other of the ships. The chief occurrences there were, as usual, a series of squabbles with the *Dutch*, in which, however, the latter generally paid for their insolence; though after the departure of the ships, they seldom failed of taking their revenge upon the factories. Before the return of this fleet, two ships more were sent out in 1618, to *Surat*, *Acben*, *Bantam*, and other parts of the *East Indies*. The *Dragon*, one of the ships, was set upon by a fleet of six *Dutchmen*, just as she had got out of the harbour of *Tecoo*, and, after an obstinate defence, taken and condemned with her cargo; the men being treated with the utmost barbarity (U) ^a.

These perpetual contentions, and the fruitless issue of the former conferences, rendered a third negotiation absolutely necessary. This treaty was managed by commissioners appointed by the *India* companies of both nations, under the direction of the plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* and the States General. On the 7th of *July*, this year, an agreement was signed, by which it was stipulated, that all former injuries should be forgotten on both sides; that the companies of either nation might enjoy full and perfect liberty to trade, but without neglecting the respect due to the trading companies of two nations, joined in amity and alliances: that the prices of pepper and other commodities should be adjusted: that the islands of the *Moluccas*, also *Amboyna* and *Banda*, should belong to both nations conjointly, the *English* possessing one-third of the traffick of all those places, and the *Dutch* the remaining two-thirds: that the charge of the fortifications in those islands should be levied by an imposition on the spices of their growth; and that what related to the equipping ships of war, or others, for the protection and defence of their trade and settlements, should be committed to a council of defence, composed of persons in the service of the different companies: that the fortresses, as above, should remain in the hands of those at present in possession of them; and that such forts as had been acquired by the combined force, and at the joint expence, should remain the property of both, and be garrisoned by the troops of both nations, in such manner as the council of defence should think fit to determine: that henceforward, and in all time to come, the intire trade to *India* should remain free, equally to both nations; neither of them pretending to undermine or injure the other, by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives: that to corroborate and confirm this contract, both companies should respectively solicit and move their several governments not to erect any separate companies ^b ^c.

^a LEO. Nav. Hist. 427.

(U) When captain *Courtboep* was at *Poleroon*, after its surrender, he descried three large *Dutch* ships coming towards him with bloody flags. Knowing that it would be impossible for him to withstand their superior force, he landed some ordnance, and erected batteries on each side of the road, to protect his ships, and prevent the *Dutch* from entering it. Finding themselves disappointed, they went to sea again, and met with the *Swan*, an *English* ship, which they took. *Courtboep*, in the mean time, built a little fort, where he resolved to maintain himself against all the force the *Dutch* could bring; but he was deserted by a number of his men, who, dreading the fatigues and hardships of a siege, fled to the enemy. Thus his ship being left defenceless, she fell a prey to the *Dutch*, who returned to *Poleroon*, after the capture of the *Swan*. *Courtboep* finding it would be impossible, after the desertion of his men, to stand long out against so superior an enemy, dispatched Mr. *Spurway* with a *Shabander*, and several *Oran Cayas*, to the *English* factory at *Bantam*, to acquaint them with his situation. The *Dutch* gave chase to the little vessel that carried them, and would infallibly have taken her, had not Mr. *Spurway* put into *Bouton*, and been protected by the king, who sent him and his company to the farther part of the island, where he provided a vessel to carry them to *Bantam*. Here they arrived in *June* 1617; but *Courtboep's* first expectation of relief was A. 1618, by an express from Sir *Thomas Dale*, informing him, that he was arrived with a stout fleet at *Bantam*, after defeating the *Dutch* fleet on the coast of *Java*; and that he would speedily come to him to call the *Dutch* to a fresh account. The president and factory of *Bantam* sent letters and stores by the same ship, assuring him of immediate relief. The brave *Courtboep*, however, bravely defended himself another whole year, in daily expectation of reinforce-

ments, or Sir *Thomas Dale's* Squadron. In *January* 1619 he dispatched Mr. *Robert Hayes* to treat with the *Oran Cayas* of *Lantore*, about surrendering their country to the *English*; a proposal to which they unanimously acceded. What a cruel stroke was it to this brave and diligent officer, that, after defending his little fort, upon which depended the whole *Bandanese* trade, for above two years; after procuring the surrender of all those important islands to the crown of *England*; after promises of speedy reinforcements; and after so many gallant but fruitless efforts to drive the enemy from the coasts, at last to receive advice, that the *English* admiral was dead, the other officers upon bad terms with each other, the fleet dispersed upon different voyages, and four of them fallen into the hands of the *Dutch*! But determined, though deserted, never to abandon the trust reposed in him, he went with a vessel to *Macassar*, to procure stores for his fort. In his voyage he was met by a large *Dutch* ship, which he fought for some hours, till he was shot in the breast mortally. Finding that his vessel must strike, he plunged himself into the sea, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, whose cruelty he was no stranger to; and thus ended the life of one of the bravest officers, and faithfullest servants, the company ever employed. Mr. *Hayes*, after obtaining an instrument of the cession of *Lantore* to the king of *England*, was returned to the fort, just as advice of the brave *Courtboep's* death arrived. Upon this, he was appointed to the chief command; and soon after, by means of an intercepted *Dutch* letter, came to know that a treaty was concluded between the *Dutch* and *English*. The packet he immediately sent to the *Dutch*, to take away every pretence from them of continuing their hostilities (1). Notwithstanding this, as soon as their power was superior to Mr. *Hayes's*, they proceeded to such acts as we shall relate in the text.

(1) Vid. Collect. of Voyages, tom. viii. from the Harleian Miscellany.—See also the journals of captain *Courtboep* and Mr. *Hayes*, in Harris's Collect. vol. i.

during

- a during the period fixed for this solemn agreement : that if, through death, or any other accident, it should so happen as that no person should remain to take care of the factories of either nation, that then, and in that case, those of the other nation, on the place, should take into their protection, and account for, all the effects so left : and finally, that this treaty should remain in force for twenty consecutive years ; and that all disputes arising during its continuance, which should not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be settled and determined by the King of *Great Britain* and the States General of the *United Provinces*. The treaty was ratified by king *James*, in *July 1619* ; in which instrument his majesty promised not to grant another charter to any other persons whatsoever, during the term mentioned in the above agreement ^a.
- b It was now imagined, that all disputes with the *Dutch* were at an end, at least for twenty years ; which was very far from being the case. During this negotiation, hostilities were carrying on at *Jacatra*, where the *Dutch* seized upon, and blew up, an *English* magazine, under pretence of their siding with the *Javanese*, with whom they were then at war. It must be acknowledged, there seems to be truth and justice on their side on this occasion ; for even our own journalists own, that the *English* fired upon the *Dutch* fort, and took every opportunity, under the protection of Sir *Thomas Deal*, who commanded a squadron of eleven sail, of retorting former injuries received from the *Dutch*. Certain it is, our traders have had great reason to be incensed at a people who lost no opportunity of hurting them ; but whether, in the present case, where they acted as indirect auxiliaries to the *Javanese*, they complain with justice, is a question which the most prejudiced person must determine against them, and in favour of the *Dutch*. *War in Java. The Dutch fully blamed*
- c

WHAT they transacted after the treaty was concluded and proclaimed in those parts, is a case of a very different nature, wherein the *Dutch* shewed themselves equally perfidious and inhuman. Their treacherous attempts to reduce those persons whom they had just engaged in the most solemn alliance and obligation to defend, can admit of no palliation or apology. That their general in *India* should, immediately upon the back of a treaty, which assured the *English* of all manner of security, get together a great fleet, under specious pretences, to attack *Lantore*, the undoubted property of the crown of *Great Britain*, and commit the most savage cruelties upon the inhabitants, is an unheard of perfidy. That he should next fire the town, spoil and pillage the *English* warehouses, carry off their stuffs, money, bullion, 23,000 lb. weight of mace, 150,000 tons of nutmegs, making prize of every thing, is an act of so black a complexion, as would disgrace a nation of *Hottentots*. But perhaps the most vile and horrible of all is, that after having thoroughly ransacked, pillaged, and plundered every thing, he should then proceed to the last instances of inhuman barbarity, by seizing, stripping naked, binding with cords, whipping, and loading with irons, the *English* factors. And that, after these wanton marks of a savage cruelty, he should have them hurled headlong from the walls, and conclude the last scene of the shocking tragedy by insolently dragging the miserable remains in chains through the streets. All these are facts, proved upon the most undeniable evidence, not denied, and but very lamely excused by themselves ; yet never punished with that vengeance becoming the character of this nation, and the freedom of this constitution. The factory at *Poleroon* shared the same unhappy fate ; and thus the affairs of the company were suddenly plunged into greater confusion, distress, and misery, than they ever had undergone, and just at a period in which they had all the reason in the world to expect the happiest effects from the late treaty. *Treachery of the Dutch. Cruel massacre of the English at Lantore and Poleroon.*

As it is really inconsistent with our natural disposition to recite at large scenes which equally disgrace and shock humanity, we must beg leave to refer the reader to the original papers, to be found in the 8th volume of a collection of travels, compiled from the manuscripts in lord *Oxford's* possession ^o. There he will find ample satisfaction, and matter enough to satiate the most sanguine and bloody nature, temper, and disposition (W). All that the *Dutch* pretended to allege in vindication of these outrageous proceedings was, that they having a more ancient right to these islands, no subsequent act of the natives, who had before given up all *Dutch defence of their conduct.*

^a DODSLEY'S History of the East Indies, vol. ii.

^o P. 246.

(W) The reader cannot but observe, how flagrantly the treaty was broken by the *Dutch*, as soon as concluded. It was expressly stipulated, in the 23d article, that all places in *India* should remain in the hands of the then possessors ; notwithstanding which, they invaded the islands of *Lantore* and *Poleroon*, which were in possession of the *English* ; treating the natives and *English* factors in the manner we have mentioned above. In another article it was stipulated, that no enterprize was to be undertaken, but by joint consent and joint

forces ; and yet the *Dutch*, against the repeated remonstrances and protests of the *English*, attacked and subdued the *Bandaese*, with *Dutch* ships only. Whence it appears, that their resolution, at the very time they executed the treaty, was, that the *English* should enjoy the benefit of it no longer than till they were in a condition to expel them from the *Indies* ; a conduct that would disgrace the most piratical and uncivilized government.

Answer of the
English.

their privileges, was of force to invalidate it: and further, that the war being carried on ^a against the natives, as principals, those who had thus, contrary to their engagements, assisted them, had no manner of right to complain of the event of a war of their own seeking. But the fallacy of this argument was irrefragably proved by assured evidence, that the natives had never ceded their right to the *Dutch* [†]: that in the former disputes, the *Hollanders* pretended to no more than a promise from the natives, that on certain conditions they were disposed to surrender their rights to them: that upon the quarrel between the *Bandanese* and them, arising from their tricks and double dealing, a cession, by a formal instrument, was actually made to the *English*; besides, all this was farther confirmed by the express terms of the late treaty [‡]. The truth is, the sweets of profit flowing from the spice trade, and their signal successes from the first institution of the company, induced the *Dutch* to extend their power and influence ^b by every possible method, and at all events. They were far from being delicate in their choice, means, and expedients; a scruple seldom found to obstruct projects, where gain is the motive, and remarkably wanting in this penurious and indefatigable people, who make no difference between fraud, force, or persuasion, when the same ends were attained by either of these means. Their attacks upon the *Portuguese* at *Malacca* justify this assertion, as well as their late conduct to their allies the *English*.

Advantages of
the Dutch set-
tlements.

THE strong fortress at *Batavia*, which soon grew the head of that vast empire which they established in *India*, was a kind of protection for all their practices; their power screening them from punishment. This was an advantage which the *English* at that time wanted, and stood greatly in need of. Whether this proceeded from the nature of our government, so much ^c inclined to monarchy, and the less important concerns of a court, ignorant of the advantages of this trade, and requisites to secure it; or whether it was owing to the want of power at that time to afford the merchants the protection they required in so momentous a conjuncture, we shall leave the reader to determine.

[†] DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

[‡] See Note (T) p. 299.

S E C T. III.

Of the farther disputes between the English and Dutch companies; of the negotiations, conferences, and treaties, to put an end to them; of the fatal catastrophe at Amboyna, with other particulars.

The remissness
of the English
administra-
tion.

WE will shew, in our account of the *Dutch East India* company, how they date a sort ^d of sovereign power in the *Indies*, from the first foundation of their great settlement at *Batavia*, and to what an astonishing power and influence they in a short time arrived. Certain it is, that from the embarrassments, corruption, and ignorance of king *James's* court, from the differences then subsisting between him and his parliament, from the artful and bold conduct of the *Dutch*, as well as the pusillanimity, avarice, and timidity, of certain leading men in *England*, no satisfaction was obtained by the government, no remonstrances made in behalf of the ruined subjects and wounded commerce, nor indeed any other steps taken which the credit of the administration, justice to the public, and the nation's honour, absolutely required.

A. 1620.
The company
fits out a new
fleet for the
Persian trade.

BUT before we enter upon the particulars of the conduct of our allies the *Dutch*, we shall ^e stop to recite briefly a voyage in which the *English* bravery once more triumphed over *Portuguese* force. In the year 1620 the company built four new ships, from 800 to 300 tons burthen. This fleet set sail in *February*, under the conduct of captain *Shilling*; and fell in with a *Portuguese* squadron, off the east end of *Jasques Road*, where it waited to intercept the *English*, and ruin their *Persian* trade. The *Portuguese* fleet consisted of four galleons of 40 guns and 350 men each, two galliots and ten frigates. These being engaged by *Shilling*, the battle continued for nine hours without intermission, night separating the combatants. Next morning, the enemy finding the *English* a match for them, declined renewing the fight, and had the mortification to see *Shilling* land the company's money and goods (the very prize they fought for), without preparing to molest him. A few days after, receiving a supply of ^f men and ammunition from *Goa*, they ventured a second time to attack the company's fleet; but with less success than before, two of their ships being sunk, the rest greatly damaged, and a number of their men killed and wounded. The *English* sustained hardly any other loss besides that of the brave *Shilling*, their commodore, who was mortally wounded by a musket

The Portu-
guese defeated.

a musket bullet. After this engagement the fleet took two rich *Portuguese* carracks, and then separated upon different voyages ^a.

But to return to the affairs of the company towards *Java*, *Banda*, and *Ambayna*; the remissness and want of vigour in the *English* administration, encouraged the *Dutch*, who had long formed the project of wresting the spice trade wholly out of the hands of the *English* company. They proceeded in the year 1623 to commit, if possible, greater barbarities at *Ambayna*, than two years before they had done at *Lantore* and *Poleroon*; their actions in each being just matter of reproach to human nature. The island of *Ambayna*, which is forty leagues in circuit, is situated near *Scron*, giving name to some other little island in its vicinity. Its chief production is cloves, the principal subject of its traffick; and in order to collect and buy up this commodity, the *English* company had planted in it no less than five several factories, the chief of which was at the city of *Ambayna*. Here the agents of the company resided, and from hence directed the subordinate factories of *Ilitto* and *Larica*, on the same island, and of *Lobo* and *Camballo*, situated on a promontory of the adjacent island of *Scron* ^b. The *Hollanders* had four different forts, well provided with men, stores, and ammunition. The chief strength was at *Ambayna*, where the fortifications were strong and regular, well mounted with a great number of brass ordnance. One side of the fort was defended towards the land by a broad and deep trench, filled by the sea, together with a number of batteries and redoubts at proper distances; the other side was washed by the ocean. It was garrisoned with 200 *Dutch* soldiers, a company of free burghers, and 400 mardykers, who had been taught the use of arms, and were obedient to the *Dutch* governor. The ships which constantly lay in the road, either for traffick or the defence of the fort, added to its security; this being the rendezvous for the trade of *Banda*, as well as that of the rest of *Ambayna* ^c. As hostilities had ceased from the time of the massacre at *Lantore*, the *English* lived in the town, under protection, however, of the citadel, in perfect ease and security, both from the late treaty, and from the antient amity between both nations. The conduct of the *Dutch* at *Lantore* was attributed to the rashness of some of the *English* factors, as well as to the brutal ferocity of the *Dutch* governor; but from hence no deduction was made to the prejudice of the *Hollanders* in general, especially as many of the *Dutch* at *Ambayna* exclaimed with great warmth against that action. In short, every thing contributed to lull the *English* into a security which soon terminated in their ruin.

Near three years were elapsed since the conclusion of that treaty between the two companies, when fresh cause of discord arose. The *English* factors complained of the unreasonable and unnecessary charge which the *Dutch* pretended to have incurred in repairing and maintaining the fortifications and garrison. They alleged, that the *Hollanders* answered their own proportion of the expence in provisions and cloth of *Coremandel*, at three or four times the prime cost; whilst ready specie was insisted upon from the *English*. By such proceedings it was affirmed, the latter were made to pay two-thirds of the charge, which ought to have been equal and common to both. Perpetual disputes resulting from this grievance, the affair was at last carried before the council of defence at *Jacatra*, in the island of *Java*. But the council not being able to bring it to a final determination, to the satisfaction of all parties, the state of the case was remitted to *Europe*, to be laid before the companies, or, in the dernier resort, to be adjudged by the king of *England* and the States General, in terms of agreement for that effect ^d.

DURING the deliberations in *Java* and *Europe*, the breach at *Ambayna* grew still wider; the *English* more loudly complaining of the oppression of the *Dutch*; while they, on the other side, exclaimed against the *English*, for their unwillingness to support the expence of a fortress, of which they equally shared the advantages with them. But though those mutual accusations were warm, no danger was apprehended of an open rupture, nor indeed of any secret practices against each other. The following incident, however, shews the deceitfulness of those appearances of tranquility, which, as it terminated in the final destruction of the *English* settlements in those parts, in the breach of that amity between both nations which had long subsisted, and has ever since been matter of animosity between the *English* and *Dutch*, we shall recite more at large than we have done any preceding transaction.

A SOLDIER of the *Dutch* troops, by nation a *Japanese*, came one night to a sentinel, posted on the wall of the citadel, and amidst other discourse with him, happened to ask some questions concerning the strength of the fortifications, the number of cannon, and of the garrison; questions extremely natural for a stranger, who had no farther intention than the bare gratification of his curiosity. This fellow had been occasionally, amongst others, introduced into the citadel, to relieve the garrison in the day, the *Japanese* troops not being permitted to remain in the fort at night, as not being confided in equally with the *Dutch*. An officer, who

^a LEB. Naval Hist. p. 452.

^b SALMON'S Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 124. fol. Journals of HAYES and COURTMOY in Harris, vol. i.

^c SALMON, *ibid*.

^d See

*A recital of
the horrid mis-
fortune of the
English at
Amboyna.*

had seen the centinel in conversation with the *Japanese*, interrogated him concerning the sub-
ject of their discourse; and being informed, he laid the whole before the governor, who had
the *Japanese* seized, upon a suspicion of a treasonable design against the citadel. Being put
to the torture, he was compelled, by the insupportable torments he underwent, to acknow-
lege himself, and some others of his countrymen, guilty of the crime laid to his charge;
upon which, the supposed accomplices were seized, and put to the same trial, together with a
Portuguese, who superintended the *Dutch* slaves. This examination lasted four days, during
which, the *English* went as usual to the citadel. As they were not conscious of guilt, they
apprehended no danger, though they saw the prisoners, and heard the cause of their torture.
They were in fact strangers to the *Japanese* and *Portuguese*, who were then under punishment.
At this time *Abel Price*, formerly a surgeon to the *English* factory, was prisoner in the cita-
del, for having threatened, in a drunken frolic, to set fire to the house of a *Dutchman* against
whom he had some pique. *Price* being dragged from the dungeon where he lay, saw the
Japanese groaning under the agonies of the torture he recently underwent, and was peremp-
torily told, that the *English* were accused, by those two wretches, of being confederates in
the conspiracy; and that unless he confessed the guilt, he should sustain equal, if not more
exquisite tortures than those he had before his eyes. Such menaces, suddenly followed by
their execution to the utmost rigour, soon overcame the constancy and conscience of the
miserable wretch; who, in hopes of being relieved from the rack, answered every question
in the manner the judges required*. Immediately upon this confession, captain *Towersson*,
and the rest of the *English*, were sent for; who having no notice of what passed concerning
Price, or suspicion of what was intended, immediately obeyed the summons, all excepting
two, who remained in the factory upon some business. As soon as they arrived, they were
informed of the charge against them, and closely confined in irons. *Towersson*, with one
more, was kept prisoner in the citadel; and the rest were put in irons on board the ships in
the harbour. These proceedings were followed by seizing those who remained in the factory,
together with the goods, money, chests, boxes, books, writings, and other things. On the
same day, the *English* at *Hitto* and *Larica*, and a few days after the factories of *Lobo* and
Camballo, were treated in the same manner, the company's servants being brought in irons
to *Amboyna*.

*All the Eng-
lish seized and
put to the tor-
ture.*

THEY were all no sooner in custody, than the governor and fiscal proceeded to their exa-
mination; when *John Beaumont* and *Timothy Johnson* were first called upon. Those wretches
were brought from the ships to the citadel, and immediately separated; *Johnson* being brought
to the rack, while *Beaumont* was placed in an adjoining apartment, from whence he could hear
the screams and dismal groans of his companion, at every application of the torture. When
he had fully experienced the torments they could inflict, *Price* was brought in to confront
him: but *Johnson* persisted in denying every thing laid to his charge; upon which *Price* was
ordered out, and he applied again to the rack. For above an hour he obstinately continued
to assert his own innocence and ignorance of the whole affair, in defiance of all the anguish
of the torture; when at last, drenched over with water, he was most cruelly scorched and
burnt all over his body; and in this condition thrown into a corner, where a guard was set
over him†. Well might the lines of *Virgil* be repeated, *Auri sacra fames quid non mortalia
peſſora cogis!* Nothing could exceed the inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity, of the judges,
but the constancy of some of the accused. *Emanuel Thomson* succeeded *Johnson*; and his
punishment was equal in degree, but not in duration, to the former; he being tortured for
no more than half an hour, and then flung aside to make room for *Beaumont*, who had all
this time been within hearing of his piteous shrieks. While they were equipping *Beaumont*
for the torture, he began denying, with horrid imprecations and oaths, the whole charge:
upon which he was for this time dismissed, the governor pretending to be moved with com-
passion at his extreme old age. Next day nine more brought from the ships; when *Edward
Collins*, denying with deep execrations the whole allegation, was tied hand and foot to the
rack, a cloth bound round his neck, whilst two men, with earthen jars of a prodigious capa-
city, stood ready to pour the water into it. The sight of this torture made him pray for a
respite, and promise an intire confession; but no sooner was the cruel apparatus removed,
than he again asserted his innocence with redoubled vehemence. The fiscal enraged at his
perseverance, ordered the torture to be again applied, on which he repeated his request and
promise; but, said he, as I know the torments you can inflict, I am ready to confess what-
ever you are pleased to desire, if you will first oblige me, by telling me what I am to say.
Then pausing for some time, he proceeded to relate, that some months before, himself, to-
gether with some others of the prisoners, had conspired to surprize the citadel with the assist-

*Method of
questioning by
the torture.*

* Collected Voy. from W. HADLEY's Lit. tom. viii. p. 227.
vol. ii.

† DODSLEY's Hist. of the East Indies,

a ance of the *Japanese*. He was interrupted by the fiscal, who asked if *Towerfon* was not a confederate in the plot; to which he answered no. The fiscal then told him he lied, and insisted upon his acknowledging that this *Towerfon* had called all the *English* together, and told them, that the abuses and intolerance of the *Dutch* had obliged them to think of that plot, which wanted nothing to render it successful, besides their consent and secrecy. A *Dutchman* who was present interrogated him, whether they had not sworn secrecy on the Bible? This *Collins* denied with vehement oaths, declaring that he was utterly ignorant of any such matter: but upon their ordering him to be tucked up, he recanted, and spoke as they prompted. He was then asked, whether the rest of the *English* factories were not consenting to this plot? whether the *English* president at *Jacatra*, or *Welden*, their agent in *Banda*, were not
b privy to the conspiracy? to all which interrogatories he answered in the negative. Being still interrogated by what means the *Japanese* were to have executed their purpose? and he-
fitating, unable to give an answer, the fiscal helped him out, by asking, whether two of the
Japanese were not to have gone to each point of the citadel, and to the door of the governor's house, ready to murder him, when he should come out to enquire into the cause of the tumult, which was to have been raised without? A by-stander, irritated by this method of proceeding, called out to the fiscal, that he should cease to tell the criminal what he was to say, and let him speak for himself. Upon which, that equitable judge dropped the question in hand, by enquiring, what reward the *Japanese* were to have for their service? *Collins* answered, a thousand rials: but unable to say any thing concerning the time of executing
c the plot, or any other particular that could give it an air of credibility, he was dismissed².

The scandalous conduct of the Dutch fiscal.

THE person next questioned by this hellish apparatus was *Colson*; who was so terrified with the sight of the rack, and the torments inflicted upon his companions, that he answered in the way he thought would be most agreeable to his judges; though, after coming out, he fell down upon his knees, asking forgiveness of Heaven for the untruths he had alleged, and deeply protesting his innocence and intire ignorance of the suspected conspiracy³. *John Clark*, who succeeded *Colson*, was not so easily terrified and brought to submission; this man for two full hours withstanding the most excruciating tortures applied by fire and water, to compel him, through agony of pain, to confess what he was ignorant of. To give the reader
d a faint idea of *Dutch* barbarity, we will briefly relate the method in which his judges proceeded in the examination of this miserable man. His arms were fastened at as great a distance as they could extend them upon a large door, by means of iron staples drove into the extremities of it. His legs being bound and stretched out in the same manner, a cloth was bound round his face and neck, so close as to contain the water poured into it. Then did the executioners pour jars filled with water into the cloth, which rising above his nostrils and mouth, obliged the unhappy sufferer to draw it in, with every attempt to breathe, in large quantities, till, by repeated draughts, he was so glutted, that (what is shocking to imagine) his bowels seemed to burst out at his mouth and nostrils, his body to be swelled to twice its dimensions, his cheeks inflated like bladders, while his eye-balls were ready to start from their
e orbs. Thus was this miserable creature handled, and then taken down to prepare him for a second trial, by making him disgorge what had cost him so many nauseous and painful draughts. After he had sustained his second trial with equally astonishing constancy, the fiscal and his tormentors cried out, that this must be an enchanted person, a witch, or devil, to support such insufferable torments. Imagining the incantation might reside in his hair, he ordered it to be cut off, and a third exertion of inhumanity was made. He was hoisted up as before, when those more than savage wretches caused burning torches to be held to the soles of his feet, till they were extinguished by the fat that dropped from him. Then fresh lights were applied; but this repetition failing also, they began to extend their diabolical barbarity to the other parts of his body, by scorching the palms of his hands, his arm-pits, and
f elbows. Exhausted at length, and overcome by torture, he seemed willing to yield; but not being able to frame a relation, in such manner as to make it at all probable, his judges were reduced to the necessity of leading him, by questions so devised as to render it impossible for him to mistake their meaning⁴. However, with all their cruelty and cunning, all they could draw from him consisted in bare negatives and affirmatives, he just assenting with a *yes* or *no*, to whatever they signified to be agreeable to them. Thus treated, he was carried out by four blacks, and thrown into a horrid dungeon, where he lay without the assistance of a surgeon to dress his sores, till his flesh putrifying, he was filled with maggots, in a manner most loathsome and barbarous. Thus ended the christian work of *Sunday*, it being dark before his examination was finished. The prisoners brought from *Kitto*, who had all this

The English tortured by fire and water.

² In Collect. cited, *ibid*.

³ SALMON, *ibid*.

⁴ DODSLEY, vol. ii.

time waited their own turn of suffering, were remanded to prison, and thrown, loaded with a irons, into the same dungeon with *Clark* and his fellow-sufferers ^a.

NEXT morning, *William Griggs*, *John Fardo*, and some *Japanese*, were brought to the place of torture. The *Japanese* were constrained by numberless acts of barbarity to accule the two *Englishmen*; and *Griggs*, to avoid the same torments, acknowledged their allegations. The same conduct was observed with regard to the other *Japanese* and *Fardo*, though this last continued obstinate in his denial of the charge, till he had suffered the torture by water. Upon their confession, they were remitted back to prison, and *Beaumont* was brought a second time to the torture. *Griggs* was produced to confront and charge him with having been present when the conspiracy was formed; an allegation, which he denied with deep execrations and tremendous oaths, till plied with repeated draughts of water, he was compelled to submit. Yet ^b the moment he was brought down from the rack, he not only declared in the most positive terms, that all he had confessed was false, but also impossible, as he made appear from a variety of circumstances. However, the terror of a repetition of the torture made him sign his confession; which done, an iron bolt, of intolerable weight, and two shackles, were rivetted to his legs, and he remanded to the loathsome dungeon from whence he had come ^c.

The remarkable conduct of *Sharrock*, one of the English prisoners.

THE next person brought to judgment, was Mr. *George Sharrock*, some time an assistant at *Hitto*. This unfortunate gentleman was no sooner brought to the place of torture, than he sent up a prayer to God, that in order to shun the grievous torments his countrymen had sustained, he would enable him to frame such probable falsehoods against his own conviction, and the innocence of his companions, as might serve at once to persuade his judges, and deliver ^c him from the torture. When he was brought to the rack, where the tormentors stood ready with pitchers of water and lighted tapers, the governor and fiscal proceeded to examine him. But *Sharrock's* conscience overcoming his fear, he fell down upon his knees, protesting before God and man his innocence, with an earnestness that would have staggered persons who were not proof against conviction, conscience, and the feelings of humanity. He was therefore questioned by the torture, and told, that if his confession was not ample and complete, he should first be tormented with all the power of fire and water, and then dragged by the heels to end his life on the gallows. Still, however, persevering in his innocence, the fiscal ordered the horrid operation to be performed; upon which he requested a moment's respite, alleging in his vindication, that he was at *Hitto* on new-year's day (the day on which the pretended conspiracy was ^d supposed to have been planned); from which time to the present, he offered to prove, by witnesses of good credit and faith, both *Dutch* and *English*, he had never been at *Amboyna*. But, upon a renewal of their menaces, he told them, that he had often heard *Clark* say, that he would be revenged on the *Dutch*, for the insufferable wrongs they had done the *English*; for the execution of which, *Clark* said, he had proposed an excellent plot to captain *Towerjon*. All this while, the governor and fiscal expressed their satisfaction in his plausible tale, by significant gestures and joy in their countenances. *Sharrock* added, that *Clark* said he had intreated permission of *Towerjon* to go to *Macassar*, to consult with the *Spaniards* proper measures for seizing upon the lesser factories in the islands of *Seron* and *Amboyna*, when no ships were there. Being asked what answer *Towerjon* gave to *Clark's* proposal? he replied, that *Towerjon* was to ^e the highest degree incensed against him for harbouring such a villainy, and never afterwards could endure the sight of *Clark*. The fiscal, displeased with this latter part of his confession, told him, in an enraged tone, that he lied, and threatened him afresh with the torture ^f. *Sharrock* then once more begged a respite, and began a tale quite different from the former; viz. that upon a certain day *Clark* told him of a conspiracy to seize the citadel, and asked him to be of the plot. To which he replied, by enquiring if captain *Towerjon* was privy to it; to which *Clark* answering in the affirmative, he, *Sharrock*, consented to do as others did. Thus he proceeded varying in other particulars from the confession they wanted him to make; so that, despairing to gain their ends with him, he was remanded back to his dungeon, whence he was brought the day following, and compelled by menaces to sign his confession, though he told the fiscal to his face, that what he signed, to avoid torture, was absolutely false, and without the least foundation. The fiscal reproaching him with lying, he broke out into bitter invectives, accusing him of shedding innocent blood; which, said he, you must answer to your God at the day of judgment ^a.

JUST in the same manner they proceeded with the other prisoners, forcing them, by unsufferable barbarities, to a confession; and when the extremity of torture deprived them of their senses, leading them to the confession they would extort. Yet what is remarkable, and sets their innocence beyond all suspicion, is, the conduct of the judges on this occasion, the manner of their examination, but, above all, their disavowal of all they confessed on the rack, before it

^a DODS. Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii. Harl. Collect. Voyag. vol. viii. p. 246. Hist. vol. i. fol. p. 136.

^b DODS. ibid.

^c SALMON'S Mod. Vid. vol. ii. of the Harl. Collect. of Voyages, p. 222.

a was applied, at the time it was applied, and after it was removed, which is corroborated by their final renunciation, the moment before they were put to death, of their signed confessions. Their solemn protestations and appeals to the tremendous tribunal of the Almighty at this awful period, could not possibly leave a doubt in the mind of the most partial *Dutchman*; yet did they, contrary to evidence, to conscience, and the dictates of reason, feeling, and humanity, persevere in their damnable and detestable barbarity.

On the 25th of *February* all the prisoners, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Japanese*, were solemnly A. D. 1622. condemned to death, some only excepted, who incontestably proved their being at *Hitto*, at the time of the pretended conspiracy. The day following they were brought into the great hall, to be prepared by the *Dutch* ministers for the awful transition; Mr. *Tower*son and *Thompson* being b excepted in the number. Here the unhappy *English* accused the *Japanese* of having brought to misery and death men they had hardly ever seen, or ever conversed with, which the others excused, by shewing the wounds received by the torture; adding, that flesh and blood could not withstand a trial, which would even change the nature of stones, and make inanimate things feel. *Collins* and *Beaumont* were respited and pardoned; the first having drawn lots with four others; and the latter owing his life to the intreaties of two *Dutch* merchants. The c remaining ten, with one *Portuguese* and eleven *Japanese*, were led next day to condign punishment, all of them protesting their innocence with their last breath*. Thus fell the *English* factors victims to the avarice, jealousy, resentment, and barbarity of the *Dutch* company, with circumstances of cruelty which leave an indelible stain on the reputation of that people, and will ever be just matter of reproach, disgrace, and infamy to human nature, as well as of eternal resentment and animosity in the *English* nation (X). *The English executed.*

The day following was spent, by order of the governor, in public rejoicings, and thanksgiv- Rejoicings of ings for so signal an escape and deliverance from a pretended conspiracy, and for the iniquitous the Dutch. extirpation of their rival traders. On the succeeding day, *Beaumont*, *Sbarrock*, *Collins*, and *Webber*, were brought before the governor, who informed *Sbarrock*, that he was to go to *Jacatra*, and rely upon the general's mercy; and the rest, that they were pardoned by his own grace and compassion. He then entertained them with wine, and other instances of a false and treacherous regard^p, verifying, by his conduct, the truth of the poet's remark, that

d *A man may smile and smile, and be a villain.*

Business being thus ended at *Amboyna*, the governor and fiscal proceeded for *Banda*, The Dutch where, after the severest scrutiny into the conduct of Mr. *Welden*, the *English* agent, nothing governor and was found that could in the least justify a suspicion, or answer their purpose. They therefore fiscal proceed returned, happily disappointed of their cruel intention of repeating the late horrid tragedy. *Welden*, perceiving the disorder of the company's officers at *Amboyna*, hired a vessel, and directly sailed thither. Having arrived, he sent for the company's servants, remanded by the *Dutch* governor to the upper factories, and minutely examining them, and comparing their report with the dying declarations of those who were executed, he could not doubt of its being e a premeditated scheme of the governor's to ruin the *English* trade there. Finding it neither

* Ibid. etiam. DODGE. Hist. East Ind. tom. ii.

^p Ibid.

(X) The following declaration of *William Griggs*, and some others, was wrote in his table-book, which he delivered to *Powel*, and the others who were pardoned, and by them transmitted to Mr. *Welden*. "We, whose names are here specified, *John Beaumont*, *William Griggs*, *Abel Price*, &c. lying prisoners in the ship *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for a conspiracy to blow up the citadel of *Amboyna*, and condemned to death for the same, after we were constrained, by the force of cruel tortures, to speak and confess what we knew not, and were innocent of, the which we take upon our deaths and salvation; and that we now die guiltless of the charge, as we hope to receive mercy. This we desire that our employers may know, and resent, the injuries we have received; and that you too (meaning Mr. *Welden*) may be on your guard, for they intended to bring you too in guilty. Written in the dock, *March* 5th, 1662."

The difference of the old and new style makes the variation in the dates.

Samuel Colson wrote on the margin of a common prayer book the following solemn declaration:

"*March* 5th. Understand that I *Samuel Colson*, late factor of *Hitto*, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracy, and for any thing I know must die for it. Wherefore having no better means to make my innocence known, have wrote this in this book, hoping some good *Englishman* will see it. I do here, upon my salvation, as I hope by his death and passion to have redemption for my sins, declare that I am clear of all such conspiracy; neither do I know any *Englishman* guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God bless me.

Samuel Colson."

On the opposite page he writes, "In another leaf you shall understand more, which I have written in this book." Here follows a relation of the abominable tortures he and his companions underwent, a retraction of every syllable spoke in the confession, extorted from him by means the most inhuman; a solemn avowal of his innocence, and a hearty desire that these his last sentiments may be transmitted to *England*, in defence of his character (1).

(1) *Oss. voy. vol. ii. p. 287.*

The English
factory with-
drawn from
Amboyna.

The English
council at Ja-
catra demand
justice.

Answer of the
Dutch.

Conduct of the
Dutch.

Dutch detect-
ed.

consistent with the honour or interest of the company, or safety of the factors, longer to reside there, he withdrew the poor remnant of *English*, and embarked them along with him for *Jacatra*. As for the company's effects, which had been seized, we do not find that he ever could prevail upon the *Dutch* governor to restore them; a circumstance which, without farther proof, would condemn the *Dutch*, and leave no doubt of their intentions, in the mind of any unprejudiced or impartial judge. The fatal news no sooner reached the *English* at *Jacatra*, than the president and council, moved with horror at the barbarity of the proceedings of the governor and fiscal at *Amboyna*, sent to demand of the *Dutch* general, by what authority the governor and fiscal carried their savage usage to such an extremity against the *English*, and whether he approved of their conduct? The general's answer was, that the governor of *Amboyna* acted in consequence of a power vested in him by the Lords the *States General*; by virtue of which he was supreme in all cases, civil and military, within the jurisdiction of his government. Further, that his proceedings against the *English* traitors were not only just, but indispensibly necessary; as might be seen by the copy of their confession, which he, the general, transmitted to the *English* president and council.

Thus it appears, that the massacre at *Amboyna* was not the wanton act of the governor and fiscal; though their natural dispositions might add to the cruelty of the circumstances; but the cool, deliberate, and concerted measure of the *Dutch* company, afterwards countenanced and supported by the *States General*, by a thousand arts and subterfuges, by false glosses, and spurious copies of extorted confessions. The first *true declaration*, as it is called, of the conspiracy, transmitted to *Europe* June 1624, by the *Hare* pinnace, is a notorious and base forgery, wherein the confessions of the unhappy *English* are interpolated, mangled, and castrated, in such a manner, as to set the governor's conduct in the best view; but unhappily, as murder will ever discover itself by some unforeseen circumstances, this copy of their confession differs widely, in the most important particulars, from that sent to *Jacatra*, and from the original, which was, by order transmitted the following year * (Y).

Without entering upon the particulars of what has been advanced by both parties, we shall beg leave to recapitulate in our text a few circumstances, which render the innocence of those unfortunate persons in the highest degree credible, and the conduct of the *Dutch*, as well as their motives, not only suspicious, but even beyond contradiction base, insidious, and barbarous (Z). And, in the first place, does not their conduct at *Peleroon* and *Bantam* suffi-

* *LED. Nav. Hist. sub an. 1622.*

• *Collect. of Voy. Har. lib. ii.*

(Y) In the collection of voyages compiled from the manuscripts in the *Harleian* library, the reader will find a full account of this shocking catastrophe. There he may see the lame defences of the *Dutch* company and of the *States General*, their artful evasions and specious glosses of a fact detestable beyond the power of casuistry to palliate. There likewise he may peruse at large the remonstrances of the *English* company to the ministry, and theirs in consequence to the *States*. Vid. tom. viii.

(Z) Notwithstanding we have, in the preceding pages, given the reader a summary of some of the most important articles of the treaty subsisting between *Great Britain* and *Holland*, it may, possibly, not be disagreeable to him to see it here at large; as it will help him to a clearer view of the situation of the commerce of both nations, at the time when this fatal stroke to the trade of the *English* company was given, and naturally account for the security in which the factors lived at *Amboyna*, notwithstanding some differences with the *Dutch*. The following is a confirmation of the treaty between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, under the direction of the representatives of each nation.

This instrument sets forth, that a treaty had been concluded at *London*, in the then year of our Lord 1619, between several commissioners, members of his majesty's privy council thereto appointed, and others, members of the *English East India* company, on the one part, and the commissioners of the High and Mighty Lords the *States General*, our good friends and allies (being of the body of the said lords and states), and others, members of the *Dutch East India* company, of the other part.—

“Whereas for several years past there have been differences and misunderstandings between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, to accommodate which, conferences have been held between commissioners of the said respective companies, as well at *London*, an. 1613,

as at the *Hague*, an. 1615, without coming to any conclusion: his majesty and the said lords of the states, desiring that their subjects might live in friendship and a good correspondence, and being solicitous to remove all obstructions to a perfect accommodation, have found it expedient and necessary to resume the said affair again in a third conference, by commissioners of the said companies, assisted by such persons of his majesty's privy council, and of the body of the *States General*, as his majesty and the states shall appoint; viz.—Here the members of the privy council and of the *States General*, appointed to assist at this treaty, are specified—Whom his majesty and the said lords the *States* have, to that purpose, authorized with powers and commissions, to the end that, by their interposition and joint direction, the conclusion of an affair of so much importance may be facilitated, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and according to the orders, and in the presence, of the abovesaid lords, the commissioners of both the said companies shall begin and manage their conferences; viz. on the part of the *English East India* company, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knt. &c. &c. and on the part of the *Dutch East India* company Sir *Henry Bass*, Knt. burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, &c. &c. who, by virtue of their powers, after much communication and long debates, have, by the interposition, counsel, and direction of the abovesaid lords, finally concluded and agreed upon the following articles; viz.

I. It was agreed, That there should be a perpetual amnesty of old offences and injuries before that time committed in the *East Indies*, either by the subjects of his majesty, or by the subjects of the said lords the *States*; and accordingly all prisoners on either part shall be set at liberty, and all ships, goods, or merchandizes, taken before the publication of this treaty in the *East Indies*, should be reciprocally restored.

II. The

a ciently declare their views, and evince that they were determined to stick at no means to enjoy the whole property of the spice islands? What could induce the *English* at *Amboyna*, if they were

II. The officers, agents, and servants, as well on the part of the one company as the other, shall entertain a friendly correspondence, and afford each other mutual aid, whenever they meet, as becomes neighbours and friends engaged in so strict an alliance. And if either party shall find the other in distress at sea, they shall afford them all friendly assistance, to the utmost of their power, and faithfully deliver any letters or accounts that shall be sent by them.

III. The trade and commerce of the *East Indies* shall be free, as well for the *English* company as for that of the *United Provinces*; and each of the said companies shall be at liberty to raise and employ such capital stock and funds as they respectively shall think fit.

IV. And, for the general good and advantage of trade, they shall mutually endeavour to regulate and lessen the excessive duties and impositions lately exacted in the *Indies*, and leave off the practice of giving gratuities and presents over and above.

V. They shall, by common consent, agree to fix a reasonable price in the *Indies* on all merchandizes; and at public or private sales, made either in *England* or *Holland*, of *India* goods, they shall agree upon a stated price for a certain time, during which it shall not be lawful for either party to sell under that rate.

VI. And, for avoiding all manner of jealousies and differences for the future, the agents or factors on both sides shall consult and agree together upon a moderate price for purchasing pepper at *Bentam*, and other places in *Java Major* (nevertheless, there shall remain a freedom of commerce in other parts of the *Indies*, and also in *Java Major*, as to other merchandizes, agreeable to the third article); and, to this end, skilful agents or factors shall be appointed to buy pepper, which, when bought, shall be divided and shared equally.

VII. The *English* company shall enjoy a free trade at *Pelicate*, and bear half the charge of maintaining the fort and garrison there, to commence from the time of publishing this treaty in those parts.

VIII. In the isles of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, the trade shall be so regulated by common consent, that the *English* company shall enjoy a third part of the trade, as well for the importing and selling of goods in those islands, as of the fruits and merchandizes of those islands, which shall be exported from thence; and the *Dutch* company shall enjoy the other two thirds.

IX. And as to buying and sharing the said merchandizes, the principal factors of the two nations shall buy them at the current price, and divide them by lot, to each their respective share: and, for that end, it shall be lawful for either party to have access to, and abide in, the forts and magazines of the other.

X. And considering that a trade so remote and important cannot be secured but by a considerable force, this shall be done by furnishing out and maintaining twenty ships of war; viz. ten by each company; the said number to be increased or lessened by common consent, as occasion shall require: and every one of the said ships shall be of the burthen of six or eight hundred tons, and carry 150 men, with 30 pieces of cannon, which will carry bullets from eight to eighteen pounds weight, with ammunition, and all other necessaries suitable thereto.

XI. And the council of defence shall order what number of frigates, gallies, and other small vessels shall be further necessary for the said defence.

XII. The forts and garrisons in the islands of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, shall be maintained out of the duties and impositions to be levied on the fruits and merchandizes exported from the said islands; which duties and impositions shall be assessed by order of the council of defence, and received by the

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agents of both parties, and by them be transmitted from time to time, as it shall be necessary, to the treasurers of both companies, for the payment of the soldiers.

XIII. For the better ordering and establishing the said defence, a council of defence shall be erected, consisting of eight persons of the principal officers there, and an equal number to be elected out of each company, and they to have the precedency by turns.

XIV. This council shall order all things which concern the common defence by sea, and distribute the ships of war to such stations as they shall judge most convenient.

XV. They shall also regulate the duties and impositions which shall be necessary for maintaining the said forts and garrisons; and shall have power to call the collectors of the said duties to account.

XVI. The ships of war shall continue in the stations appointed them, and pursue the orders of the council of defence, and not be employed in importing merchandizes into those kingdoms or provinces.

XVII. Provided, That the ships of war may be sometimes employed in transporting merchandizes from place to place in the *Indies*, for the service of the respective companies, if the council approve it, and it be not prejudicial to the defence.

XVIII. And, in case of necessity, the said council are empowered to employ such numbers of merchant ships as they shall judge proper in the said defence.

XIX. The losses and damages that shall happen in any engagement for the common defence, or in going to, or returning from, the said defence, shall be borne equally, and defrayed at the common charge: and the gain and prizes which shall be made shall redound to the common profit.

XX. The same rule shall be observed as to merchant ships employed on the like occasions; and, during such service, the soldiers and provisions for the seamen shall be made at the common charge of both companies: and, in consideration of the interruption their commerce may sustain by such service, they shall receive such recompence as shall be adjudged them by the council of defence.

XXI. But if any ship of war, being in its own road, or port, or in going or returning thither, shall receive any damage by tempest or other misfortune, such loss shall not fall on the community, but be borne by the company such ship shall belong to.

XXII. And, for avoiding all disputes which may arise concerning the value of ships lost or damaged, the council of defence shall make an estimate of all ships of war and others, before they shall be employed in the common service.

XXIII. The forts as well on the one part as the other, shall remain in the hands of those who possess them at present.

XXIV. And whereas a question has been moved, concerning the building certain new forts, which the *English* company have judged necessary for the security of their men and goods; it is agreed, That the said question shall remain undecided for the term of two or three years; to the end that, having duly weighed and considered how many forts, of what nature, and in what places, the same will hereafter be necessary, the said question may be resumed and determined in such manner as may tend to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

XXV. As to such forts as shall be taken in the *Moluccas*, or any other parts of *India*, by the interest and joint forces of both companies, they shall be equally possessed, garrisoned, and maintained by each company, who shall have there equal numbers; or they shall be divided equally between the two companies, according to the direction of the said council of defence.

Recapitulation
of facts.

Innocence of
the English.

The situation
of the English
factory at the
time of the

were conscious of guilt, not to escape the punishment they saw inflicted upon their pretended confederates the *Japanese*, for four days before they were called in question? They could not rely on the fidelity and constancy of those wretches against the excruciating torments of the rack. Nor could they imagine, when the end of the torture was to extort a false confession, that the *Dutch* governor would pay no regard to the evidence against them, especially after the late quarrels with him. It might also be asked, in what manner, or with what prospect of success, a fortress, strong by nature, and garrisoned by a body of two or three hundred foot soldiers, besides an equal number of free burghers, always ready and undoubted friends upon every danger, could be reduced by twelve or fourteen *English*, and an equal number of *Japanese*, without one military person among them? Or, if they had the good fortune to succeed in their scheme of seizing upon the citadel, in spite of the endeavours of a vigilant, crafty, suspicious governor, and regular troops, with what prospect could they hope to maintain their conquest? *Tower*, *Colson*, and some others of the *English*, appear to have been men of understanding, who could not possibly adopt such a plan, if it had been proposed to them by some of the more warm but unthinking servants of the company. Only two evidences appeared against *Tower* in particular; one of which alleged, that such a proposal had been made to him, but that he rejected it with indignation. The other declared, previously and subsequent to the torture, that what he was going and had confessed, was in consequence of the cruel torments inflicted upon him, from which he would readily free himself at any rate. Admitting, therefore, the authority of the governor to take cognizance of the offence, and that some were criminal, upon what pretext or evidence was *Tower*, the principal *Englishman* in the island, executed? But the feigned conspiracy is rendered still more improbable, when it is considered, that all the materials in possession of the *English* for so hazardous and difficult an attempt, were three old swords, two useless musquets, and half a pound of powder, with some small shot*. It is urged, the intention might be to blow up and

* The cited Collect. of Voyages, *ibid.* Also HARRIS'S Collect. and DODSLEY'S Hist. *ibid.*

XXVI. They shall jointly endeavour to open and establish a free trade in *China*, and other places in the *Indies*, by such ways and means as the common council shall judge expedient.

XXVII. The said companies shall not prevent or exclude each other from trading, either by force or any separate contracts which they shall make in the *Indies*, but the trade shall be free and open as well for the one as the other, in every place, as well within the forts and towns either party shall be possessed of, as elsewhere.

XXVIII. And it is agreed, That, without the consent of both companies, no other persons, not being of their respective bodies, shall partake of the benefit of the present treaty. And if any subject of either nation, not being of the same body, shall undertake any thing in prejudice of the said companies, they shall jointly and severally oppose the same, and maintain their respective privileges. And his said majesty and the said lords and states shall be addressed not to authorize any other companies to intermeddle in the traffick or navigation of the *Indies*, while the present agreement shall remain in force.

XXIX. If in any part of the *Indies* the one or the other company shall have a factory, trade, or effects, and it shall happen, by the death of the factors, or some other misfortune, that the goods or estates of either remain without any person legally intitled to administer to them, the surviving factors and officers of the other company shall take the said goods and estate into their possession, and honestly keep them for the owners, to whom they shall restore them in convenient time.

XXX. This treaty shall be in force twenty years; and if, during that time, there shall happen any disputes which cannot be terminated by the said council abroad, nor on this side by the said two companies, such differences shall be referred to the king of *Great Britain*, and the said lords of the States General, who will graciously be pleased to determine such differences to the satisfaction of both parties.—All which articles shall be faithfully and inviolably observed by both parties, according to the true intent and meaning of this treaty. And the above-mentioned lords do en-

gage that, as well his said majesty of *Great Britain*, as the said lords of the States, and both the said companies, shall approve, confirm, and ratify the said treaty, and reciprocally deliver instruments of ratification in due form.

Done at London, the 7th July,
1619, O. S.

Signed—By the above-said lords, and
the commissioners of the respective
companies."

Then follows the ratification:

"We have perused and fully understood this present treaty, have approved, confirmed, and ratified, and do approve, confirm, and ratify the same by these presents; promising to observe, and cause it to be observed, in all points, so far as it shall concern us, or the said company of *English* merchants, without suffering it to be infringed directly or indirectly, in any manner whatever. And we do acquiesce in the contents of the 28th article: and engage that, during such time as this treaty shall be in force, we will not erect any other company than that which is already erected, which shall intermeddle in the trade or navigation of the *East Indies*. In witness we have signed these presents, and caused them to be sealed with our great seal.

Done at Westminster, the 16th of July,
1619, and of our reign the seven-
teenth.

JACQUES, Rex.
per Carew.

Per ipsum regem propria manu signatum."

We have given our reader this treaty at full length, to shew how little the *Dutch* regarded the most solemn leagues, alliances, and treaties, where a point of interest was concerned. The reader will, without our help, be able to draw many inferences from this treaty, and what we have related of the conduct of those excellent allies, not much to the credit of either nation.

destroy,

- a destroy, not to seize, the citadel ; a fact acknowledged by the extorted confession of one of the criminals. But was half a pound of powder sufficient for the execution of this desperate attempt? Supposing the plan to succeed, did the *English* propose to bury themselves in the ruins? or did they resolve to defend themselves against the garrisons of three other forts in the island, and all the crews of several *Dutch* ships lying in the road? It cannot be imagined but a man of *Tower*'s understanding would have considered this circumstance. But, to pass over a thousand absurdities in the defence the *Dutch* have made, is there no credit due to the testimony of men as unanimous in their denials as they were dissonant in their confession? a confession extorted by the most excruciating tortures, drawn from them by the cunning and cruelty of their judges, as well as the utmost power of torture by the elements of fire and water. Is there, it may be asked, no credit to be given to a firm, steady, and uniform denial of a confession thus extorted, inconsistent with itself, at a time, too, the most solemn and awful, upon the brink of eternity, all the powers of their consciences awake, all temporal considerations vanished, and nothing before their eyes but death, judgment, and the account they were to render before the tremendous tribunal? Surely! the unfeeling and callous hearts, even of the governor and fiscal, whatever their avarice, their fears, or their inhumanity might formerly suggest, could not but admit such an evidence!

Credit due to the testimony of dying men.

- On the other hand, the *Dutch* had many motives to tempt them to a piece of cruelty from which they apprehended no consequences which their power, their cunning, and their wealth could not obviate. Their unbounded avarice; their eager desire to possess the whole trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Ambeyna*; their constant jealousy of the progress the *English* made in the *East India* trade, together with many other circumstances, induce us to believe, that a nation, the very basis and foundation of whose power, and the first and vital principle of their constitution, is the quest of money, would not be scrupulous or delicate in an affair which so cheaply procured to them so great an advantage*. The phlegmatic, cold, and determined disposition of the people of that country, renders actions perfectly consistent with their character, which would be hardly credible of other nations. Perhaps the lenity, indolence, corruption, and timidity of our court at that time, might be a collateral inducement with them to venture upon an expedient equally important to their interest, and shameful to this nation. The king, whose weakness could be exceeded by nothing but his conceit, could, at any time, be diverted from the pursuit of glory and national interest, by a theological disputation, where he was admitted to the princely honour of sitting as arbiter; while his ministry, as covetous as indigent, would sacrifice the good of the state, the honour of the kingdom, and their own reputation, to the sordid purposes of gratifying an insatiable lust of money, fraught with arguments equally solid and weighty, not only to a *Dutchman* but to a *Hottentot*. But besides the unanimous denial of all the prisoners, *English* and *Japanese*, at their last moments, not one paper, letter, or token, was found by the *Dutch*, to countenance their suspicions, after they had seized, ransacked, and plundered, all the chests, boxes, and cabinets of the factors. From these, and an infinite number of other presumptions, the *English* company, the nation, and indeed all *Europe*, naturally concluded the plot to be on the side of the *Dutch*; and, indeed, if the above circumstances were insufficient to prove it, their seizing upon all the *English* factories in the spice islands soon after, falls little short of a demonstration of their intentions.

Arguments why the Dutch conduct is suspicious.

Character of the nation.

Character of king James and his ministers.

Conclusion.

- In this manner, and by these methods, were the *English* company driven out of the spice islands; which the *Dutch* engrossing to themselves, have remained sole possessors of to this day. The death of king *James* soon after, put an end to any prospects there might be to remedy this disaster. The early embarrassments and disturbances which were transmitted with the crown to his successor, disabled that prince from paying all the regard to the commercial interest which his good sense suggested, or to humanity and justice, the debt his heart acknowledged, and his revenge dictated. That he attended to it, cannot be doubted, since it is evident he granted letters of request, which were presented to the States General, for obtaining suitable satisfaction to the *English East India* company, for their injuries and losses by the governor of *Ambeyna*†. This measure had not the desired effect; nor did the king pursue it, in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity of being revenged by giving some signal blow to the *Dutch* maritime force, and for ever putting it out of their power to interrupt the *English* commerce, or to execute their favourite scheme of dividing the *Spanish Netherlands* with *France*; a scheme by which they hoped, in confederacy with that court, to dispute the *English* title to the sovereignty of the narrow seas‡.

Reasons why the company received no recompence or satisfaction for the injuries and losses they sustained.

We are told by *Salmon*, an historian of no great credit, and but of weak judgment, that what alone prevented king *James* from procuring satisfaction, was the misunderstanding with his

* Sir W. TEMPLE'S Hist. of the Netherlands, p. 36.

† DODSLEY'S Hist. of the East Indies, tom. ii.

‡ Vid. two fine Treatises, called *Mare liberum*, and *Mare clausum*, by the famous GROTIUS and SELDEN.

The deep designs of the Dutch, to get possession of the cautionary towns.

King James the first's execrations.

Charles the first's remonstrances to the States General.

The rump parliament resolves to call them to account.

Decline of the English East India trade.

English and Dutch engage the Portuguese as a common enemy, in the gulph of Persia. Victory doubtful.

parliament, in consequence of his profuse bounty to the *Scots*⁷. It is certain that this contributed; but we have before assigned the most powerful causes. Some time after, the *Dutch* understanding that the *English* treasury was very low, and that the parliament would not supply the king till their grievances were redressed, to distress him still more, they refused to pay the garrisons in the cautionary towns, according to a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*. This occasioned grievous complaints from the troops, and had nearly produced a mutiny in the garrisons. Hence the king was in danger of losing these towns without any consideration, as well as a sum of money the *Dutch* were indebted to the crown by way of loan. These circumstances the republic craftily improved to their own advantage, by making tender of about one-tenth of the value, at a time when they knew the king would accept money upon any terms. In this manner did they acquire an independency of *England*; the consequences of which to our maritime power, our commerce, and more particularly to the redress of the late loss the *India* company had sustained, were neither sufficiently reflected upon at that time, nor retrieved ever since⁸.

BUT the cruelty and usurpations of the *Dutch* were not passed over entirely unobserved by our princes. *James* the first, insensible of national honour as he was, is said to have bestowed several hearty execrations upon them; but his spirit would seem to have evaporated there. *Charles* the first, finding remonstrances, letters of request, and memorials, ineffectual, was on the point of increasing his shipping, and calling the *Dutch* to an account; but that unhappy prince was first prevented by heats about ship-money, and afterwards by the civil war which ensued⁹. As the nation and government were reduced to the utmost confusion, nothing farther could be expected under this reign, during which the *Dutch* company was left in the quiet possession of this valuable branch of commerce. After the king's death, the rump parliament demanded satisfaction, and the *Dutch* were sensible it was not to be trifled with; insomuch that they promised speedy justice. The short duration of the parliamentary authority prevented the effects, and *Cromwell*, for some secret purposes, was stopped in his career of compelling them to a full compensation and an ample redress. *Charles* the second entered into two wars with *Holland*, for this among other reasons; and nothing but the national apprehension of the growing power of the house of *Bourbon*, has prevented their being long ago forced to make restitution of *Banda*, and other valuable islands¹⁰.

FROM the time of the massacre at *Amboyna*, the *English East India* trade wore another face from what it had done, and began to decline apace; the severities of the *Dutch* terrifying the company from engaging in disputes they were unable to maintain, and their servants refusing to settle in colonies where their property and lives were in continual danger. But before we proceed farther in the affairs of the company in the islands, it may be proper to mention some circumstances wherein the *Dutch* and they acted as allies in the gulph of *Persia*, at *Ormuz*, and at *Surat*. In *January*, an. 1625, four *English* ships, under the command of captain *Weildel*, lying in the road of *Gombroon*, with an equal number of *Dutch* vessels, were attacked by a strong *Portuguese* squadron. Such was the situation of affairs at that time, that while the *Dutch* and *English* were embroiled and at perpetual war in the *Moluccas*, the *Portuguese* were using their utmost endeavours to dispossess both of their trade on the continent, both in *Persia* and the *Mogul's* country. Here the *English* and *Dutch* acted as faithful allies against a common enemy; there as open enemies, yet under the mask of friends, and while a treaty subsisted between the nations. In this engagement both the *English* and *Dutch* admirals eminently distinguished themselves against a greatly superior force of the enemy. The battle continued for four successive days, without terminating in a victory on either side, though the *English* company sustained a considerable loss in having one of their finest ships burnt; but with this satisfaction, that the loss of the enemy was superior, and their settlements at *Surat* and other places in the gulphs of *Cambaya*, *Ormuz*, &c. left unmolested¹¹. Several other engagements happened, in which the *Portuguese* generally had the advantage of a superior fleet, but no other. As these were not attended with any decisive or important consequences to the company, we shall omit them, leaving the reader to the perusal of *Harris's* collection of voyages, wherein he will find a full account of them (A).

WHILE

⁷ SALMON'S Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 140.

⁸ DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

Hist. sub an. 1625.

⁹ DODSLEY'S Hist. of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 147.

¹⁰ RAPIN & GUTHRIE'S Hists. of England.

¹¹ LEDIARD'S Nav.

(A) The dispossessing the *Portuguese* of this settlement was, indeed, a point of the utmost consequence to the company, and would have been attended with great advantages, had not the civil war which ensued intirely put a stop to the *Indian* commerce. It may be worth the reader's while to peruse a short account of the settle-

ment at *Gombroon* by the *Portuguese*, and of the manner in which the *English* enlarged their privileges. *Shah Abbas* having rendered himself master of the provinces bordering upon the *Persian* gulph, in the 10th century, passed over into this island, and built the city of *Ormuz*. It was conquered by the *Portuguese* in 1508, in the time of

- a** WHILE the *English* were attacked on all hands, either by force or fraud, by open enmity or treacherous professions of friendship, the company's affairs began to have a very untoward aspect, and to be in a situation little better than ruinous. In order to remedy this growing evil, *Charles* thought proper to accept the proposals of certain merchants of *London*, to send a squadron into the *Indies*, to revive the commerce, but without prejudice to the rights or interest of the company. Although this was an infringement of the company's charter, yet it was not only opposed, but even forwarded by them; they well knowing their own inability to support themselves alone against the power of the *Dutch*; and that upon the success of this squadron depended their future prospects of advantage. A commission therefore was issued to certain persons therein specified, to send a determined number of ships to the *East*; in consequence of which, six large ships were fitted out^a. We are not informed in what particular year this expedition was undertaken; but from circumstances it seems to appear to be that so strongly patronized by prince *Rupert*, when a settlement in *Madagascar* was intended. Sir *William Courton*, one of the great promoters of this scheme, advanced, on his own part, a prodigious sum, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, towards the equipment of the fleet and purchase of the cargo. Their success in the *Indies* was answerable to the greatness of the preparations, and the most sanguine expectations; but the *Dutch*, who dreaded above all things the revival of the *English* commerce directly with the *Indians*, wanting to engross the first purchase to themselves, fell upon them in their return with a success almost ruinous to the enterprize. In this action, two of the largest *English* ships, with their whole crews and cargoes, were sunk; the latter amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds^c.
- b** This disaster, however, did not dispirit the adventurers. The richness of the cargoes excited their appetite for gain in a greater proportion, than the fear of danger, and hazard of losses, pallied it. Accordingly seven ships were sent out the following year by the same proprietors, and with just the same fate as the former. They were every-where well received in *India*; disposed of their cargoes, and laid out their money to the utmost satisfaction: but returning with merchandize of immense value, they were a second time attacked and defeated by the *Dutch*. This misfortune was entirely attributed to the necessity they were under of
- c**

Proposals of London merchants.

Commission issued for reviving the commerce to the East Indies, to those adventurers, but without prejudice to the rights of the company.

Sir W. Courton's public spirit.

Success and misfortune of his new fleet.

A 2d fleet of 7 ships sent out.

Its fate.

^a DODSLEY'S Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii.

^c HARRIS'S Collect. vol. ii.

of *Saffadin*, a prince tributary to the monarch of *Persia*. *Albuquerque* coasting along *Arabia*, had intelligence that the city of *Ormuz* was in disgrace with the Shah, by reason of some misdemeanors of the viceroy, or governor, and came before the city with his fleet. Here he defeated the *Persian* squadron and forces; then attacked the city with such fury, that the viceroy was forced to capitulate on ignominious terms. He acknowledged the king of *Portugal* his sovereign, paid a tribute to the *Portuguese*, and permitted *Albuquerque* to build and garrison a citadel, which had the entire command of the city.

The *Moors* oppressed by the *Portuguese*, made several attempts to rid themselves of those tyrannical superiors; but the vigilance of the *Portuguese* not only frustrated all their endeavours, but likewise engrossed the whole commerce of these parts. It was accounted a favour that they permitted *Saffadin* to live within some miles of the city, of which formerly he was sovereign. Shah *Abbas*, having received some provocation from the insolence of these new masters, particularly by their having given protection to an *Italian*, one *Gabrieli*, who fled out of *Persia*, engaged the *English* to join him in reducing the city, and expelling the *Portuguese*. This great prince, equally celebrated for his valour and justice, as he had no fleet at sea, was forced long to submit to the insults of the light *Portuguese* galleys upon his coasts. This they had practised before his reign, and continued during the first years of his government. At last tired out with the complaints of his subjects, robbed, spoiled, and plundered by those imperious conquerors, he sought his remedy first in encouraging the *English* to settle a factory at a place called *Jasques*. Sir *Thomas Moore* being then ambassador at the court of *Persia*, the Shah communicated his intentions to this minister, of driving the *Portuguese* out of the gulph. It was at length concerted, that the *English* should assist his majesty with a fleet, upon certain immunities granted to the company;

upon his majesty's sending a sufficient land force, and on his defraying the whole expence of the enterprize. Accordingly the Shah sent an army of 40,000 men, with *frankies*, or transports, to convey them to the island; at the same time the *English* fleet, consisting of five ships, amounting collectively to 40 guns each, well manned, invested the town by sea, after defeating the *Portuguese* frigates. The brisk fire from the citadel sunk one of the *English* ships, whose guns were landed, to erect a battery to annoy the castle. This was done with such spirit, both from the batteries and shipping, that in less than two months the *Portuguese* capitulated to leave *Ormuz*, with all the fortifications intire, carrying nothing besides their liberty away with them. The plunder, which was immense, was equally divided among the *English* and *Persians*: and the former were recompensed, not only with an exemption of all duties, but likewise with a moiety of all the customs received in the gulph. Captain *Hamilton* informs us, the treasure was so great which they had taken in *Ormuz*, that tradition affirms it was measured by long-boats full: that one boat being pretty deep, an officer still throwing in more, put the boatswain of the ship, at that time in the boat, into a passion, who swore, that for every handful more they put into her, he would throw two into the sea; for he could not tell what would satisfy them, if a long-boat full of money would not. This story, though not literally to be depended on, yet shews the greatness of the treasure taken here. In this manner did the *English* acquire a firm establishment in the gulph. The articles with the Shah were punctually observed till the year 1680, when the *English* company failed, on their part, of keeping the gulph clear of insults, according to contract. The *Persians*, perceiving the company's forces too small to repel the injuries of the *Arabs*, their neighbours, took away half the customs, and allowed the *English* 1100 Tomans, about 3300 *l.* per cent. (1).

(1) Vid. Harris, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 104. Dodley, vol. ii.

The Dutch
openly attack
the fleet.

The endea-
vours of
Charles the
1st. to obtain
redress.

The endea-
vours of the
Dutch totally
to extinguish
the English
commerce.

They suffer due
chastisement.

A. 1654.

Treaty be-
tween Oliver
and the Dutch.

Commissioners
appointed by
each company,
to settle the
disputes.

separating, and making different voyages to the different parts of *India*. One ship running on shore, on the island *Mauritius*, became a prey to the *Dutch*, and was a real loss to the owners of ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding all the pretended humanity of the *Hollanders*, and their proffers of friendship and assistance. Another was met by two ships of war belonging to the *Dutch* company, who openly attacked, took, and made prize of her, with a cargo amounting to seventy-five thousand pounds, after they had killed the captain and half the crew in the engagement. The remainder were carried to *Batavia*, where, together with the *English* ensign, they were dragged in triumph through the streets of the city, and exposed to the brutal insults of the populace, and the jests of the mob^a. By these outrages, most of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and the rest deterred from prosecuting a scheme from which nothing but misfortunes ensued. Thus failed the attempt of those public-spirited citizens, to restore the commerce of *England* to the *East-Indies*; an attempt as glorious in the design, as unfortunate in the issue. King *Charles*, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, and the variety of the embarrassments which frustrated his laudable intentions, did not neglect the care of the company's affairs. Repeated remonstrances, letters of request and menace, were used, all of which terminated in procuring the trifling equivalent, and restitution of eighty-five thousand florins; a sum by no means proportioned to the hundredth part of the immediate loss and its consequences^b.

Now did the *Dutch* triumph unrivalled in the east; while the *English* company were compelled, not only to abandon their just rights, but the traffick in general for several successive years; the civil distractions banishing all care of so distant concerns. The sequel of this unhappy reign we must pass over in intire silence; no monuments of the company's transactions appearing for a series of years, if they really did subsist as a company, during that period. Such were the melancholy effects of the confusion at home on foreign trade, at a critical juncture too, when it might have been carried to so high a degree, and made a source of perpetual wealth and glory to the nation. It is indeed a dismal and sad scene, the prospect of which was never clearly exhibited to the view of an *English* reader; and to trace it now thro' its labyrinth of unfortunate effects, would be to write a tragedy rather than a history. The immense wealth, and maritime strength, acquired by the *Hollanders*, induced them to endeavour still to aggrandize themselves, by the total depression of our naval power. They were led to this design by an opinion, that the parliament, which stood upon a precarious and narrow basis, would hardly venture upon a war abroad, at a time when they were breathing after the fatigues and oppression of civil broils. In this the *Dutch* found themselves deceived; for however unjustly the parliament had acquired the might it possessed, it must be allowed they here exerted it for the national honour. War between the two commonwealths was declared; and the *Dutch* suffered the due punishment of their insolence, and had reason afforded them of repenting their being the aggressors. After repeated losses at sea, they were compelled to ask peace, which was granted to them, and signed at *Westminster*, on the 5th of *April*, A. 1654. By this treaty, they rendered *Cromwel* that satisfaction which they had denied both *James* and *Charles* I. This new revolution, which consigned the government of the kingdom into the hands of a tyrant, promoted to that high rank by the intrigues and interest of *Holland*, operated nothing in favour of the *Dutch* on this occasion. *Cromwel*, it must be admitted, discharged his duty in this particular, with the true dignity of a monarch. Forgetting his personal obligations to that nation, where the honour and interest of *England* were concerned, the protector insisted upon giving the law and his own terms. In the 27th article of the treaty it was stipulated, "That the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces* shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*, as the republic of *England* is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living"^c. By this treaty, there was settled a commission which sat at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, whose determination was to be decisive and final of all complaints laid before them, respecting either of the companies. The *English* gave in an estimate of damages, amounting, besides the loss of their settlements, to 2,695,999 *l.* 19 *s.* sterling; which sum was specified in fifteen different articles, clearly proved and stated. On the other hand, the *Dutch* commissioners ballanced this demand by a charge, which, however, was neither specified nor proved, amounting to 850,000 *l.* After weighing the evidence in support of either claim, the following conclusion, called a Regulation, was agreed upon, and signed the 30th of *August* 1654. Here, after reciting all the above demands at large, they proceed thus; "all which complaints, demands, and charges, exhibited to us the said commissioners, by the deputy of both the *English* and *Dutch* companies, expressly chosen to this purpose, have been laid before us, with a great number of documents, instruments, and proofs exhibited, as well for forming

^a DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.
vol. ii. DODSLEY'S Hist. vol. ii.

^b HARRIS, vol. ii.

^c Parliament. Hist. sub An. 1654. Etiam HARRIS,

- a and corroborating their own demands, as for destroying and refuting those of the opposite party; and at length the arbitration of all those conferences is submitted to us the aforesaid commissioners, by the said deputies of both companies. Whereupon, we the aforesaid *John Exton, William Turner, William Thompson, Thomas Kendal, Adrian Van Almonde, Christian Van Rodenburgh, Lewis Howens, and James Oyffal*, after having seen, read, examined, and accurately considered all the documents, instruments, and proofs exhibited to us on both sides, together with all other things which seemed necessary to us for the discovery of the truth; and being desirous to reconcile and to establish a perpetual agreement between both the companies aforesaid, by virtue of the power and authority to us given by the most High the Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the High and Mighty Lords the States
- b General of the *United Netherlands*, have decided, defined, and determined, and by this our present award, do decide, define, and determine as follows:—

- “ We make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion (so as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any person whatsoever) all complaints, pretextures, and controversies mentioned here at large above, and all others whatsoever, which the *English* company trading to the *East Indies* doth or may form against the *Dutch* company, without excepting any, of whatsoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. And particularly we appoint and ordain, that the said *English* company shall not for the future sue or demand any thing of the said *Dutch* company in *Persia*, or elsewhere, under the denomination of the customs at *Ormuz*, or *Gombroon*; so that the *Dutch* shall never be
- c molested or disturbed by the *English* for this cause, under any pretext. Provided, nevertheless, that this does not prejudice any action or plaint, which the *English* company may enter against the king of *Persia*, or any other person whatsoever, the *Dutch* excepted. In like manner we make void, extinguish, obliterate, and wholly blot out, and commit to oblivion, so as never to be revived at any time, and on any pretence, by any person whatsoever, all complaints, pretensions, and controversies mentioned above more at large, and all others whatsoever they may be, which the aforesaid *Dutch East India* company doth or may form against the said *English* company trading to the *East Indies*, except none, of whatsoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. Moreover, we appoint and decree, that the said *Dutch* shall yield and restore the island of *Poleroon* to the said *English* company, in the same state and condition as it
- d now is; provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for the said *Dutch* company to take away, and remove out of the said island, all military furniture, merchandize, household stuff, and all moveables, if they happen to have any in the island.”

“ AND in the last place, we declare and ordain, that the said *Dutch* company shall pay the said *English* company 85,000 *l.* sterling; to be paid here at *London*, one moiety before the last day of *January* next ensuing, according to the *English* style, and the other before the last day of *March* following, according to the same style; and all controversies between the said companies being by this means composed, decided, and determined, to the end that a stop may also be put to the quarrels of private persons.”

- “ We have seen, perused, and examined, all the complaints, and demands exhibited to us
- e in due time, in the name of some private *Englishmen*, who complain of having received injury and damage at *Amboyna*, in the year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and considered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above-mentioned deputies of the *Dutch* company, in their own defence; and we the commissioners aforesaid, considering that no one person besides these underwritten, to us, on this account, entered any actions or demands before us within the due time, after which, it is not lawful to enter any more; and being therefore desirous that no relicks of complaint should remain, and that all cause of wrangling may be removed, after having duly considered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full power and authority given us by the most High Protector, and the High and Mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action,
- f and demand of the *English* whomsoever, whether public or private, on the score of any damage or injury which they pretend to have suffered at *Amboyna*, in the year 1622 the *English* style, and 1623 the N. S. may be made void, terminated and committed to oblivion; and that no person whomsoever he be, shall enter any action on that account, or disturb, molest, or vex the *Dutch* company on that account, or any *Dutchman* on that pretext. And on the other hand, we also decree and ordain, that the said *Dutch* company shall pay here at *London*, before the first day of *January* next ensuing, 700 *l.* sterling, to *William Towerfon*, nephew and administrator of *Gabriel Towerfon*, late of *Amboyna*, deceased. To *William Colson*, brother of *Samuel Colson*, &c. administrator in like manner of his effects, 450 *l.* To *James Bayles*, administrator of the effects of *John Powell*, 350 *l.* To *Anthony Ellingham*, administrator of the effects of *William Grigg*, 200 *l.* To the administrators of the effects of *John Wallerel*, 200 *l.* To *Jane Webber*, administratrix of the effects of *George Sharrock*, 150 *l.* To *John* and *Elizabeth Collins*, children and heirs of *Edward Collins*, 465 *l.* To the administrators
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nistrators of *John Beaumont*, 300 *l.* To *Jane Webber*, widow and administratrix of *William Webber*, 200 *l.* To *James Baslie*, administrator of the effects of *Ephraim Ramsey*, 350 *l.* To the executors of the will of *Babrofee*, 50 *l.* And to the administrator of the effects of *Emanuel Thompson*, 200 *l.* all which sums added together, make the sum of 3615 *l.* sterling, to be paid here at *London*, before *January* next ensuing. And on this condition, we insist that their actions or suits be altogether set aside and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter by any person whatsoever¹.

Concessions
made by the
Dutch com-
missioners.

As this award, judgment, or determination, was strictly executed as soon as made, it ought to be considered as decisive against the *Dutch*. By these trifling and inconsiderable concessions and satisfactions to the representatives of the unfortunate *English* murdered at *Amboyna*, they tacitly acknowledge the guilt of their proceedings; unless it be said, this acknowledgment was extorted by a high hand with the same exaction they used over the sufferers. This treaty set the affairs of the company again on foot; it gave life and spirit to commerce, and encouraged individuals to that independence and freedom of action and sentiment, which they perceived was asserted by the public. So much did the *East India* affairs recover themselves, that there was actually a subscription entered into, under the protection of *Cromwel*, of 800,000 *l.* sterling².

A. 1661.
Charter grant-
ed by Charles
the 2^d. with
additional
privileges.

In this train were affairs when *Charles II.* was restored, by the address and intrigues of *Monk*; and the constitution reinstated in its antient form. It was one of the earliest acts of *Charles's* government, to give that countenance and protection to the company, which was necessary to revive and establish its commerce. He granted them a new charter, dated *April 3, 1661*; and leave to export bullion, to the amount of 150,000 *l.* every voyage, provided that foreign goods to that amount were re-exported. He confirmed their exclusive right, and permitted them to license private merchants to trade from one port to another in *India*, by the name of country traders. An authority, civil and military, was vested in the company, with power given them of making war or peace with the infidels in the *Indies*: But should this charter prove detrimental to the nation, the provisional clause was still reserved, of its being in that case void and of no effect, after three years notice given.

Bombay, the
dowry of the
infanta of
Portugal,
queen of
England.
Squadron sent
thither.

No sooner had his majesty set on foot a treaty with *Portugal*, for his marriage with the infanta, than it was determined to embrace this opportunity of procuring the cession of some convenient port and mart for the *India* company, as part of the infanta's portion. Thus the important island of *Bombay* came into the hands of the *English*, where it has ever since continued, and proved one of the most advantageous settlements in the *Indies*. The soil, it must be acknowledged, is but barren, and the climate unhealthy; yet its situation renders the place important, and the ensuing success of the company demonstrates it to be one of the greatest acquisitions they ever made. After the king's marriage, a squadron, conducted by the lord *Marleburgh*, was sent to receive the possession and investiture of the island from the hands of the viceroy, who had received his *Portuguese* majesty's commands to that effect. His lordship set sail with a fleet of five men of war, having Sir *Abraham Shipman*, appointed governor, on board, and arrived at *Bombay* in *September 1633*, after a prosperous voyage. The viceroy was disposed to comply with his majesty's instructions; but the strong opposition of the clergy, who refused to cede the island to hereticks, terrified the viceroy into their measures, and determined him to keep to his new acquired dignity³. It is probable, that ambition as well as religion might have some influence upon the viceroy; certain it is, that his obstinate refusal to surrender the island, obliged the lord *Marleburgh* with the fleet to retire to *Swally Road* for refreshments. The governor of *Surat*, under whose jurisdiction *Bombay* was, threatened the *English* factory at *Surat*, unless the *English* troops reembarked, who were too formidable neighbours for him to endure without apprehensions. After laying in store of the necessary provisions, his lordship, in *January 1664*, set sail with two ships for *England*, leaving the rest of the squadron under Sir *Abraham Shipman*, to spend the remainder of the western monsoons in some of the nearest ports. During this time, he buried above 200 of his men on a desolate island, *Anjadiva*, where he wintered and stayed from *April* to *October*. The monsoons being over, the fleet put to sea, and sailed for *Bombay*. On his arrival, Sir *Abraham* threatened the viceroy and clergy, who opposed his pretensions, with the vengeance of the kings of *England* and *Portugal*, if they longer continued obstinate, or denied obedience to their majesties instructions and contracts. Some of those who had not forgot *Cromwel's* exploits, who reflected on the miseries the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* fleet endured from the *English* republicans, advised the church to abate of her zeal. At length, their religion giving way to the suggestions of fear, they consented to a treaty, by which the inhabitants were to be continued in the free exercise of their faith, and possession of their estates under the crown of

The inhabi-
tants refuse
submission to
the king of
England.

They at last
pay obedience.

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. p. 455.

² Ibid. Etiam DODSLEY, vol. ii.

³ HAMILTON'S Hist. E. Ind. vol. i.

a *England*°. Sir *Abraham* dying, Mr. *Cook*, next in commission, signed the treaty, and in quality of governor, took possession of the island, in the name of the king his master. Here he immediately set about building a fortress; but a capital mistake he made in concluding the treaty, by not including the appendages to *Bombay*, extending to *Verfisa* on *Salet*, has been a bone of contention ever since. The fort was laid out in a regular manner; an old square house fitted up for himself as governor; but Mr. *Hamilton* observes, that both Mr. *Cook*, and some of his successors, never once thought of a church.

Thus the trade of *Bombay* flourished exceedingly; but the revenues of the place not being equal to the expence of keeping it, and other political and commercial reasons superadded, obliged the crown to make it over in fee-tail to the company; in which manner they continued to hold it to this present time°. After the fort was traced, and the foundation laid, Sir *George Lucas* arrived from *England* with two ships; but affairs being accommodated before he came, he continued here no longer than *January* 1666, when he returned to *England*, leaving the government as he found it, in the hands of Mr. *Cook* and the council, under the presidency of the settlement at *Surat*. Mr. *Cook* shewed his ignorance of architecture, in building the fort upon the ground it now stands, which is to a high degree inconvenient. As an engineer too, he has failed; the fort being commanded by a hill, called *Dangeree*, at about 800 paces distance. The consequences of this unfortunate choice were apparent in the year 1689, when the *Mogul* invested the city with an army. He is the more blameable, as common sense, with the greatest ignorance of architecture and engineering, might have pointed out a much more commodious situation, at the distance of 500 paces southward (B). Several other little forts and fences were likewise built in commodious places for the security of the island against invasions°.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* had for a considerable time pursued the long-concerted scheme of engrossing the entire *India* trade. The former reign had afforded them an opportunity of executing in a great measure that design; the interregnum began to revive commerce, and now that the court struck into the plan advantageous to traffick, the *English* company once more began to make some figure in *India*. This the *Dutch* resolved to put a stop to, by a method no less effectual than an immediate attack upon the *English*; this was, to wage unintermitting war with the natives, till they compelled them to expel all foreigners, besides themselves, out of the country (C).

The war no sooner broke out, than their resentment was immediately levelled against the *English*, in which, by their superior strength, they generally succeeded in that part of the world; but peace between *England* and *Holland* ensuing, they again began with the natives, supporting the prince of *Java* against his father, till, from a principle of self preservation, the *Javaneze* necessarily excluded our company. The loss of the *English* settlement at *Bantam* greatly affected the affairs of the company; they determined, therefore, at all events, to at-

° HAMILTON, *ibid.* HARRIS, vol. ii.

° RAPIN, under this reign.

° HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 85.

(B) As for the magnitude, figure, and materials of the fort, says captain *Hamilton*, there is nothing considerably faulty. It is a regular tetragon, whose outward polygon is about 500 paces, built of an excellent hard stone. It can mount an hundred pieces of cannon; and these particulars are all that can be alleged in its favour. It has not a single spring of fresh water; which very circumstance must, in case of a siege, render all its fortifications of little or no value; since a little patience must make the enemies masters of it at discretion (1).

(C) We find in the first volume of the painful and elaborate *Ralph*, a catalogue of the damages for which the *English* demanded satisfaction, A. 1663. The following contain the articles exhibited by the *East India* company.

I. The ship *May Flower*, W. *Curtis* commander, was debarred by *Balshaazer*, the *Dutch* commodore, A. 1658, from trading at *Achen*, notwithstanding leave obtained of the queen; 3878 pounds of pepper were seized by the said *Dutchman*, and *Curtis* compelled to depart empty.

II. The ship *Dragon*, N. *Baddiford* commander, was prohibited A. 1588, from trading at *Bantam*, by the governor of *Batavia*; and after a long delay, obliged to sail away without a lading. Hence she was necessitated to remain in the *Indies* till her provisions were consumed, and then to return at an unreasonable time of the year, by which she was lost. Of this

nothing was known at *London*, upon the 10th of *January* 1588-9.

III. The ship *Advice*, R. *Mayne* commander, was in the same manner constrained to depart empty from *Bantam*, in 1558. Of this nothing was known at *London*, in 1659.

IV. The ship *Marygold*, J. *Cornis* commander, was used in the same manner, with this difference, that she was fired at by the *Dutch* ships in the harbour of *Bantam*.

V. In *August* 1659, *Peter de Goyer*, principal of the *Dutch* factory at *Jambee*, in *Sumatra*, assisted by 40 *Dutchmen*, and 150 slaves armed, entered the *English* factory in the said place, in a hostile manner, plundering it, to the great damage of the company.

VI. The *Merchant's Delight*, J. *Bell*, commander, was hindered from trading or entering the port of *Bantam*, by some *Dutch* ships, A. 1659.

VII. The *Merchant of Constantinople*, R. *Brown* commander, A. 1659, sailing betwixt *Vingola* and *Goa*, on the coast of *India*, was attacked by a *Dutch* fleet, and plundered of 1978 grenades, 59 iron guns, and 3 brass mortars.

VIII. Money disbursed for provisions, stores, &c. for the *Dutch*, A. 1651.

These were the articles exhibited by the company, which, with those of the *West India* merchants, &c. were the scaffold on which was built the future war (2).

(1) *Hamilt.* vol. i. p. 186.

(2) *Ralph*, vol. i. p. 100.

tempt the recovery of a place so important to their trade. Great and extraordinary preparations were set on foot for this purpose; and a fleet consisting of twenty-three ships, many of them carrying sixty and seventy guns, was equipped, with every thing ready to sail, A. 1685. A body of 8000 land forces was put on board; a force which no reasonable man doubted would reinstate the settlement, and humble the insolence of the *Hollanders*^p. In another manner did the corrupted court determine things. Profusion begat avarice; and this insatiable passion blinded the administration to every view of honour, and silenced the clamorous dictates of honesty, conscience, and national spirit. An embargo for nine months was laid upon this armament, under various pretexts; but with a view to extort large sums of money from the company. At last the time elapsing, the *Dutch* ambassador put an entire stop to the expedition, by a bribe to certain great personages, of 100,000 *l.*; an action that has indelibly stained with infamy the mercenary reign of that weak and profligate prince. Thus was the interest and honour of the kingdom, and the rights of a company established by law, and cherished by all the predecessors of this monarch, bartered for the mean gratification of an inconsiderable sum of money. *Charles*, it must be owned, understood, and would have encouraged commerce, had his irregular passions, and loose desires, left him an opportunity of paying any attention to the welfare of his people. His inclinations were evinced by the additional privileges he granted the company the year after his restoration. The company found in his brother *James* the II. a still more powerful protector and warm patron. *Charles* had granted them a new charter in the 28th year of his reign, and extended it in the 35th; but his successor not only extended the immunities of the company, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them^q. He impowered them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form of courts martial, to coin money, &c. and this with intention to enable them to dispute this commerce with the *Hollanders*, and to secure the encroachments resulting from the traffick to his kingdoms. Under so many advantages, and the patronage of a prince, who both knew and loved trade, it is not to be doubted, but the company flourished, grew powerful, and extended their dealings and authority with which the sovereign had invested them. 'Tis true, they did exert their power, by making their countrymen feel its full weight, without communicating any part of the benefit.

The corruption of the English court frustrates the design.

James the II. encourages the company.

The company borrow money in India.

The shameful acts of the governor of the company.

Sir Jos. Child and his brother abuse the power entrusted to them.

tempt the recovery of a place so important to their trade. Great and extraordinary preparations were set on foot for this purpose; and a fleet consisting of twenty-three ships, many of them carrying sixty and seventy guns, was equipped, with every thing ready to sail, A. 1685. A body of 8000 land forces was put on board; a force which no reasonable man doubted would reinstate the settlement, and humble the insolence of the *Hollanders*^p. In another manner did the corrupted court determine things. Profusion begat avarice; and this insatiable passion blinded the administration to every view of honour, and silenced the clamorous dictates of honesty, conscience, and national spirit. An embargo for nine months was laid upon this armament, under various pretexts; but with a view to extort large sums of money from the company. At last the time elapsing, the *Dutch* ambassador put an entire stop to the expedition, by a bribe to certain great personages, of 100,000 *l.*; an action that has indelibly stained with infamy the mercenary reign of that weak and profligate prince. Thus was the interest and honour of the kingdom, and the rights of a company established by law, and cherished by all the predecessors of this monarch, bartered for the mean gratification of an inconsiderable sum of money. *Charles*, it must be owned, understood, and would have encouraged commerce, had his irregular passions, and loose desires, left him an opportunity of paying any attention to the welfare of his people. His inclinations were evinced by the additional privileges he granted the company the year after his restoration. The company found in his brother *James* the II. a still more powerful protector and warm patron. *Charles* had granted them a new charter in the 28th year of his reign, and extended it in the 35th; but his successor not only extended the immunities of the company, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them^q. He impowered them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form of courts martial, to coin money, &c. and this with intention to enable them to dispute this commerce with the *Hollanders*, and to secure the encroachments resulting from the traffick to his kingdoms. Under so many advantages, and the patronage of a prince, who both knew and loved trade, it is not to be doubted, but the company flourished, grew powerful, and extended their dealings and authority with which the sovereign had invested them. 'Tis true, they did exert their power, by making their countrymen feel its full weight, without communicating any part of the benefit.

HAVING been at the expence of such an armament as we have mentioned, they were obliged to employ them abroad; but their capital being insufficient for purchasing a cargo, orders were issued to their governors and factors, to borrow what sums they could on the company's credit in *India*. Still several of the ships remained unloaded; these, therefore, were employed in freights in the country. Thus far the policy of the company was justifiable and honest; what follows was treacherous, base, and unworthy the subjects of a christian and civilized state. Captain *Hamilton*, who seems a plain honest man of sense, acquaints us, that he saw a letter from the governors of the company in *England*, to the factors abroad, intimating, that as soon as they had pushed their credit to the utmost extent, they would then contrive means of quarrelling with the creditors, and of putting a stop to their trade^r. A short method of payment; which shews, that no ingratitude or villainy is too black for the human heart, possessed with avarice, to perpetrate (D). By many writers this whole transaction is charged upon the intrigues, pride, and ambition of Sir *Josiah Child*, and his brother Mr. *John Child*, then honoured with knighthood, and made governor of *Bombay*. The arbitrary administration

^p HARRIS, vol. ii. Account of Commerce. HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 186.
the East Indies, vol. ii. ^r HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 187. HARRIS, vol. ii. *ibid*.

^q DODSLEY'S History of

(D) Mr. *Hamilton* says (1), that the government of *Bombay* was conducted in a partial, confused, and impolitic manner, till the year 1674; when the good sense and moderation of the president *Aungier* reformed many abuses, which had crept in under former governors. This gentleman, leaving *Surat* to the management of deputies, came to *Bombay*, to put the island in a state of liberty, by unveiling the face of justice, which till then lay hid in the breast of a single person, who distributed her favours by the governor's direction. Mr. *Aungier* erected a formal court, where all causes were brought and debated; a method of justice that continued till Sir *John Child* came to the chair. Mr. *Aungier* was the first who started the proposal of inclosing the town from *Dangerree* to *Mendham's Point*, which, however, was not effected during his administration. It was, indeed, reserved to increase the honour acquired by Mr. *Boon*, a succeeding governor, who seems, with great reason, to be a favourite with our honest author, captain *Hamilton*. This fortification was a very ne-

cessary defence against the insults of the troublesome and beggarly neighbours on the continent, as was apparent in the war with *Connagee Angree*. The year preceding Mr. *Aungier's* arrival, the *Dutch* sent a squadron and body of troops to make an attempt on *Bombay*. On their landing, the reception they met with was so unexpectedly warm and vigorous, that they were glad to abandon the enterprize, with the loss of 300 men. The governors of *Bombay* proved in general tolerably good; at least by comparison with the gentleman who succeeded to the chair in 1682. We are told, that a kind of confederacy between Sir *John Child* in *India*, and his brother, who was at the head of the company's affairs in *England*, was set on foot to rob, spoil, and oppress the *English*, as well as natives, under their jurisdiction. To relate all that is well attested of them, would be to write a libel, and not a history; we shall therefore suppress it, and wish that the whole transaction could be buried in eternal oblivion.

(1) Vol. i. p. 189.

- a of this gentleman was equally oppressive to the *Indian* merchants, as to the *English* traders and troops. The pay of the latter was reduced 30 *per cent.* which entirely alienated them from the governor, and prepared their minds to embrace any opportunity to bring about a revolution in the affairs of the island. The occasion soon offered; Mr. *Ward*, the governor's brother-in-law, by him appointed depury, was detected in a secret correspondence with the *Swajee*, inviting him to land. This prevented not the *Swajee's* making an effort. He sent a fleet of eighty small vessels, to attempt a landing on the back bay; but they were so hotly received, that they sheered off with loss. *Ward* was then confronted with his intercepted letters, the government taken out of his hands, and he, with the rest faction, sent to Sir *John Child* at *Surat*, which at that time was the head settlement and residence of the governor. The islanders taking upon themselves the administration, chose major *Kegwin*, an officer of experience, to superintend military affairs; and captain *Thorburne* was put at the head of the civil government.

- In this manner did affairs stand, till the arrival of the *Phoenix* frigate, A. 1685. She had been dispatched from *England*, in consequence of remonstrances received there from Sir *John Child*, to demand restitution of the island, and to have it again put under the company's authority. The king's orders, and pardon to all who should yield obedience, were no sooner declared, than all the inhabitants submitted; but for their own security, drew up certain articles to be signed by general *Child* (he now bore that rank), and *Tyrrel*, captain of the frigate. Among the rest they stipulated, that any one desirous of returning into *England*, should have liberty to do so, and a passage in some of the company's ships. *Kegwin* accordingly came over; but *Thorburne*, on account of his family and small fortune, remained behind, to experience farther proofs of the general's inhuman cruelty. A villainous and dark scene of iniquity here presents itself, which, in honour to human nature, we must suppress. Indeed the general was no sooner reinstated, than he exerted every act of a wanton, insolent, and ambitious tyranny. Besides oppressing *Thorburne*, by acts the most insidious and base, two other gentlemen in particular, whose integrity was a check upon his measures, felt the lash of his unjust resentment. These were Messrs. *Pit* and *Bourcbier*, both of the council, and both of dispositions very opposite to that of the petty bashaw. They had ever preferred their honesty and honour to his favour; constantly opposing his pernicious schemes, they at length sunk under the weight of his authority. What particularly made Sir *John's* vengeance to break out with all its violence, was the firm opposition made by those gentlemen to a diabolical inquisition erected by him, under the presidency of a refugee *Greek*. Their attachment to liberty, and his cruel persecution, obliged them to seek shelter in the *Mogul's* dominions, where, for some time, they traded with success. *Pit* was at last taken by pirates, and his ransom, by means of the humane governor, raised so high, that he died in slavery. He next, in arrogant and imperious terms, demanded *Bourcbier*, his wife, children, and effects, to be delivered up to him by the *Mogul* governor of *Surat*. This, with the remonstrance to the *Mogul* governor of pretended grievances, laid the foundation of the war that ensued with the *Great Mogul*. It may be easily perceived how hard this *English* robber must have strained to make his charge plausible; a charge founded upon fraud, ambition, and tyranny, the whole intention of which was to clear accounts with the *Indian* merchants, his creditors; to raise his own power, and to give full scope to his private resentment and pique to Mr. *Bourcbier* (E).

THESE

* DODSLEY, vol. ii. HAMILTON, ibid.

* DODSLEY, vol. ii.

* HAMILTON, vol. i. ibid.

(E) The reader may not be displeased to see a copy of this charge, exhibited in thirty-five articles. We believe it is no-where to be found, but in Mr. *Hamilton's* history of the *East Indies*. A. 1687.

I. Last year a ship of *Molab Abdal Gassoar's* coming from *Juddab*, in her return met with two *Danish* pirates, who made a prize of her. The news coming to *Surat*, the said *Gassoar*, by persuasion of *Mechir Razim*, and other merchants, made his complaint to *Salabat Cann*, then governor, and other officers of *Surat*, saying the *English* belonging to *Surat* had taken his ship; at the same time sending his attorney to court, to complain to the king, who ordered the governor, &c. to inquire into it, and do justice accordingly. In this affair, by bribery, I was represented in such a light, to the king, his subjects, the *French*, *Dutch*, and other nations, that I am in a manner disgracefully prohibited from trading in these parts.

II. In consequence of *Gassoar's* complaints, I was unable to clear my money out of the custom-house, or ship my goods to *Europe*, which were seized and stopped. Hence was I obliged to abandon the port and trade, and retire to *Bombay*. I have by me 30 or 40 lack of rupees, in money and goods, the truth of which you may have certified, by sending a fit person to examine into it. Consider my loss, in keeping my money out of trade, and goods from market. I desire your answer.

III. *Molab Abdal Gassoar's* disgracing me by false reports has hurt my credit, making people afraid to trust me. I have now 12 ships loaded with merchandize to *Surat*, there to relade for *Europe*, which are now compelled to winter here, in consequence of his calumniation. This detention is a prejudice to his majesty's customs, to the company, my masters, for which I must be answerable.

IV.

This and other
pretences the

THESE pretences were made the foundation of a war with the *Mogul*; *Cbild*, whether from the violence of his own disposition, or whether by collusion with his constituents, or both, seized

- IV. Mr. *Pit* (1) and Mr. *Bourchier* being indebted to the company for several sums of money, I should have called them to account; but absconding themselves, they sought protection with the governor, *Cortaleb Caun*. As for *Pit*, he is dead, and gone to the devil [*strange language*]. Mr. *Bourchier* still remains at *Surat*. I demand him, his wife, children, family, and all *Englisbmen* belonging to him, with their effects.
- V. Formerly all goods brought from the *Malabar* coast, *Macba*, and other parts, intended for *Europe*, were licensed to be brought on shore at *Swally*, to cleanse and re-ship, without custom, duty, or impost; but the governor *Cortaleb Caun*, during his administration, exacted customs. My demand is, that reparation be made, and the practice abolished.
- VI. Of late years we bring more money than formerly, which has greatly enriched the port, of which the governor acquainted the king; and his majesty was pleased to exact no more than 2 *per cent*. Since then, the governor of *Surat* prevailed with his majesty to raise this tax 3½ *per cent*. both for money and goods, to the great prejudice of our trade. My desire is, that the customs may be reduced to their former state, and the overplus repaid. These exactions made the governor greatly over-rate our goods, to our great damage.
- VII. Formerly we never paid custom for apparel or provisions: of late *Cortaleb Caun* exacts duty for both. My demand is, that we be reimbursed for both, and no more troubled on that account.
- VIII. If our goods coming out of the country are robbed, stole, or designedly damaged, his majesty's order is, that his officers make good the damage. A few years since, our goods coming from *Amanadabaul* and *Durringum*, were robbed in the way to *Surat*. We have petitioned the governor for satisfaction, but never obtained any. My desire is, that the king order satisfaction to be made for the very considerable loss we have sustained.
- IX. Many of the natives are indebted to us, of whom we can procure nothing, having made repeated remonstrances to the governors where they reside, to no effect. Our desire is, that all governors and their officers may be assisting to us, in the recovery of our debts.
- X. We bring more treasure than any other nation into the country, which is carried to the custom-house. Cleared from thence, it is sent to be coined in the mint. But, from private interest, the officers delay the coinage, to the great impediment of business; the want of cash preventing getting our investments, and loading our ships in the proper seasons of the year. Our request is, that henceforward no delay be permitted in the mint; but that our treasure be separately coined, for the greater dispatch.
- XI. At the arrival of our ships, unloading them, we carry our goods to the custom-house, where they are often damaged, broken, and stolen. Our request is, that we may have a warehouse apart and distinct from the *Dutch*; that as soon as we have either sold or sent our goods to the factory, the custom-house officer take account of the king's duties, clearing them without further molestation.
- XII. Formerly we used to clear the duties once a year: of late the officers of the revenue send daily, weekly, and monthly, to our broker; and to prevent his being affronted, he is forced to see the officers, to the great prejudice of our trade. Our request is, that the customs be put upon the antient footing.
- XIII. When *Gessadean Caun* was governor of *Surat*, by order of the king the city was walled, at which time we had a garden, surrounded by thirty-four shops, at *Bramport Gate*; the garden, shops, stables, summer-house, &c. amounting to 25,000 rupees. When the wall approached our garden, it, with all the above conveniencies, was destroyed. We petitioned the governor for satisfaction, which he promised out of the king's treasury, but never performed. We demand payment of the above charges.
- XIV. Formerly, when our goods came to *Surat*, we paid no more than due custom, and shipped them for *Europe* or elsewhere, without further trouble: of late the officers of those places, where our goods come, demand the receipts of the governor and officers of *Surat*, and often detain our goods. By these proceedings our ships sometimes return empty, and frequently are forced to winter in the country, to the prejudice of the king's customs, and of our affairs. Our request is, that we be restored to the former liberty in this traffick.
- XV. Formerly the officers used to examine one or two bales, permitting the rest of the goods to be shipped and cleared, without farther molestation, if they found these according to invoice. Of late the custom-house officers ransack all our goods, putting us to the expence of re-packing, and also damaging our goods. Our desire is, that they may be stopped, and shipped according to invoice, without further trouble.
- XVI. Of late years the *Merbas* will not clear our sloops and boats, coming from *Swally* to the custom-house, for the space of three or four days. Our request is, that they be cleared with the usual dispatch.
- XVII. Sometimes merchants buy our goods, then break and plead poverty. Our desire is, that we may be redressed out of the king's customs, that we may no longer be sufferers by his subjects.
- XVIII. When we send our brokers to the governor, officers, &c. no admittance is permitted them, till the servants are feed. We desire this grievance may be redressed.
- XIX. Formerly we used, without molestation, to send to our stables the horses come from *Persia*, *Laffora*, &c. Of late years they are carried to the governor's, his seal put about their necks, and we deprived the use of them. We demand redress.
- XX. The governor, officers, &c. send to us for broad-cloth, sword-blades, &c. which in civility we cannot deny them. When payment is asked, our servants are beaten, affronted, and mal-treated. Our desire is, that nothing be sent for till payment is made.
- XXI. Goods provided at *Agra*, *Amanadabaul*, &c. coming to *Boraach*, the governor obliges us to pay custom for, at 18 *per* mile, which is contrary to the king's order. Of this we desire redress, by being on the foot of *Moors* and *Banyans*.
- XXII. Our request is, that all goods paying custom may be brought to *Surat*, kept there, and shipped in due season, without molestation.
- XXIII. Our request is, that the governors of provinces or towns afford no protection to our servants, who have left us without leave, and clearing their accounts; but that we may proceed against them as we may see convenient and proper.
- XXIV. On our first arrival in this country, the king granted us a piece of ground for a *Bander* to repair our ships and vessels. This the governor has, to our great prejudice, converted into a garden. Our request is, that we may have restitution, or a spot equivalent, near the sea.
- XXV. Formerly we paid 2½ rupees *per* bale of indigo, without unpacking: of late the officers charge at pleasure, besides rummaging and spoiling the goods. Our request is, that we be restored to our former privilege.

(1) This gentleman is sometimes called *Petit*, and sometimes *Pit*, by Captain Hamilton. In *Marini's* voyages, *Dodgson's* history of the East Indies, &c. we always find him mentioned by the name of *Pit*.

- a seized on all the ships of the *Mogul's* subjects, where ever they were found. The *Surat* merchants in particular, who carried on an immense traffick by sea to *Mocha*, *Perfia* and *Bassora*, westward; to *Bengal*, *Achen*, *Molucca*, and *Siam*, eastward, obtained passes from the *English* general, notwithstanding which they were violently seized, without regard paid to the protection he had afforded and engaged. Nor did he once trouble himself by sending to the king, or using the form of declaring war, as practised among all civilized states. No! his intention was to reap the fruits of a piracy before a proper force could be sent against him. Thus was the company involved in a quarrel, which cost them above 400,000 pounds, besides the ruin of their credit with the *Mogul* and his subjects; a piece of false policy, the effects of which they have not recovered to this day. By what measures of common sense could the general abroad, and his brother Sir *Jos.* at home, think to rob, plunder, and spoil the *Mogul's* subjects in one part of his dominions, and yet enjoy a free undisturbed traffick in other parts? They could not expect that the king would be an idle spectator of the misfortunes of his people, and arrogance of the *English*. During this period it is, that foreigners, and even the *Dutch* themselves, have reason to complain of the haughty insolence with which a company of merchants insulted a great and powerful monarch. The first exploit of this strange policy was performed by captain *Andrews*. This gentleman, in a ship called *Charles the Second*, sailing to *Mocha*, set up the *English* flag on the *English* factory, and seized upon two *English* country trading ships, commanded by the captains *Bear* and *Wren*. This last refusing to surrender his ship, was put to death in his own cabin. The governor and merchants of *Mocha* disliking those violent proceedings, were proposing to compel *Andrews* to deliver back the ships, of which he receiving notice, withdrew on board with great precipitation, leaving the colours flying on the factory. He soon after left *Mocha*, carrying his two prizes with him. The company suffered for those captures, they being forced to make ample restitution to the owners. Mr. *Clive*, supercargo of the *Straights Merchant*, one of the seizures, got bills, payable at *Grand Cairo*, for his stock, 60 bales of coffee excepted, which he carried into *England*, where it sold well: in proportion to this were the company obliged to indemnify the owners for the rest of the cargo, the whole amounting to 32,000 pounds. The *Bristol's* cargo was in like manner made good to the proprietors, as was that of the *Jobanna*, amounting to 60,000 pounds. The *Little Betty*, a ship taken by the *Phoenix* in her way to *India*, and sold at *Bombay* for 600 pounds, cost the company 12,000 pounds in *England*. The owner of this vessel, one *Hastwell*, a city quaker, arrested captain *Tyrral* on

general makes the foundation of a war with the Mogul.

The absurd conduct of Sir Jos. and general Child.

The company are forced to make satisfaction for the violence committed by General Child.

W HARRIS, vol. ii. HAMILTON, vol. i.

XXVI. The governors, &c. take iron, guns, lead, &c. for the king's use. Perhaps they are turned out; and when the successor is asked for payment, we are told, the king wanted not our goods. Our desire is, that prompt payment be made.

XXVII. As to the island of *Bombay* it produces no corn. The *Mogul's* fleet often winters there, which raises the price of provisions. We are in want of supplies from *Surat*, and other the *Mogul's* ports, which are refused us, unless we pay $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Our request is, to be exempted from this tax.

XXVIII. A ship worth 25,000 rupees came out of *England*, contrary to the privileges of our company. By our king's order we seized ship and cargo in *Surat*, but had her forced from us by the governor of the city, who delivered her to Mr. *Bourchier*. Our demand is, that the said ship and cargo be delivered; that *Bourchier* give a faithful account; and that the governor take care nothing be squandered by him.

XXIX. Contrary to the king's grant, who exacts but one duty for goods, the officers have, of late years, forced us to pay double customs, besides perquisites, to the great prejudice of trade. We desire that things may be restored to their original footing.

XXX. We formerly rented a piece of ground for stables, which *Meer Nassam* purchasing, deprived us of, after we had been at considerable expence in building. Our desire is, we may be indemnified.

XXXI. Some years since we left an anchor at the mouth of the river, which was taken up by *Mirza Nassam*. We have demanded it, offering to pay his charges, but never could obtain it. Our desire is, that his son make restitution on these terms.

XXXII. On their arrival, our ships send their boats up with stores. These are stopped for a day at the custom-house, to the impediment of business. Our request is, that they may be allowed to pass, without interruption.

XXXIII. As to *Bengal*, we hear several ships have been taken and burnt there. As we are no-ways concerned in that transaction, our request is, that his majesty issue out orders that no one question or make demands upon us on that account.

XXXIV. The *Sedes*, with the king's fleet, wintered some years ago at *Bombay*, in which time some of his people murdered two *Englishmen*, which determined our men to revenge their deaths, but they were persuaded to lay aside their design, by the strongest assurances that all possible satisfaction should be made. The governor, indeed, upon our complaint, imprisoned the murderers, but released them in three days. Our request is, that they may be delivered up to punishment.

XXXV. If we happen to stay on parties, of pleasure till the city gates are shut, the porter denies us admittance, without he is paid. Our desire is, that orders be given by the governor, that we be no more affronted by those people (1).

Such was the bill of grievances exhibited by general *Child*, upon which he founded a war, without ever sending his complaint to court. The judicious reader will observe, how trifling, how frivolous, and absurd, the greater number of the articles are; others how unjust; and the whole dictated with an air of insolent authority, equally ridiculous and imprudent. No other alterations are made, but such as were necessary in the language, to render it intelligible.

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, v. i.

Change; who offered *James* the second for bail, which the plaintiff, it is said, refused, but accepted of a private gentleman, *Sir Joseph Henne*.^a

The General
seizes all the
Mogul's ship-
ping.

THE *Charles, Cesar, Royal James and Mary*, seized upon fourteen sail of the *Surat* trade, and brought them into *Bombay*, A. 1688, no war having yet broke out with the *Mogul*, only with the inhabitants of *Surat*, whom the general thought to humble. These captain *Hamilton* saw at *Bombay*, who likewise affirms, that *Child* sailed with the *Royal James and Mary*, in the month of *October*, attended by four other ships of force, in order to force the governor and inhabitants into a compliance with his arbitrary demands, in which, however, he was disappointed. Failing in his design, he left *Surat* in *January*, 1689, highly incensed at his disappointment, carrying all the *English* ships, except the *Adventure*, with him. This ship had been forced by the *Phoenix* over the bar, where she lay till her bottom was eat up by worms, and the ship rendered useless, the cargo remaining for years in Mr. *Bourcbier's* possession. On his return to *Bombay*, *Child* seized upon a fleet, laden with corn for the *Mogul's* army, though he was opposed by the council in general. One captain *Hide*, in particular, gave his opinion of the imprudence of this measure with great freedom, for which he was treated with scurrilous language by this haughty general. In short, neither the danger of incensing the *Mogul*, or bringing destruction upon *Bombay*, and ruin to the company's affairs, could prevent this vain-glorious and rash man from pursuing a series of ill-judged unadvised measures. His pride, insolence, avarice, and self-sufficiency, rendered him an object of contempt and hatred; prevented his council from giving him the necessary advice, and, in short, brought on the almost fatal catastrophe which ensued to the company, from a war with so potent a prince, opposed by so ignorant a general.^b

He still conti-
nues his arbi-
trary proceed-
ings.

Sedee Ya-
coup, the
Mogul's gene-
ral, demands
redress.

SEDEE YACOU, the *Mogul's* general, receiving advice of this transaction, sent to *Sir John Child* in terms of the highest respect, to request restitution of the fleet, assuring him that he had never hitherto interfered in his disputes with the inhabitants of *Surat*; that he was still determined to pursue the same conduct, unless his refusal of so just a demand should compel him to alter his measures. To this *Sir John Child* returned an answer full of insolence, and ordered the captures to be unloaded at *Bombay*. *Sedee Yacoup* sent another message, more peremptory than the former, threatening, that if the fleet was not discharged by the 11th of *February*, he would certainly demand it with an army at *Bombay* on the 14th. This demand being returned likewise with arrogance, the *Mogul* general performed his promise with great punctuality, landing with 20,000 men at *Somree*, a place four miles distance from the main fort.^c In silence and boasting are seldom combined with true courage. *Child's* security had not only prevented his taking the proper precautions against such an attempt; but his fears now deprived him of the necessary presence of mind. Hitherto he had trusted to the reputation and power of the company, which was now higher than it had ever been in the *Indies*; this screen taken away, he sunk into his natural pusillanimity and meanness. There was, indeed, a sufficient number of small boats to have opposed and defeated the enemy's landing; but the confusion which attended so unexpected a danger, rendered them useless. They were neglected, while the general's attention was employed on things of little consequence, or on his own fears. *Sedee Yacoup* surprized the redoubt that stood at the place where he landed, the garrison abandoning it after having fired a cannon as an alarm. At one in the morning three guns were fired from the castle to give general notice of the approach of the enemy, which threw the inhabitants of the fortress into so much consternation, that the women, both white and black, ran with their children in their arms, half-naked, to the castle, where, being denied admittance, they remained till daylight. The fortress of *Magazan*, though defended by fourteen pieces of cannon, as well as an almost inaccessible situation, was abandoned on the enemy's approach, without the garrison having hardly exchanged a shot. The cowardly retreat of the commanding officer was so precipitate, that he left every thing behind a prey to the *Moors*. Ten chests of treasure, each containing a thousand pounds, and four chests of new arms, among other things, were taken by the enemy, although the sailors offered to carry them off safe. How these came to be deposited in *Magazan* could never be cleared up; nor were the officers reasons for making a present of them to the enemy more apparent. But perhaps the most wonderful circumstance of the whole was, that this officer was never called to give an account of his conduct. Mortars, bombs, ammunition, and provisions, fell likewise into the hands of *Sedee*. Profiting by the misconduct of the *English*, that chief sent a party to plunder the peasants of *Mabim*, and to see the fort, which he judged might, like the others, be evacuated; nor was he mistaken, the garrison having embarked in boats for *Bombay*, before they had sight of his detachment. Establishing his head quarters at *Magazan*, and planting his flag on the ramparts, he sent out parties to harass and insult the *English* general, who was stung with the consequences of his own imprudence. Accordingly Captain *Pear* was ordered with a body of fifty men to dis-

It is haughtily
refused, and he
lands an army
in *Bombay*.

The pusillani-
mous conduct
of General
Child.

The general
besieged in the
fort.

Progress of
the besiegers,
and defeat of
a detachment
from the gar-
rison.

^a HAMILTON, vol. i.

^c DODGE, vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii.

^d HAMILTON, vol. i.

- a lodge the enemy from the hills of *Magazan*; *Monroe* an experienced officer, being appointed his lieutenant. This small detachment marched in good order within shot of the enemy, who were drawn up behind a rising ground, which covered them from the fire of the *English*. Here the *Moors* determined to wait, which *Monroe* observing, advised Captain *Pean* to separate the detachment into platoons, as the most effectual means to break the *Indian* infantry. The Captain haughtily rejecting this seasonable counsel, told the lieutenant, that when he was appointed commander, he was to do what he thought proper; but as that trust was now committed to himself, he would act according to his own judgment. He then ordered his men to extend their ranks, making them as thin as possible, and to discharge a general fire upon the enemy as soon as they saw them open upon the plain. Such a conduct, he said, would strike terror
- b into them. *Monroe* warmly opposed this disposition, reminding the captain of the danger he must be in, if the enemy should advance whilst his men were reloading. But *Pean* adhering tenaciously to his first opinion, ordered his men to fire as directed; the consequence of which was what had been foreseen by *Monroe*. The enemy, being lighter armed than the *English*, perfectly well practised in close fight, with sword and target, and ten times their number, laying hold of the important moment, rushed upon *Pean* with all their force, and soon bore him down with their weight. So rapid and bold a movement struck the captain with a panic, which carried him, with incredible swiftness, to a *Portuguese* church, where one hundred men lay to sustain him if required. *Monroe* still stood his ground with a part of the wing which he commanded, his whole force not exceeding fourteen men. After an obstinate dispute, which
- c demonstrated that, had his advice been pursued, victory would have declared for the *English*, he, with all his brave fellows, were cut in pieces. *Pean*, who was the general's minion, returned to him, and met with a hearty welcome, instead of the halter which he deserved* (F). *Sedee Yacoup* was now master of the whole island, the castle, with about half a mile of ground to the southward of it, excepted. To reduce the garrison, he planted a battery on *Dangeree Hill*, which commands the castle, from which he greatly annoyed the besieged. Then he put four great guns into the custom-house, called the *India House*, raised a battery at *Moody's* house, within 200 paces of the fort, which made it dangerous stirring without the gate of the castle, till a sconce, in form of a crescent, was thrown up. General *Child*, on his part, took all the measures he then could for his defence. Every man, without distinction, was pressed
- d into the service, and three thousand *Savajees* were taken as auxiliaries into pay. This rendered provisions scarce; to remedy which, a fleet of small ships was sent to cruise on the *Mogul's* coasts, which had a good effect, this squadron returning after considerable success. In particular our author, Captain *Hamilton*, from whom this relation is deduced, was pressed, and appointed to the command of a frigate of nine tons burthen, twenty fighting men, and sixteen rowers; with which small force he brought nine prizes into *Bombay*, most of them loaded with provisions and cloathing for the enemy. One piece of oppression he complains of, as greatly prejudicial to the service; viz. that the cruisers were admitted into no share of the captures; nay, that the very pay they had saved was wrested from them for the use of the company, under pretence of its being part of the prize. Thus they became negligent in their duty, and
- e never looked out for the enemy's ships, but when necessity and pinching hunger rendered it absolutely necessary.

The injudicious conduct of Captain Pean.

He is cut off with the whole detachment.

The garrison of Bombay straitened for provisions.

They are relieved by the success of their cruisers.

The general sends ambassadors.

In this train were affairs, when General *Child*, finding his success on shore not correspondent to his insolent hopes, and that the enemy were increased to 40,000 men, began to think of terminating the affair by submissive terms. With this view two persons, in the character of *English* ambassadors, were dispatched to the *Mogul's* court. Mr. *George Welden*, *Abraham*

* HAMILTON'S Hist. of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 17. DODSL. vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii. B. i. c. 2.

(F) Mr. *Hamilton* acquaints us, that when *Child* left *Sarat*, several persons, some of them the company's servants, were sent to prison, where they were laid in irons. Mr. *Bourchier*, and those protected by his phirmaund, were alone exempted from that severity. Those wretches were made to pass through the streets with irons round their necks, as a mark of infamy. Sir *J. Weyburn* had been sent from *England*, an. 1686, with a commission from the king to execute the office of Judge-Admiral: and another commission from the company was also given him by their governor, which he was made to believe was signed by the king, to condemn and put to death thirteen of the inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where one *Johnson*, the second, had been killed in a tumult, caused by the oppression of the governor of the island. *Weyburn*, on his way to *India*, put in at *St. Helena*, where the thirteen proscribed were put to death,

without form or process; a proceeding which cost the company dear afterwards, and might cost *Weyburn* a violent death, had not a natural one prevented it. 'Tis thought that the many illegal proceedings of general *Child*, and personal affronts he put on *Weyburn*, so strongly affected him, as to cause his death, which happened at *Bombay*, about two months before the *Indian* invasion. *Weyburn*, notwithstanding the affair at *St. Helena*, which ought not to be attributed to him, died much regretted by every person of probity who knew him. In short, the conduct of the managers of the company's affairs at home seemed intirely of a piece with that of their governor abroad. As Captain *Hamilton* is the only relater of the transactions of this period, the reader must receive them *cum grano salis*. The captain seems to be an honest but warm man, strong in his affections and prejudices. Vol. i. p. 224.

*As to the
Mogul's
court, which
furnished
propaganda.*

*Aurengzeb's
generous con-
duct.*

*Gen. Child
dies, which
facilitates a
peace between
the Mogul
and the compa-
ny.*

*Aurengzeb's
answer to the
Dutch envoy,
and the views
of the Hol-
landers frus-
trated.*

*The Mogul
recalls his ar-
my from Bom-
bay, and*

Naava, a Jew, assisted by *Meer Mezamie*, a merchant of *Surat*, of some interest at court, and a friend to the company, constituted this embassy. They arrived in fifteen days at *Jebanabat*, where the court then resided. At first their reception was cold, but, by force of bribes and presents to the officers, they were admitted to an audience of *Aurengzeb*. Their attitude, when brought into the presence of this monarch, was very mortifying, their hands being tied before, and they constrained to prostrate themselves on the ground, who, after a severe reprimand, demanded their business. To this they answered by a confession of their fault, and an humble request that his majesty would pardon them. They then petitioned that their phirmaund, so justly forfeited, might, by his clemency, be renewed, and that the *Mogul's* forces might be withdrawn from *Bombay*. *Aurengzeb* told them, that to have their submission accepted, and the injuries sustained by his subjects pardoned, one thing was absolutely necessary, which was General *Child's* withdrawing from *India* within nine months, never to return: that then their phirmaund should be renewed, and the army recalled, as soon as security was given for full satisfaction and indemnification of the losses sustained by his people.

THE death of General *Child*, which happened in *January* following, much facilitated a reconciliation with *Aurengzeb*, and promoted the company's affairs; yet it was kept secret, till it was known what his majesty's intentions were, in respect to him. *Meer Mezamie* died likewise in *March*, it was supposed by poison, on account of his attachment to the *English*. At the time that *Mezamie* was given over by his physicians, the *English* ambassadors went to demand of him an account of 50,000 rupees he had received for secret services. His answer was, "That he was sorry he had ever meddled in their affairs; he had served them at the expence of his life, yet were they dissatisfied. As to the use to which the money was appropriated, that was a secret he was not at liberty to divulge."

DURING this situation of affairs, the *Dutch* failed not to endeavour profiting by the misconduct and misfortunes of the *English* company. *Baroon*, their ambassador at *Aurengzeb's* court, hearing of the revolution in *Great Britain*, thought to impose on the ignorance of the *Indian* monarch. He seized the opportunity of his first audience, to magnify the power and influence of the *Dutch*, and vilify that of the *English*, with which the *Mogul* seeming pleased, ordered him to proceed. *Baroon* then told him, that *Great Britain* was, in comparison to *Holland*, a poor, weak, and contemptible nation, fickle, unsteady, and ever embroiled in divisions and civil discord. That the *Dutch* were forced to send the *English* a king to govern them; and that if they were excluded by his majesty from trading with his subjects, the States General would carry it on with more advantage to *India*, fill his coffers with treasure, and make his people happy, while the *English* would be at a loss to procure daily bread. The *Mogul* gravely replied, that if the States possessed that superiority he alleged, it would be an easy matter for them to drive the *English* out of *India*, and engross the whole commerce to themselves, which, he desired, he would acquaint his masters he expected from them. *Baroon*, upon this, excused himself, pretending that he could do nothing in the affair without instructions from *Holland*. Then the prince reprimanded him, and discovered his sense of the falshood the ambassador had advanced: "You very well know," says *Aurengzeb*, "that about seventeen years ago, the king of *France* over-run most of your country in a few days, and would have become master of the whole, had he not been repulsed by the *English*, and not the *Dutch* forces." He further told him, "That if *England* did not hold the balance of power, either the Emperor or *France* would conquer *Holland* in one campaign." *Baroon* was confounded, as well at his own detection, as at his trivial knowledge of the *Mogul*; made no answer, but returned dissatisfied that his effrontery could not procure the indulgence to the *Dutch* company which he had been sent to solicit. The *English* ambassadors had no sooner obtained pardon, than they began to perceive the features of the courtiers soften in their favour. They were indulged with the liberty of taking the diversions of the country, while the phirmaund was preparing, which, according to the custom of the *Easterns*, was a work of time. Orders were sent to the *Sedes* to forbear hostilities; the same orders were given to the garrison, so that frequent visits passed among the officers on both sides (G). The phirmaund being ready, and the necessary security given, *Sedes Yacoub* left *Bombay* on the 8th of *June* 1690, after a stay of near four months, all which time the castle was closely blocked up on the land side. The pestilence, which his army left behind, more prejudiced the company's affairs than either the loss of men they had sustained,

^c HAMILTON, vol. i. chap. 17.

(G) In the course of this war about 60 *Europeans*, of various nations, deserted from the *English* fort to the enemy, and received their pay. Upon an act of oblivion's being published, they all returned, excusing their conduct, on account of the tyrannical usage of some *Irish* officers in the company's service (1).

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. i.

- a or the last malicious act of *Sadee* in setting on fire and destroying *Mazazan* ^(H). Although ^{grants a} the *Mogul* was not ignorant of the injuries his subjects had received from the *English*, yet was ^{peace.} he unwilling to use severity. That wise monarch thought it more advisable to wink at enormities which could not be remedied, than to persecute the authors with a rigour that might deprive his dominions of a beneficial commerce. When the ambassadors had their audience of *The Mogul's* leave, he gently told them of their errors, prudently admonishing them to a different conduct ^{speech to the} for the future, and, with the majesty of a prince, commanded them to receive his favours ^{company's am-} and graces with that respect and deference which was due to the friendship of so great a monarch. He concluded with advising them to make law the measure of justice, to use moderation in all their actions, and justice in their dealings; after which he dismissed them, filled with the ^{bassadors.}
- b highest notions of his wisdom, magnanimity, and virtue ^a.

GENERAL *Child* was succeeded in the government of *Bombay* by Mr. *Vaux*. Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Vaux* who had been prisoner in *Surat*, ought to have been the successor in course of seniority, but it was unusual to admit into this office any one who had been confined for capital crimes by the *Mogul*, till a particular amnesty was granted. And this was a kind of necessary compli- ^{succeeds} ment and respect paid to that monarch. Mr. *Vaux* was obliged to go to *Surat* to receive the ^{Child in the} phirmaund and the *Mogul's Serpaw*, or present, usual on these occasions. This donation consisted of a fine horse richly caparisoned, which must never be sold on any account whatsoever, a complete suit of cloaths of *Atlasses*, or *Zeerbastas*, a kind of sattin with wrought flowers of gold or silver; a fine turban, embroidered shoes, and a dagger of value, stuck into a fine ^{government} ^{of Bombay.} ^c fash. Equipped in this attire, the general, or governor, is presented with the phirmaund by the *Mogul's* messenger, the governor of the city or province enlarging, at the same time, upon the honour done him by the most powerful potentate under heaven; and admonishing him that his conduct may render him deserving of such a distinction. Mr. *Vaux* having received the phirmaund in a gilt box, put it upon his head, returning by the interpreter his acknowledgments of the honour and particular obligation he was under to the great monarch; after which he was conducted by the *Mogul's* governor from the garden where this ceremony was performed, into the city, amidst the acclamations of an infinite concourse of people, who welcomed his accession to that high rank with shouts of joy, as he passed to the *English* factory. After remaining about a week at *Surat*, Mr. *Vaux* sent to acquaint the *Mogul* governor ^d of the necessity he was under of returning to his charge at *Bombay*. In answer, he was told, ^{He is detained} that as no other person could be intrusted by the *Mogul* to see the contract performed, it was ^{at Surat by a} hoped he would not think of leaving the city, lest the king should repent of the favours ^{gentle re-} conferred upon the company, whose commission he bore. Thus was Mr. *Vaux* detained a ^{straint.} hostage for the security of the performance of the articles entered into by his masters ⁱ.

Mr. *Harris* then, as was usual, demanded the government of *Bombay* to be ceded to him, ^{Mr. Harris} as senior, which *Vaux*, to avoid altercation, granted. *Harris* soon after made *Annesley*, a ^{is governor of} man of no character, his confidant and director; so that, in short, the subtle *Annesley* held ^{Bombay.} the reins of government, and had art and address enough to embroil, during the administration of *Harris*, the company's affairs, as well as those of private traders, procuring himself to ^e be afterwards made president, or rather tyrant of *Bombay* ^(I). Nor was the conduct of Sir *Josiah*

^a HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. DODSL. Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii. HAMILTON, ibid. ^b HARRIS'S Collect. vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. ⁱ HAMILTON, vol. i. ^k HAMILTON, vol. i. DODSL. vol. i.

(H) That the reader may have a specimen of the *Mogul* emperor's character, we shall present him with the following phirmaund, as we find it in Captain *Hamilton*, translated by the company's interpreters.

"The occasion of your writing to me was your being
"in fault of all these troubles; that you have repented
"of what you have done; that you made several complaints against former governors, all which I have
"here from several of my *Umbras*, and the several abuses received from them and their officers, all which
"you should have acquainted me with, before you proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged your error, and asked pardon, I not only grant your request, pardoning what is past, but granting you a phirmaund, according to your desire; and have ordered
"Affit Cann to forward it to the governor of *Surat*,
"with such particulars as he will acquaint you with.
"At the arrival of my phirmaund, receive it with great respect, acknowledging the glory you have got by the same, that you may trade as formerly, at your pleasure, and as accustomary: that you deliver the merchants, who have complained of you, their ships, with
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"their effects: that, for the future, you do not commit the like error, in doing as you have done: and
"that you proceed according to my will and pleasure, and be not forgetful of the same. If you receive any
"affronts from my governors or their officers, or any of my subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me
"of the same. I have ordered *Affit Cann* to write accordingly.
"What you write concerning our former governors protesting Mr. *Bourchier*, that you have several demands on him, that you cannot call him to account, desiring that he may be delivered to you; my order is, that you prove your demands according to law, that justice may be done accordingly."

Dated the 31st year of *Aurangzeb's* reign.

(I) Captain *Hamilton* mentions the following instance, which will sufficiently point out the character of this new governor. The *Mogul's* subjects have a number of large ships, which trade all over *India*. Their owners having

Sir John
Gayer made
commander in
chief in India.

His mal-ad-
ministration.

Josiah Child (K), who was president of the company's affairs in *England*, less culpable, as the reader will perceive by the instance we have quoted in our notes. At last the mal-administration of *Harris*, and his prime minister *Annesley*, produced so many complaints, that the company was forced to supersede them, sending Sir *John Gayer* to take upon him the management of affairs in *Harris's* room. *Gayer* arrived, A. 1694, and was invested with the title of General of *India*. He continued *Annesley* in the company's service, though he deprived him of all power of doing mischief, and in the end dismissed him, A. 1700. The new governor was a man far from vicious principles, of good nature, and on the whole an agreeable character; yet did he commit actions greatly prejudicial to his reputation. Several instances of this we have given by Captain *Hamilton*; it will be sufficient to our readers that we point out one or two, which indicate the necessity there was for a thorough reformation in the affairs of the company. A young lady, daughter to Mr. *Ward*, whose relations were dead, married a young gentleman she loved, in a clandestine manner, not permitted by the laws of *Bombay*. As she had some fortune, the governor, who was desirous of uniting her to his own family, dissolved her marriage with Mr. *Loyd*, and struck up a match between his own son and the lady. Another piece of conduct he is blamed for: The captain of a *China* ship, his friend, had behaved with so much insolence and tyranny to the crew, that they all to a man deserted him. *Gayer* ordered them all by force on board, and obliged them to proceed on their voyage. The consequence was, the crew mutinied, murdered the captain, and then went a pirating, infesting the *Streight of Malacca*, where they took and plundered every ship they were able to overcome. The *Dorrell*, Captain *Hide*, fell in with her, when a sharp action ensued, in which the *Dorrell* lost sixteen men, was disabled in her rigging, and damaged in her hull, but, by the address of the captain, narrowly escaped being taken. Sir *John Gayer* is likewise reflected upon for permitting himself and his lady to be made prisoners in *Swally* road, by order of the governor of *Surat*. As he might easily have escaped, it was esteemed a piece of low cunning to reside in this place, where he could employ his money to more advantage than at *Bombay*¹.

He is succeeded
by Sir Nicho-
las Waite,
whose conduct
is equally
blameable.

Bombay
ruined by the
oppression of
its governors.

NOR was the conduct of Sir *Nicholas Waite*, who succeeded in the government of *Bombay*, less unwarrantable. The looseness of his morals, his barefaced perversion of justice, together with his prevarication, and little arts, incensed to such a degree the inhabitants and soldiers of the island, that they seized and sent him prisoner to *England*. His sway, which was short, was, nevertheless, very prejudicial both to the company and to private traders. From the time that the president had been obliged to reside at *Surat*, *Bombay* was under the direction of a deputy, appointed by the governor. The war and late pestilence had made great havock among the *Europeans* on the island, insomuch, that out of eight hundred *English*, there remained not above sixty. Thus, from a populous and pleasant place, *Bombay* was reduced to a solitary and dismal desert. Still the spirit of injustice remained, which neither war nor pestilence could subdue. Those who survived were denied the liberty of returning to their native

¹ HAMILTON, vol. i.

having a high opinion of the *English* skill in navigation, procure pilots and masters from the company, to whom they pay very considerable wages, with the privilege of trading to a certain extent in certain commodities, free of duty. These wages Mr. *Annesley* undertook to reduce to one half, appropriating to his own use the other moiety, in quality of his office. Awed by fear, or compelled by necessity, some complied; whilst others, despising his menaces, refused to accede to his measures, which they deemed insolent and unjust. He persecuted these with all the virulence of malice, and weight of authority; bribing likewise the *Mogul's* officers to harass and tease them. Many were ruined by his oppression, whilst others bid defiance to his resentment with impunity. Those who suffered, and those who were out of his power, laboured to render him odious to the *Indians*. Thus, between both, the company's credit was sunk in that country, and their affairs prejudiced by the numbers who were forced, by the governor's avarice, to look out for other professions.

(K) Captain *Hamilton*, in giving a short relation of the rise of Mr. *Vaux*, who, it seems, was patronized by Sir *Josiah Child*, has the following remarkable passage: "Sir *Josiah* continued his esteem for Mr. *Vaux*, pro- curing him many profitable places; among the rest,

" that of judge in civil affairs. After he was installed
" in that office, Sir *Josiah* wrote to him, full of ad-
" monition and remembrance, wherein, after ma-
" ny postulates, he told him, that now, having the
" power of condemning the company's enemies, or
" such as should be deemed so, particularly those who
" should dare to question the company's power over
" all the *British* subjects in *India*; and that he expected
" his orders, from time to time, should be obeyed and
" observed as statute laws. Mr. *Vaux* returned a letter
" of grateful acknowledgments, promising that, as he
" had put him in that post of honour and profit, he
" would endeavour to acquit himself with all possible
" integrity and justice, telling him, that the laws of his
" country should be the rule of his conduct. In his an-
" swer to this letter Sir *Josiah* seemed to be extremely
" angry; he told Mr. *Vaux* roundly, that he expected
" his will and orders should be his rule, and not the
" laws of *England*, which were a heap of nonsense,
" compiled by a number of ignorant country gentle-
" men, who hardly knew how to govern their own fa-
" milies, much less the regulating companies, and a so-
" reign commerce." Captain *Hamilton* informs us,
that he copied those letters, *an.* 1696, at the time that
Vaux and he were prisoners at *Surat* (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 235.

country,

a country, and likewise of pursuing their fortunes in *India* by private trade. They were detained in the company's service, under the lash of authority, insolence, and oppression, without a glimmering of hope^a.

To avoid confusion, and disturbing the reader's attention, we have pursued the affairs of *Bombay* at the expence of a slight trespass on chronology. We shall now return to the year 1691, when the domestic transactions of the company afford materials for our history. As the political affairs of this commerce are wholly abstracted from foreign occurrences, we believe the reader will not be displeased that we have treated them separately. The contrary would have broke the chain of narration, thrown the reader into perplexity, and wholly destroyed the pleasure arising from an uniform and complete view.

^a HARRIS, *ibid.* DODSL. *ibid.*

S E C T. IV.

Containing the domestic occurrences of the company; designs set on foot to destroy the monopoly; the disputes of the company with interlopers; and the steps previous to the establishment of a new company.

b **A** B O U T this time a design which had been long in agitation of subverting the old *East India* company, by erecting a new one in its stead, began first to appear. This project took its origin from all the several motives which most powerfully actuate the human mind. In 1680, and the several following years, till the unhappy war at *Bombay*, the price of *India* stock was 360 *l. per cent.* and their dividend proportionable; a circumstance that struck all *Europe* with admiration, and our rivals in trade with envy and malignity. It inflamed the avarice of individuals in the nation; prompted many to invade the exclusive rights of the company, in order to share the profits; and at last divided the whole court and mercantile interest into opposite factions. Each saw the value of the prize, and each contended with equal ardour, the one to keep, the other to obtain, possession of it. The foundation of this struggle had been laid towards the end of *Charles* the second's reign; it had been kept up by the partisans of each, either by the press, or by secret intrigues and corrupt applications^a.

A. 1691.
A design on foot, by some private merchants, to annul the company's charter.

c THE complaints against the company were deduced from the year 1682, when Sir *Josiah Child*, after having arrived at the presidency of affairs, got those very persons excluded the direction who had raised him. They had, indeed, opposed some of his measures, which they apprehended would be fatal and destructive. In the course of the complaints, it is alleged, that Sir *Josiah's* ambition and corruption were so great, that no difficulties could withstand him; by force of intrigue, money, and notorious falsehoods, he prevailed in procuring some of the most experienced merchants, of the greatest credit and weight, to be turned out of the direction. His presents were so substantial, that the court fell in with his measures, by which, we are told, he could command equally at *St. James's* and *Westminster Hall*, whatever he desired. The embargo that was laid upon the great armament set on foot for the recovery of *Bantam*, the war with the *Mogul*, the mal-administration of the island of *Bombay*, the ruin of our most beneficial settlements in *India*, particularly that at *Bengal*, then the richest province in the world, were all charged upon Sir *Josiah Child*. It was proved, that our trade in *Bengal*, which, in the space of twenty-three years, had advanced from 8000 *l.* to 300,000. *per ann.* was now reduced almost to its former nothingness, by his misconduct. It was yet further objected by the enemies of the company, that by their shameful neglect they had lost the island of *Puleroon*, which, though of inestimable value, was defended only by twelve men, the garrison of a wooden fort, set up for shew, and of no use in defence. That they had accepted for their right to the moiety of the customs of *Gembroon*, a trifling equivalent of about 3000 *l. per annum.* That by annexing votes to shares instead of persons, at the rate of a vote for every 500 *l.* stock, they had enabled one man (*Child*), to usurp an authority over all the rest, to the great prejudice of the trade. On these narrow principles, the stock ought to govern the stock; and he who had the most money, ought of consequence to have the greatest power. That for the last three years it could be demonstrated, that the joint-stock had been wronged about 100,000 *l.* by means of private contracts, and unheard of deductions, not without the most iniquitous frauds in both. That the trade had been leased out not only to *Englishmen*, but to foreigners, invited to assist in freighting the company's ships, to the detriment of the company; and discredit of the nation. That in consequence of a capital error

Complaints exhibited against the company.

^a HARRIS, vol. ii. c. 2. b 2.

in taking but one half of the sum at first subscribed, they found themselves distressed by a narrow stock; and that, to remedy it, instead of calling in the remaining subscription, they had borrowed 2,000,000*l.* at interest, which had thrown the commerce into a deep and almost incurable consumption. That the stock had been received by unjust and unreasonable dividends, made without regard to the real progress of the trade; but solely directed by ambition and avarice. That from *February* 1677 to *January* 1682, they drew out 741,647*l.* and in two months after doubled their stock, which, together, made 1,109,673*l.* and all this from a capital of 369,891*l.* which was the principal paid in by the adventurers, while they were besides at the charge of 300,000*l.* for interest and gratuities at court^b.

Hence, and from such proceedings, the stock fell into so low, weak, and languishing a condition, "That instead of preserving the purity of their virgin credit by a continuance of punctual payments, they made it a prostitute jilt, by a paper fixed on the treasury door, declaring a stop to payments till a certain time specified." This the enemies of the company alleged, was, for the scandal and presumption of it, without precedent, and clearly demonstrated that the directors had been so busy in making dividends, that the obligation of payments was forgot (L). But the general charge brought against the company was their having seized and condemned the ships of private traders, who had their licence, and this both contrary to express contract, and without sufficient authority so to act. To which was added, their having put to death by the martial law, in contempt of the known constitution of the kingdom, several of his majesty's subjects at *St. Helena*^c.

The company's
answer to the
charge.

Arguments
against inter-
lopers.

To this heavy indictment the company answered, in their defence, 1. in general, That they neither exceeded their power, nor abused it. That in no one instance did they violate the rights of nations, or prejudice the honour of their country. That the cry and murmurings against them were raised by those very *interlopers*, who had occasioned the war in *India*. They then descended to particulars, urging that the rights they held, and the power they exercised, were not only derived from the crown, with the sanction of parliament, but absolutely necessary to conducting the commerce, and carrying it on upon a footing with other nations, and particularly for guarding against the encroachments of the avaricious dispositions of the *Indian* governors. That among the powers with which they were invested, was that of holding courts-martial, and inflicting military punishments. That it did not become them to discuss the question, how far the crown was impowered to grant them their privileges? Yet, that as a proof of this power in the crown, their charter had once been judicially confirmed in *Westminster Hall*. That for many years it was not requisite to exert that power; nor was it put in force till necessity urged it; till the *interlopers* broke in upon their trade, embroiled them with the natives, and even bred discord among themselves. That it was first in the year 1680, when the whole nation was in confusion, and *England* was threatened with a civil war, they began to take advantage of the then situation of affairs. That on notice of their illicit

^b RALPH'S Hist. Eng. vol. ii. sub an. 1691.

^c See before, p. 323 (F).

(L) Mr. *White*, in his sensible account of the *India* trade, calls this the key of that mysterious war with (1) the *Mogul*. Things arriving at such a crisis, it was high time to look about for an expedient. This offered itself readily, by seizing on the rich fleets belonging to *Surat*, especially those trading to *Arabia* and *Persia*. Previous to the intended quarrel with the *Indians*, we have seen the company's factors borrow the sum of 300,000*l.* of them, which they were to clear off by a war. In short, besides the sums borrowed, this iniquitous scheme produced about a million sterling, by the seizing of ships in an hostile manner, as was proved by oath in his majesty's court of exchequer. About 300,000*l.* sterling were brought into *England*, according to the confession of several of the factors and prime agents employed by the company. Thus, after violating the most sacred rights of nations, after involving themselves in a dangerous, expensive, and unjust war, and after bringing disgrace and contempt upon the honour of the kingdom, what was the important result of all these deep-laid projects? Why, these that follow:

1. A charge to the company of about 400,000*l.* in sundry articles, as advance on the rate of their tonnage; for supernumerary seamen; transporting old soldiers from *England*, with their pay; for great numbers raised in *India*; for large quantities of ammunition and stores, and garrisons in *Fort St. George* and *Bombay*, toge-

ther with those heavy articles of dead freight and demurrage.

2. It interrupted the course of commerce for four or five years, by which the company cannot (supposing they had a sufficient stock to trade) be computed to have lost less than 800,000*l.* and the crown about a third of that sum.

3. It destroyed several thousands of the best *English* seamen, by being sent out at unreasonable times, and by long detention in those countries.

4. It occasioned the loss of five capital ships, besides others, which by their long stay, loss of freight, and other circumstances, had proved a dead charge, and useless by worms, before they came to be employed.

5. And above all, those invaluable jewels public credit and national honour, became bankrupt. From the most respected, esteemed, and favoured nation, the *English* in *India* became the most odious, detestable, and contemptible. Insolence, pride, avarice, and ambition, were the means used to destroy the estimation in which the *English* were held; while corruption, adulation, and cringing, were made the infamous tools of regaining what had been lost, by means no less infamous. All their misconduct became articles of real grievance to the nation, which were corroborated by the secret practices of the enemies of the company, who, besides public spirit, had private views to serve.

(1) *White's Account of the India trade*, p. 57.

- a practices, the company applied to the crown for such further privileges as might obviate the inconveniency. That such powers were accordingly granted. That even in the affair of *St. Helena*, which had undergone the censure of the house of commons, they were justified by an express commission from king *James* the second, and also by his orders for the fact. That such was the temper of the court at that period, that their presuming to question the validity of such a commission and order, or even insinuating the expediency of having them ratified by parliament, would be forfeiting the protection for the indignation of the court, and exposing themselves to all the rigours of a *quo warranto*. That in such circumstances they could only use the power given them, or submit their trust to be infringed, ruined, and destroyed, by the foreign and domestic enemies of the company. Which alternative was
- b the most eligible, common sense is enough to determine. They had foretold, in their petition to king *James* the second, that all their settlements would be filled with confusion and anarchy, from the pretensions of those *intruders*, who, to procure themselves credit, propagated a report, that they were a *new company*, erected by the king, in consequence of the *old company's* having entered into the rebellion against him. That such of the company's servants as had reason to apprehend the consequences of their unjust dealings, joined those *interlopers*. That the *English* interest being thus divided, the *Indian* governors seized the occasion to oppress them, to sink their credit, to embarrass their dealings, and to lessen their profits. That the *Dutch, French, Danes, and Portuguese*, took their several advantages of this anarchy. That under such a variety of pressures it could not be wondered that their returns
- c were less considerable than formerly, and the management more difficult. Yet that the company was so far from being bankrupt, that they were in a condition easily to satisfy all demands, and to carry on their trade with as large a stock, and with the same advantages, as ever. That, in truth, the clamour was not raised on account of their supposed poverty; it was their wealth and prosperity had excited envy. That as to their postponing payment, they had followed the example of the chamber of *London*, and even the exchequer itself. The war with the *Mogul*, the company affirmed, was so far from being unprovoked, perfidious, and piratical, that it was just, necessary, and unavoidable; and that, upon the whole, they had done nothing designedly to forfeit the protection of the government, the good opinion of the people, or the powers and privileges granted them by their charters, since whatever national advantages were
- d to be drawn from trade, might be as well obtained on the present model, as on any other whatever^d (M).

HERE, as in all similar cases, where interest excites opposition, each discredited, or pretended to discredit, the allegation of the other. Pamphlets were poured out in such numbers on the public, that this subject would seem to have engrossed the whole employment of the press. The by-standers were delighted with the sport, the public inflamed the contest, and, next to the war, placed it among the great topics of the day. One advantage the company had, they were united, attached, and unanimous; their enemies were consistent in nothing but their animosity, which was vented in a variety of clashing projects. Some were for laying the trade open (N); others were for continuing it under the sanction of the parliament, and transferring

^d Vide Apologie for the East India Company, p. 18. RALPH, *ibid*.

(M) Here the company specified a number of other particulars, the consequences of the footing the several traders, or *interlopers*, as they called them, had got in *India*. The revolt of their servants under *Kegwin* at *Bombay* was charged upon them. The like consequences happened at *St. Helena*, say they, upon the report and suggestions of the *interlopers*. Here almost the whole island rose in actual rebellion, attempting to force the company's fort by arms. In *Bengal*, likewise, where the company's chief trade was, the *Nabob* and his officers took the advantage of the confusion in their affairs, to break all their former compacts, and deprive the *English* of all those valuable privileges, which they had long enjoyed by stipulation. They drew great sums of money from both parties, by violence, injustice, and open hostilities, which they never ventured to attempt, while the *English* were united under the prudent conduct of a company. The *interlopers* agreed to any conditions for the liberty of trading, to the great prejudice of the company, who were also obliged to accept of the most disadvantageous terms (1).

(N) The arguments they urged were the following:

1. A company would be a monopoly, which has always been a grievance, in the eye of the law; since, in this case, there would be but one purchaser of all the *English* manufactures sent to *India*, and but one seller of the commodities imported from thence.

2. Hence such purchasers will buy cheap and sell dear, both which are detrimental to the public. On the contrary, the more buyers of *English* commodities, and sellers of foreign, there are, the first will be sold the dearer, and the latter the cheaper; the advantage of which to the nation is obvious.

3. If the trade was laid open it would increase; the industry of individuals would discover more markets, as the advantage would be their own. The case is different with a monopoly, where a small trade is equally lucrative with a great one.

4. It is contrary to justice, and an infringement of the rights of an *Englishman*, to be excluded from the trade of any part of the nation: for why should not *Bristol*,

(1) *Vid. Modest and just apology for the India company.*

*The sentiments
of the public
divided upon
the dispute.*

*The enemies of
the company
dispute the le-
gality of their
charter.*

*The dispute
laid before the
house of com-
mons.*

*The company
exert them-
selves in de-
fence of their
charter and
rights.*

*The merchants
petition the
house against
the company.*

ferring the direction to themselves and their friends. Those who aspired to power and im-
portance, as well as wealth, gave into the latter, while the former scheme was supported and
eagerly pursued by those whose small stocks they were desirous of extending in reasonable
adventures. These, however, after some feeble attempts, were overpowered, a majority con-
curring in the former opinion. In short, it seemed to be the general sense, that a trade to
India, properly conducted, would prove highly beneficial to the nation; that it could not be
successfully managed but by a joint stock, and under joint adventurers, trading in a body.
That these were incompatible with *interloping*; that therefore no company could subsist unless
private *interlopers* were excluded, and that they could no otherwise be excluded than by
investing a company with sufficient powers to vindicate their own rights, to defend themselves
against such encroachments, and to conduct their commerce by such fixed laws, as should
secure it against the avarice or craft of nabobs, governors, and the counter-practices of their
foreign rivals. In this manner did the public reason; arguments equally strong for these in
pursuit and those in possession, both joining issue in the inference. But then the enemies of
the company alleged, that they were not legally invested with the powers which they exercised;
that consequently by executing an undue and unlawful authority, they had forfeited all
their other rights, and were, in equity, actually disqualified for any such trust for the
future*.

In this train stood affairs when they came before the convention parliament. The subject
appeared truly national to the unprejudiced; and worthy the attention of those who had formed
designs. A committee was appointed to take cognizance of the dispute, and it proceeded so
far as to demand a perfect state of the company's accounts, an estimate of their stock, goods,
cash, debts, with a view of their domestic and foreign correspondence. With this the com-
pany complied, and voluntarily offered to submit their books and latest advices from *India*
to the inspection of the chairman, or such two or three of the committee, as the house would
please to nominate. Their reason for this limitation was, that a copy of that estimate, which
they had submitted to the house, had been sent to *Holland*, for the *Dutch* to make what advan-
tages of it they could, to the prejudice of the company, as was apparent by a transcript remit-
ted from *Amsterdam* to some *Jews* residing in *London*, to compare it with the account deli-
vered in by the company to the chairman. But notwithstanding the eager desire of the con-
vention parliament to prejudice the company, such was their address, such were the friends
they made by money and interest, that they baffled all designs upon them till the third ses-
sion. Their vigour, indeed, was so great and unexpected, that their adversaries thought fit
to wait a more favourable occasion to renew the attack†.

HERE stood the dispute for some time, till the adverse party found themselves strengthened
with the assistance and countenance of several nobility and gentlemen of rank, distinction, and
weight. Upon this they renewed their operations with redoubled vigour; and, to render
their motions more regular and certain, they erected themselves into a kind of com-
pany, by entering into certain engagements (O). After this they presented a petition to the
house of commons, representing the danger to which the *India* trade was exposed by the mis-
conduct, abuses, and unlawful practices of the present directors; praying, that a new com-
pany,

* DODSLEY'S Hist. East Ind. vol. ii. b. iii.

† RALPH, vol. ii. sub. an. 1692.

Exeter, Plymouth, Hull, Yarmouth, &c. equally enjoy
the privilege with the port of *London*, of going to the
East Indies.

5. The *Dutch* trade with a joint stock; but they
permit their subjects to import from *England*, or any
other parts, except *India*, all sorts of *India* goods.
Whereas by the act of navigation, no *East India* goods
can be imported into this kingdom, but by the com-
pany, directly from thence. Thus the company have it
in their power to fix what price they think proper to
their imported commodities, without any remedy for
the buyer. Hence it follows, that the *English* are in a
worse situation, and more hardly circumstanced, than
the *Dutch* (1).

(O) "Whereas the trade to *East India* is of very great
importance to this nation, and yet, through the many
abuses and illegal practices of the managers of the
present joint stock, both at home and abroad, it is
likely to be lost, if some speedy remedy be not used,
by application to their majesties and the parliament,
to procure a regular and lawful establishment of the
same; which cannot be completed without a new

and national stock, clear of all incumbrances. And
whereas divers eminent traders and merchants, in and
about the city of *London*, are accordingly endeavour-
ing to procure such an establishment for the benefit
and advantage of all who shall or will be concerned
in the said trade; the subscribers being willing to
promote so good a work, &c. do hereby severally
promise and oblige ourselves, so soon as such an estab-
lishment shall be made, to pay the several sums of mo-
ney by us subscribed towards raising the said stock,
at such time and place as a committee, chosen by the
major part of the subscribers, shall direct and appoint.
And we do hereby make it our request to those per-
sons who have engaged themselves by a certain writ-
ting of the 8th instant, to endeavour the procuring such
establishment, and to pursue their endeavours to com-
plete the same. And we do hereby promise to pay
them, out of the joint stock, all such sums of money
as shall be thought necessary by them to be laid out in
obtaining the said establishment, according to the true
intent of this preamble." This was the contract en-
tered upon.

(1) Vid. Somers's Coll. vol. xxx. p. 98.

a pany, on a new joint stock, might be erected, with such powers, privileges, limitations, and restrictions, as the wisdom of parliament might see fit, and conduce to the public good. This petition, which was presented on the 28th of *October*, was attended with a counter-petition from the company. Both were submitted to a committee of the whole house. And, that nothing might be wanting to a thorough intelligence of the point in question, the several articles of grievance were ordered to be fully stated, and the company's distinct answer to each particular delivered; upon which the 28th of *November* was appointed for a hearing of both sides².

DURING the intermediate time, an account of the company's stock, cash, debts, &c. as given in by their governor Sir *Joseph Herne*, was under examination. Certain petitions from b the clothiers, praying a free exportation of woollen manufactures; and of the linen-draper, complaining of the company's not supplying them with calicoes, were received and read. At last, after a tedious discussion, and warm debates, the house came to the following resolutions; viz. That a sum not less 1,500,000*l.* and not exceeding 2,000,000, was a fund necessary to carry on the *East India* trade in a joint stock. 2. That no person should have any share in the above stock, exceeding 5000*l.* either in his own or any other name in trust for him. 3d. That each person having the above share should have a vote; and that no person should have more than one vote. 4th. That the company trading to the *East Indies*, should be obliged annually to export goods, being the growth and manufacture of this nation, to the amount of 200,000*l.* 5th. That no private contracts should be made; but all goods be sold c at public sales by inch of candle, saltpetre for the use of the crown excepted. 6th. That the company be obliged to sell yearly to the king saltpetre refined, 500 tons, at the rate of 30*l.* per ton. 7th. That no lot exceeding 500*l.* should be put up at one time, at any of the company's sales. 8th. That no person, whose share did not amount to 2000*l.* should be appointed governor or deputy governor; and that a share of one thousand pounds, and no less, could intitle a person to a seat in the committee of the company. 9th. That the election of governor, deputy governor, and committee for the company to trade to the *East Indies*, be made every year. 10th. That all dividends be made in money. 11th. That no dividend be made without a sufficient fund to clear debts, and carry on trade. 12th. That the stock be valued every five years by the accomptant of the company, upon oath, to be inspected by all d concerned. 13th. That for the future no ships be permitted to go to the *East Indies*, except such as should be of a company, or be established by act of parliament. 14th. That no by-laws should be binding to the company, but such as should be approved by a general court of adventurers, and were not repugnant to the laws of the land. 15th. That the joint stock of a company to trade to the *East Indies* be for twenty-one years, and no longer³.

HITHERTO the house seemed to regard the trade only, without entering into the interest of either contending party. The day following they further resolved, that all persons now having shares exceeding 5000*l.* be obliged to sell out the excess, whether in their own names, or in trust, and this too at *par*. That the members of the committee of the *East India* company give security, to be approved of by the house, that their present stock and estate, all debts e and incumbrances cleared, amount to 759,000*l.* And lastly, That after security given, an humble address be presented to his majesty, to incorporate by charter the present *East India* company, according to the regulations agreed upon by the house, that the same might pass into an act.

By this resolution, the house gave the company their choice; who accordingly proceeded as if they thought the offer deserved acceptance. Things bore a promising aspect for them, when Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and two of the committee delivered in their proposals concerning the security required, which were rejected. However, they still shewed a ready compliance, and according to order, undertook to produce the persons of their bondsmen, and specify the sums they would severally undertake for⁴. Thus every obstruction was, in appearance, sur- f mounted; and a committee was appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to establish an *East India* company, according to the resolutions of the house. The bill was prepared, and brought in on the 16th of *January*, but not read till the 22d. This proved to the company A. 1692. that some new objection was started; some impediment thrown in their way, which they must remove by other measures. As a farther proof, new petitions were received against them; their answers deemed unsatisfactory; and the whole game, by the following resolution, was played into the hands of the court; viz. That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to dissolve the present *East India* company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to erect another *East India* company, for the better preserving the *East India* trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his majesty in his wisdom shall think fit. The resolution was g prented, to which his majesty made answer, "That it was a matter of high importance to " the national commerce; that he would consider of it; and that in a short time he would

The company give in a state of their affairs to the house of commons.

Resolutions of the house.

Farther resolution of the house.

The commons prejudiced against the company. The house address the king to dissolve the company.

² Debates of the House under this Year.

³ RALPH, vol. ii. ubi sup.

⁴ RALPH, *ibid.*

" give

"give the commons an answer." Although his majesty appeared quite undetermined, yet a his presenting Mr. *Goldborough*, then governor of *India*, with the honour of knighthood, was looked upon as a favourable omen to the present company ^a.

The dispute referred to the privy council.

The whole dispute being now brought before the privy council, the company shewed the greatest readiness to stand by their award; and signified in writing, the cheerfulness with which they submitted the dispute to the arbitration of the privy council. Notwithstanding this, when they received, by the hands of the earl of *Nottingham*, a copy of the conditions agreed upon by the privy council, they objected in almost every article, and accompanied those objections with a paper of their own, shewing that neither the model or conduct of such a trading company could be altered for the better (P).

In

^a RALPH, vol. ii. an. 1642. DOWSLEY, vol. ii. c. 3.

(P) The following is the paper of propositions by the lords of the council, with the answers of the company.

Prop. 1. The fund to be made up of 1,500,000 pounds at least, and not to exceed 2,000,000.

Ans. The company do humbly aver, and are ready to prove to his majesty's satisfaction, that their present quick and dead stock is of more real value than the said sum of 1,500,000 *l.*

Prop. 2. The stock of the present company to be part of this fund, and to be rated at 744,000 *l.* if they can give security that it shall effectually produce that sum; or else at so much less, as they will engage to make good, after debts paid, and satisfaction made to the *Mogul* and his subjects; against whose pretensions the new stock to be indemnified by the like security.

Ans. The company say, that the value of every thing is what it will sell for; that their stock, under all the calumnies of their enemies, currently sells at 150 *per cent.* and they know, and can prove it to be intrinsically of more value than that current price. But they know no law or reason why they should be dispossessed of their estates for less than they are really worth in ready money, by all the measures by which any thing is valued in any part of the world. They humbly say, as to security, they know no cause why they should give security for their own estates. They affirm, that they owe not a penny to the *Mogul*, or any of his subjects, other than their running accounts with their own banyans and brokers, which are daily changing, like merchants running cash in a goldsmith's hands. Although the company owe nothing to the *Mogul*, yet the bare mentioning it in a public act of his majesty, would be enough to persuade him to make demands on the company, for transactions and pretences done in past ages, before any of the present adventurers were born; and therefore part of the proposition seems manifestly impossible, as well as unjust; neither the *Mogul*, nor any of his subjects, having made complaint to his majesty of the company's being in debt to them; that being only a suggestion of the interlopers and their adherents, not only now, but for many years past. As to that hypothesis, if they can give security, it will not become the company to say what they might of their own ability, or that of their adversaries; they are on both sides well known upon the *Exchange*.

Prop. 3. That the stock of the present company shall be brought home at any time within — years, in the ships abroad, or those to be sent on account of the new stock, paying the same freight, and disposed of at public sales by the members of the present company, and the nett produce thereof to be taken as part of the 744,000 *l.* as shall also the value of their forts, to be estimated by indifferent persons, and put into the hands of the new charter company. But after — days, no goods to be exported to the *East Indies* on account of the old stock.

Ans. The company say, they have as real a right to all their forts, cities, towns, and territories in *India*, to them and their successors for ever, as they have to their purchased lands and warehouses in *England*, belonging to the company's joint stock, or other private lands or manors belonging to the particular adventurers: *Rex Dei gratia* being the original title by which many manors, court leets, court barons, and lands are held in

England. And the company are unwilling to be dispossessed of their said real estates, till they are paid for them, which they believe in their consciences have, at several times, cost them above a million of money sterling, besides interest. But as to the price, were that the only point, they would submit it to his majesty's known justice.

Prop. 4. That whatever the quick and dead stock shall thus produce more than 744,000 *l.* shall be divided wholly between the members of the present company, proportionable to their respective stocks.

Prop. 5. Books to be provided for the new subscription, within —, and then the books to be closed.

Prop. 6. If the subscriptions exceed two millions, each subscriber to be reduced proportionably, till the whole make but two millions.

Prop. 7. That every subscriber pay in his money upon pain of —

Ans. To the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th propositions, the company humbly reply, that they do as little understand the new subscribers, as they suppose most of those subscribers do the affairs of *India*. But the company know the late new method of subscribing, without authority from his majesty, is an old practice of interlopers and others emulous of the company's prosperity. This has formerly been often debated, upon the like voluntary subscriptions, and particularly in the reign of king *Charles* the second, when some of the lords of his now majesty's most honourable privy council were present. But it always ended in only giving unnecessary trouble to his majesty and the company.

Prop. 8. No one person to have above 10,000 *l.* in this stock, in his own name, or in trust for him. Every subscriber shall make oath accordingly, that it is his own money.

Ans. This proposition, in duty to his majesty, and love to their country, the company most freely declare against, as being notoriously prejudicial to the nation, whoever the adventurers are. 1st. Because trade is a free agent, and must not be limited or circumscribed; whenever it is so it never thrives. 2d. It is contrary to the laws and customs of *England*, and of every other country, that a man who buys and honestly pays for a commodity, should swear it was with his own money; this being only a trick of the first proposers to serve a particular turn, without any notion of, or regard to, right or public good. 3d. If such a limitation were advisable, certainly some other nation must have hit on the expedient ere now; whereas, on the contrary, the prudent *Dutch* indulge and favour the very *Jews*, and the more, for buying the greater stock. One of these, *Swaffe* by name, had at one time 75,000 *l.* share. The *French* king likewise, for the encouragement of large subscriptions in that stock, propounded many considerable privileges and immunities, both to natives and foreigners, proportionable to the greatness of their said subscriptions. The *Danes*, likewise, it is said, made a law not long since, that such as would not add a certain proportion to their stock already wrote, should forfeit the said stock; which was a constraint equally erroneous with the former proposition. 4th. Such kind of levelling and limiting personal estates, was never known in commonwealths, much less in monarchies. Our levellers in *England*, and much less the tribunes of *Rome*, never

IN this suspense the contest hung till the next session of parliament, when it was again renewed with no less heat than before. Both parties, with equal eagerness, made their applications

never pretended to the limitation of personal estates; but of possessions in land, and not of all lands, not in their provinces, but those only of *Italy*, the seat or country of the Republic. 5th. No considerable man of fortune or experience, will ever endure the fatigue of continual study in the *East India* company's affairs, without finding his account some way; and that must be either by a great reward, or a great stock, or by other worse ways of paying himself. The most that *English* companies give a committee-man is about 50 *l. per ann.* whereas the *Dutch* have allowed *Peter Van Dam* 800 *l. per ann.* with about 400 *l. per ann.* to his son. But it is most more beneficial that such an active able man have a large stock, than any reward whatsoever. A man who is rewarded, is united to the company's interest but by one tie; but the other is induced by strong motives of profit and fears of loss, to an assiduity and industry the most he is capable of.

Prop. 9. That every member of the present company, who hath above ten thousand pounds stock, shall forthwith sell the overplus, at the rate of 100 *l.* for 100 *l.*; but so that if the whole nett produce of the present stock exceeds 744,000 *l.* this overplus shall go to the person that has sold his overplus stock, proportionable to the stock he had before such sale.

Ans. The company can see no shadow of reason or equity in this proposition; but a direct contradiction to common right, and the admirable laws of this kingdom, for the preservation of property.

Prop. 10. No person to have a vote that hath in his own right, and not in trust, less than 500 *l.* stock, nor more than one vote unless he have 4000 *l.* and then two votes; if he have 6000 *l.* three votes, and so in proportion to 10,000 *l.*

Ans. The company are humbly of opinion, this is more justly and equally provided for already in their present charter. This proposal of giving advantage to the small stock, is but a *Hieron proteron*, never before known in any part of the world, in mercantile affairs; wherein, as far as the sun shines, men vote according to their proper shares in the shipping, or as they are interested more or less, and not otherwise.

Prop. 11. All members of the present company, and new subscribers, to be incorporated by the name of

Prop. 12. All who have, or subscribe, 500 *l.* stock, to meet and chuse a governor, deputy, and twenty-four committee-men, to manage the trade. None to be governor or deputy who hath subscribed less than 2000 *l.* nor committee-man less than 1000 *l.* stock.

Prop. 13. The governor, deputy, and committees, to be annually chosen; and those who die within the year to be replaced by others, chosen by a general court.

Prop. 14. The governor, deputy, and committees, to take the oaths of fidelity: and also an oath for the faithful discharge of their trust.

Prop. 15. That every one purchasing any stock shall take his freedom, and, before his admittance, pay — for a fine, and take the oaths appointed.

Ans. In the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th propositions the company see nothing new; all is provided for in the same, or a better manner, by their present charter.

Prop. 16. That all free of the former company, or capable to be so, and all subscribing to the present stock, shall be admitted gratis.

Ans. In this there is but a trivial difference from the company's present charter, which enjoins all new adventurers, except the sons and servants of freemen, to pay five pounds each for their admittance. The old adventurers have paid their respective five pounds; and we can see no reason, if new men be admitted, why they should not do the same.

Prop. 17. That the company hereby established may make by-laws for their better government. That no by-laws shall be binding to the company, unless ap-

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proved in a general court of the adventurers, and not repugnant to the laws of the land.

Prop. 18. That every general court and committee be called by the governor, or deputy; at all which the governor, or deputy, shall be present; and, in case of equality of voices, shall have a casting vote.

Prop. 19. That the company shall enjoy the sole trade to the *East Indies*, in the several countries lying between the *Cape de bona Esperanza* and the *Streights of Magellan*.

Prop. 20. That it shall not be lawful for any, save the said company only, directly or indirectly, to trade within the limits granted to the said company, on pain of forfeiting —

Ans. As to the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th propositions, the company can observe nothing in them that is not already contained in their present charter, in the same manner.

Prop. 21. That no licence or permission shall be granted to any persons or ships, to trade to the *East Indies* on any private account; and that all such permissions shall be void.

Ans. This is an unreasonable proposition, and against the sense of all charters, and ought, for the public good, to be left to the company's discretion. In the late war with the *Mogul*, permissive ships were of great use; now that peace is restored, they are only useful in particular instances, which might be specified; and in settling of new plantations, which the company best know when and how to effect. No *East India* company in any part of *Europe* is loaded with such shackles, which in many cases would impede their progress for the public good.

Prop. 22. That there shall be no private contract for the sale of any goods; but they shall all be sold in public by inch of candle, for the company's account.

Prop. 23. That no lot of any goods to be sold, exceed 500 *l.* value.

Ans. These two are novelties, and such as were never imposed upon any *East India* company in *Europe*; they are against the national right, and if established, will tend to the prejudice of the kingdom, as the company doubt not to make evident to his majesty by irrefragable instances. Trade must be free for the public good, otherwise it will languish and die.

Prop. 24. Every year the company shall deliver to his majesty's use, 500 tons of salt-petre, at — per ton, if required, the refraction not exceeding —

Ans. The company will always serve their majesties with salt-petre as cheap as they can afford it; and doubt not but to please their majesties therein, as they have done all their royal predecessors. But to be limited to a certain price, quantity and refraction, is a novelty that was never imposed on this or any other *East India* company. It had been an unhappy accident for *England*, if such a restraint had been laid upon the company ten or twenty years past, which would have prevented one fourth of the quantity of salt-petre from being found in *England*, which was at that time in the company's warehouses; viz. 3000 tons, when this war with *France* began. There is a famous story confirming the truth of this, in the reign of *James the first*. — At that time, a great dearth of corn happened, which occasioned his majesty to send for the *Eastland* company. He told them, that to obviate the present scarcity, they must load their homeward-bound ships with corn, which they promised to do, and were dismissed. After their departure, one of the lords of the council told the king, that such a promise signified nothing, unless they agreed upon what price they would sell their wheat at; on which they were called back, and acquainted, that the king desired a more explicit answer. The deputy replied, "Sir, we will freight and buy our corn as cheap as we can, and sell it here as we can afford it; but to be confined to any certain price, we cannot." But being pressed

The company
proposes to
open a new
subscription.

They obtain an
order of coun-
cil for a new
charter.

The merchants
present a peti-
tion to the
queen.

The company's
capital taxed.

They neglect
payment, and

cations to the courtiers, and every man of weight, who, on their parts, were induced to put a value on their services, proportionable to the consequence given them by such applications. As nothing decisive had been done last year, either in parliament or council, it was generally imagined that the company had, upon the whole, the advantage. To propagate which belief, they talked of opening a new subscription, to the amount of 756,000*l.* which, together with the value put on their old stock, made the million and a half, voted by the commons, to be a fund sufficient for this trade. They even applied for a new charter, to authorize them to do so; and gave out, after having obtained an order of council to the attorney-general for preparing one, that all persons had now agreed to the regulations on which this charter was to be erected; but more particularly those who had solicited the establishment of a new company by act of parliament ^k.

This report did not long pass unattacked. The enemies of the company presented a *new* petition to her majesty, in which they solicited as before a *new* company, by a *new*, free, and national subscription. They declared, that the adding the new subscriptions to the *imaginary stock* of the present company, would expose the new stock to the debts of the old, by which it might be wholly absorbed, and the trade annihilated. By this they intended to destroy the prevailing notion, that a compromise had taken place. They farther presumed, that the company, by their misconduct, had traced out a path for their own ruin. When the bill for taxing several joint stocks was in agitation in the house of commons, and the company's stock was valued at 744,000*l.* the proprietors of the stock imprudently pleaded an abatement, affirming, that their debts paid, their stock would dwindle to nothing. Assertions so contradictory as those they gave in to the council; and this to the commons only served to strengthen the aspersions of their adversaries. Notwithstanding this pitiful plea of poverty, the commons tacked a clause to their bill, providing that, in default of payment of the tax imposed upon the several joint stocks, at the times specified, the charter of the respective company should be, and was thereby, adjudged void. To pursue their mismanagement, the company were so infatuated, as to neglect the first quarterly payment of the said tax charged on the

^k SOMERS'S Coll. vol. xxx. p. 100.

pressed for a more distinct answer, the deputy, who was a great fox-hunter, told the king, "Sir, your majesty is a lover of the noble sport of hunting, and so am I, and I keep a few dogs; but if my dogs do not love the sport as well as I, I might as well hunt with hogs as with dogs." The king replied, "Say no more, man, thou art in the right; go and do as well as you can, but be sure you bring corn."

Prop. 25. That the company shall export yearly to the *East Indies*, no less than the value of 100,000*l.* in goods of the product and manufacture of *England*.

Ans. The company may do this in general, some years more, some less, when their cloth lies unfold, eaten up with moths, and white ants in *India*. This ought, for the public good, to be left to the company's discretion.

Prop. 26. That all dividends be made in money.

Ans. This is commonly done here and beyond sea; but some instances may be given, wherein it would be highly detrimental to make this limitation. So it ought to be left to discretion, as is the case here, and in all other nations.

Prop. 27. That no dividend be made without leaving the original fund; or at least 1,500,000*l.* besides what is requisite for the payment of debts.

Ans. This is a discretionary rule the company now observe; but it was never enjoined them by charter; nor is there any company in the world so circumscribed. It is against natural right to debar any man from doing with his natural estate what he pleases.

Prop. 28. That the company's accountant keep a book to enter the value of the stock upon oath, to lie open for the perusal of all persons concerned.

Prop. 29. That all transfers of stock be registered and entered in a book, to lie open for all persons concerned.

Ans. The 28th and 29th propositions are already provided for in the same manner by the company.

Prop. 30. That the said joint stock shall continue for 21 years, and no longer.

Prop. 31. That a book of new subscriptions be laid open for a succeeding new general joint stock,

before the expiration of the said 21 years appointed for this stock.

Ans. This is so strange, that if admitted, the company would become the ridicule of mankind. It is in fact, saying, that a man shall plant a great orchard, and remove his trees, or depart from his possession at the end of 21 years; or that he shall build a fine house, a town or a city, upon such terms. The *Dutch* have spent within 30 years, the sum of 700,000*l.* upon *Ceylon*, and have not yet seen above 300,000*l.* of the principal. This company has been building and fortifying at *Bencoolen* about ten or eleven years, and they must proceed still for thirty to come, in which work they have spent from 250 to 300,000*l.* and though, indeed, they have preserved the proper trade to this nation by it, yet have they received no other advantage, or in the least reimbursed themselves; nay, on the contrary, it will cost them 200,000*l.* more, before it is rendered complete, secure, and, morally speaking, an impregnable asylum to the *English* nation. It is a most impolitic notion, that any company can thrive by frequent changing. any more than a nation, by the frequent alteration of the fundamental laws. The *Dutch* company stand on the original footing; and the *English* have never been changed but once; in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, and then by their own consent. By the true rules of policy, the company should never alter; nor any man be forced to sell, any more than buy stock. It would be equally reasonable, to oblige a man of large landed property to sell a part, to make room for other purchasers.

Prop. 32. That the company be obliged, for the better and more secure carrying on this trade, to have ships of their own.

Ans. This is a constraint never laid on any company. These having ships of their own, and likewise hired ones, know best when to use either. There are few considerable merchants in *Europe*, that do not employ both; nor was it ever before thought, or sound political, to put trade into such strait-laced bodice, which, instead of making it grow upright and proper, will either kill or force it to grow awry."

a joint stock; whereby their charters became void, and fresh arguments for dissolving them ^{forfeit their charters.} were afforded to their adversaries¹.

In this condition all things remain for some time. It was generally imagined that the court would take advantage of the forfeiture, to oblige the commons, without regarding the three years notice stipulated by charter, and esteemed a point of equity. But the influence of the company was greater than was supposed, and sufficient to suspend the effects of their indiscretion. So little was the court disposed to take an advantage of their late slip, that, on the contrary, the directions for drawing a new charter given to the attorney-general, were calculated both to restore the company to their former grants, and to authorize and establish their new regulations. The dispute now became more warm than ever; both sides were inflamed with the different motives of enmity, prejudice, passion, interest, and avarice. The company's adversaries entered caveats against the charter at all the offices, and talked so big, that the ministry thought it necessary to give them a regular summons before the council, to shew cause why the company might not be re-established, according to the purport of the intended charter. As the time granted was too short, a fortnight's respite was given, during which time the company petitioned a protection for 1200 seamen, to be employed as usual in their service. Their opponents also petitioned for four hundred to be employed likewise in the *East India* trade, which they understood to lie open to all adventurers^m. When the day of hearing arrived, the 17th of *August*, both parties being called in, the council against the company urged, 1st. The unseasonableness of passing a charter so near the sitting of parliament, as this trade had been recommended to the peers and commons by a message last session from his majesty 2d. The unlawfulness of an exclusive grant; and 3d. The illegality of many powers contained in their former charter, and intended to be renewed in this. On the other hand, the counsel for the company asserted the power of the prerogative in that and similar cases, admitting of neither precedent nor authority to the prejudice of this right. Upon this, the opposite counsel proposed, that an issue might be settled, in which they would cheerfully join, that so the point might be decided at common law, in the next term. This was overruled, the company urging, that the matters had been already decided in *Westminster Hall*, the judges, after a trial, having affirmed their charter. To this no other reply was made, than that the judgment referred to was given by those very judges who had declared, that the king had a power to dispense with all laws; and that that their opinions in both cases should be held of equal authorityⁿ.

So equal were the arguments alleged on both sides, that the council broke up without coming to any resolution. After some days spent in expectation, the associated merchants renewed their petition for protections, accompanying it with another, setting forth, that they were advised, that the charters of the company becoming void by act of parliament, could not be restored. That they ought not to be restored, as they contained powers repugnant to the laws, to *magna charta*, and several statutes. That under colour of these powers, the company had greatly oppressed his majesty's subjects; and they would now more than ever think themselves authorized so to do. They prayed, therefore, that passing the said charter might be suspended, till the common right of the subject to the *India* trade might be determined by due course of law. Petitions were endless. This last they backed with two others; one from the linnen-draperies dealing in *East India* goods; another from the clothiers and other woollen manufacturers of *Gloucestershire*. The latter solicited, that as the trade to *Turkey* and the *Streights* was in a manner wholly obstructed, whence little or no cloth was sold; and that as their stock could not hold out to employ the poor, who daily cried at their doors for work, a general liberty might be granted at this time, to export freely woollen manufactures to the *East Indies*; affirming, that this trade was capable of taking off ten times the quantity yearly which the company exported. The petition from the linnen-draperies suggested, that the trade to the *East Indies* was much impaired, and in danger of being lost, through the mal-administration of the company. That in consequence of their misconduct, such was the scarcity of calicoes, that the kingdom was chiefly supplied with them by stealth from *Holland*, at an exorbitant price, to the destruction of trade, and diminution of the revenue. They prayed, that, to prevent a monopoly of the said trade in the hands of those by whom it was so abused, the charter might not pass^o.

A COALITION of so many considerable bodies so far alarmed the ministry, that they thought fit to transmit copies of those several papers to the company, and to require their answer in writing, to the several particulars and objections contained in them. On the next council day, their secretary did accordingly present to the board a written answer to this effect. That such a licentious and indiscriminate traffick would necessarily end in the ruin of the trade, and prejudice of the nation. That although in strictness of law charters should be avoided, the king

¹ RALPH's Hist. of England, an. 1693. xxx. p. 100.

^m HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

ⁿ Lord SOMERS's Coll. vol.

^o RALPH, vol. ii. A. 1693. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. ch. 2.

The company
answers the
petitions.

A day appoint-
ed for a hear-
ing of both
parties.

The argu-
ments ad-
vanced by the
merchants.

in this instance was his own chancellor, and might, as a point of equity and justice, restore theirs. This, they said, was the more reasonable, as the tax required on stock by the parliament, was ready for payment, and would have been paid on *Lady day*, had the exchequer been open; for it was actually paid a few days after. That nothing illegal appeared either in the restitution or the clauses of the charter; because by an express clause therein, the company was to be restored to nothing but what they lawfully held. In answer to the clothiers petition, they urged, that their not being permitted, in the years 1689 and 1690, to send out more than four ships, by reason of the situation of the kingdom, was the reason why a less quantity of woollen goods than otherwise would have happened, was exported. That for the two last years they had sent to *India* to the amount of 100,000*l.* in cloth and other goods. That this year, pursuant to the votes of the house of commons (Q), a larger quantity than ever was intended for exportation, in case they might be allowed sufficient shipping. That as to the scarcity of callicoes charged upon them, it was occasioned by the loss of three of their homeward-bound fleet; viz. two wrecked and one blown up. That the said scarcity would soon be remedied by two ships already arrived, five more expected this year, and nine the next. Lastly, that as to the petitions of their opponents for protections for 400 men, they conceived them as intended to gain countenance from their majesties, that the petitioners might, by her majesty's permission of so licentious a trade as was solicited, invade and lessen her royal prerogative of restoring the company to their charter; they humbly hoped, therefore, that no such allowance would be granted. In consequence of this written answer, an order of council was issued, that a copy should be given to the parties concerned, who were to attend upon a day appointed for a hearing; viz. the 21st of *September*^p. Accordingly, at this time the associated merchants delivered in a written reply, in which they asserted, that instead of managing the trade for the honour of the nation, as the company had boldly averred in their own commendation, they were ready to prove their unjust and unwarrantable actions a scandal to religion, to morals, the crown, and the nation; a reproach to our laws; an oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade; for which they and some of their agents had been reprimanded by parliament. That the company, in avoiding a trial of the merits of the cause by a due course of law, and soliciting a determination before her majesty in council, where they knew it would not be determined, tacitly confessed a conviction that the law was against them. That the charter they solicited was a creation of a new, rather than a restoration of their former powers. That their so eagerly pursuing the point, when a sitting of parliament was so near, argued a purpose in them to take the settlement of the trade out of those hands to which his majesty had committed it. That as to their pretence of equity in cases of penalty and forfeiture, there could be no equity against the penalty of an act of parliament. That what they averred of their intention to pay the tax on stock on *Lady-day*, if the exchequer had been open, was false; for it appeared by several affidavits, which they were ready to produce, that the office doors were open till the usual hours of shutting; that the officers were in waiting; that public business was dispatched; and that the money would have been

^p RALPH, vol. ii. A. 1693.

(Q) It must be observed, that on the 14th of *November*, the preceding year, Sir *Edward Seymour*, by the king's command, had laid before the house a copy of the new regulations proposed in the *India* trade, which we have inserted, together with the company's objections to those regulations. He also laid before the house the opinion of the judges, that three years notice must be given to the company before they could be legally dissolved, or a new one erected. This was the reason his majesty left it to the Commons to act as they saw proper. On the same day that these reports were made, the associated merchants presented a petition for dissolving the company. On the 17th, the pretensions of both sides were examined, the issue of which day's debates was a resolution, *namine contradicente*, that a bill should be brought for regulating, preserving, and establishing the *East India* trade to this kingdom. On the 24th it was farther resolved in a committee of the whole house, that a new subscription for a joint stock should be opened, not exceeding 2,000,000 *l.* and not less than 1,500,000 *l.* to continue for twenty-one years. On the 7th of *December*, it was yet farther resolved, that no individuals should possess a share exceeding 10,000 *l.* That the deputy governor should have 10,000 *l.* with several particulars coinciding with what we have related of the privy council.

All these several heads having been agreed upon, it was resolved to move the house that a bill might be brought in thereon to settle the said trade. On the 10th of *December*, the report was made and received, and it was now expected, at least by the public, that the whole affair would be brought to a speedy issue. But the company, it would appear, understood intrigue as well as the court; for all of a sudden the heat with which the house pursued the affair, was subsided; the chairman grew tired of his seat; and though, on the 4th of *January*, advantage was taken of a thin house to procure a vote, that the subscription for a new stock should be opened ten days after passing the act, yet no further progress was made in the bill. Nay, as if the business of the house was to husband the jobb with the utmost frugality, it was finally resolved on the 25th of *February* 1693, that an address of the whole house should humbly be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to dissolve the said company, upon three years notice, according to the condition of their charter. Accordingly, on the 2d of *March* the said address was presented; to which his majesty only replied, "Gentlemen, I always will do all the good in my power for this kingdom, and I will consider your address" (1).

(1) *Debates of the Commons*, an. 1693. *Somers's Coll.* vol. xxx. *Ralph's Hist.*

received

- a received had it been offered. That all the company's arguments drawn from the rights and powers of the prerogative, were of no validity against positive and express laws. That they claimed the benefit of the law as their undoubted right, by virtue of which (as they were advised) all her majesty's subjects were equally intitled to the freedom of foreign trade, and could not, under colour of any grant from the crown, be restrained from it. That both the clause in the new charter, which restrains the grant to such powers as the company might have lawfully exercised in virtue of the old, and what is replied to that clause, was evasive and equivocal, because the company were thereby left in possession of all the powers which they thought lawful. How they were likely to interpret them, might be judged from their conduct at *St. Helena*, in condemning thirteen persons by the martial law; which execution the parliament had voted a murder. That the construction put on the merchants petition by the company, was a forced and unnatural one, since it had not the least tendency to diminish the royal prerogative; but only, by virtue of the prerogative, to secure 400 men in the quiet exercise of their callings, to the general advantage of the nation, and the particular advantage of the revenue. Lastly, they humbly prayed, that the settlement of the trade might rather be left to parliament, or the right be determined by due course of law, before a new charter was granted; that they might be favoured with the requested protections; in consequence of which, an addition of 60,000 *l.* would accrue to the customs, and one branch of commerce be most seasonably opened, at a time when, by reason of the war, all others were in a manner shut and obstructed.
- b To this sensible and spirited reply, they subjoined an abstract of some few of those numerous precedents in common law, on which the said reply was founded. The linnen-draper also gave in a reply to that part of the company's answer which related to their petition. Nor were the clothiers less forward in their zeal, having prepared a reply on their behalf, which, however, they were induced to suppress. To supply this deficiency, the merchants presented a draught from the Custom-house books, of all the cloth exported for the five last years by the company. By this it appeared, that the whole amounted only to 1827 cloths; whereas in 1692 only 953 cloths had been exported in two private ships, about three times the quantity the company had exported in any three of the said five years. They enforced the whole by a petition from the freighters and owners of the said two ships, praying, that the illegal clauses in the former charters might be particularly excepted, that so the liberties, lives, and estates of their factors, agents, servants, mariners, and others of their fellow subjects, might not be invaded in places so remote, where they could neither secure themselves against outrages, nor obtain a remedy; the aggressors being out of the reach of the ordinary law of the kingdom.

The company's reply.

- c HOWEVER, all their endeavours proved ineffectual; the company had a powerful interest, and the countenance of some great personages. No answer was given to the petition for protection to the 400 seamen. Wherefore the merchants made a new effort on that head, by way of inducement, undertaking to export more cloth in this present year, than the company had done for the five preceding. They likewise promised to furnish the government, on the return of their ships, with 500 tons of salt-petre, at 3 *l.* per hundred weight, which now sold at eight pounds. They affirmed the state of the company to be so low, that they had neither sufficient stock of their own in *England*, to load the ships they petitioned for, nor in *India* to load them back again. That as, by reason of the war, the petitioners were in effect deprived of their livelihood; and as the *India* trade was the most profitable, as well as least hazardous commerce of any, it was their humble request, that in order to repair their losses, protections for this year might be granted them for the above seamen. But they were no less unsuccessful in this than in the former petitions. So far was the council from complying with their request, that they issued an order, *September* 28, to either of the secretaries, to prepare a warrant for her majesty's signature, for passing the charter. Notwithstanding the merchants were heard by their council, upon the caveats they had entered; notwithstanding they had in particular presented to the lord keeper *Somers* a paper, containing their reasons against granting the charter, and such as seemed unanswerable (R); such was the influence, intrigue, and power

The company are opposed by some persons of rank and weight on the a minimization of the merchants, and their proposals.

Meets with no regard from the council; and an order is given for renewing the company's charter.

* SOMERS'S Col. vol. xxx. p. 105.

* SOMERS'S Collect. ibid. RALPH. sub. A. 1693-4. vol. ii.

(R) The reasons were contained under the following articles; *viz.*

I. We humbly conceive your lordship to be a judicial officer, indifferent between the king and his people, and a check which the law has appointed over all grants of the crown; that none may pass the great seal which are either prejudicial to the prerogative of the monarch, or the rights and liberties of the people.

MOD. HIST. VOL. IV.

II. We humbly apprehend, that no order can warrant the passing a charter containing any grants in themselves illegal.

III. That the charter now before your lordship, is a restitution of several grants of the sole trade to the *East Indies*, to a few persons, excluding all the rest of their majesties subjects; which exclusion, we conceive, is contrary to the common law of the land, the authorities of which are too numerous to be inserted here;

power of the company, that they obtained their charter, which, however, was less explicit and full than they expected'. The council knowing the determined spirit of the opposing party, and apprehending they would bring the dispute again before the parliament, were careful to limit the grants, that they should not amount to an absolute exclusion of all others. They likewise provided, that the company should submit to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications as the king should direct before the 29th of *September* following.

THE penalty annexed to a transgression of these restrictions was, that letters of revocation should be issued, whereby all their powers and privileges should be rendered null and void, and of no effect. It was also stipulated, that the governor and company should once every year, in the month of *August*, transmit to the privy council, a true and faithful account of the qualities, quantities, and value at prime cost, of the goods and manufactures of *England* b by them exported, together with the place from whence exported, and this certified by the oaths of the officers of the customs, and of the company's servants. It was at the same time provided, that none of the goods and merchandize so exported, should be reloaded in the dominions of *Great Britain*, nor conveyed to any other ports beyond sea, than the places limited by charter. It was further ordered, that on application made by six or more propri-

* HARRIS, tom. ii. b. i. c. 2.

here; and likewise contrary to divers statutes, some of which are particularly expressed in the paper annexed, of which we pray your lordship's consideration.

- IV. That if the king can restrain some of his subjects, and license others, it may be a precedent for any of his majesty's successors to set what price they please on such licences. Hence they will never need the aid of parliament to supply them with money; the consequence of which may be dangerous to the kingdom.
- V. That the former charters which are to be restored and confirmed by this act, contain divers other illegal powers. As, the power of executing martial laws, of imprisoning the persons, and confiscating the estates of their majesties subjects, &c. some of which were lately acknowledged to be illegal, even by their majesties council at law.
- VI. The said charter declares the late company to have been for a long time a corporation, to the honour and welfare of the nation, which may be interpreted a justification of the illegalities which they have acted, and a vindication of them, in that for which they have been censured by parliament. If there can be any reason to restore the late company, without doubt there can be none to commend them.
- VII. That the restoring the said charters, wherein such illegal powers are granted, may occasion the loss of the lives of their majesties subjects, which can neither be restored nor repaired.
- VIII. That the execution of the said powers contained in their former charters, being in places so remote, the aggressors are out of the reach of ordinary justice, and the parties aggrieved left without remedy, or at least unable to contend with a joint stock, so as to procure legal satisfaction.
- IX. We farther represent to your lordship, that some of the concerned in the said caveat, have factors, servants, mariners, as well as estates in *India*; and the offering the said charters may expose not only them, but all others, who may go into those parts on their lawful occasions, to the arbitrary powers contained in the old charters, for no provision is made in the new one to secure them: And the company may be encouraged by this grant to execute the said unlawful powers, as they have formerly done.
- X. That the industrious application of the company to get this charter passed, so near the session of parliament, where this matter had been so long depending, can be accounted nothing but a design in them to obstruct the settlement of that trade by parliament.

XI. That the copy of the said charter, since its alteration, hath been denied, whereby they are debarred from the opportunity of making such just exceptions as otherwise we might or ought to do, in a matter of so great consequence.

XII. That the granting of this charter will be, in effect, the giving away that trade to the *Dutch*; who have already in a great measure driven us out of it, furnishing most other countries, as well as this, with *East India* goods, the late company having neither credit or stock sufficient to carry on their trade.

And notwithstanding the pretence made as to the seeming limitation contained in the said charter, we humbly beg leave to represent to your lordship, that all the powers contained in their former charters are as fully and absolutely restored and confirmed as ever they were granted; and cannot otherwise be understood by those to whom the grant was intended, who having formerly executed them as if they were lawful, will by this grant be encouraged to do the like. It is so far from being an intimation of the illegality of any of those powers, that it is rather an intimation of their being legal; for it cannot be presumed that any thing which is otherwise should so solemnly pass under the royal authority, and through the hands of the great officers of the kingdom, who have examined and approved the same, after long deliberation. It may rather be concluded, that if any of the above powers had been contrary to law, they would have been particularly distinguished and excepted out of the said grant. For by the general granting and confirming of their former charters, and the powers therein contained, without distinction, and especially (as the charter expresses it) as fully as if the said powers and charters were particularly recited; all the powers in their said former charters cannot but be supposed to be restored and confirmed; whereby the lives, liberties, and estates of the subjects of *England*, will be again exposed to the same unjust violence and oppression which they have formerly suffered from the late company, by colour of those powers contained in the said former charters, which are now intended to be restored and confirmed.

All which, the concerned in the caveat before your lordship, do humbly offer, in behalf of themselves and their fellow subjects, as their reasons against passing the said charter to the late *East India* company; and do humbly claim the benefit of the common law, and the said statutes, and all our statutes and customs of the realm, for the securing to the subjects the liberty of foreign trade, as their undoubted right.

London. Oct. 7, A. C. 1693 (1).

(1) Somers's Collection, vol. xxx.

etors,

a etors, each of whom should be possessed of one thousand pounds capital stock in the funds of the company, demanding a general court to be held, that then the governor, or deputy governor, should, within eight days after the above application, call such a court, which might not be adjourned but by consent of the majority of proprietors then assembled¹.

STILL, however, the company received other favours, though less directly. They applied to the queen in council, that a stop might be put to the sailing of the ship *Redbridge*, under pretence that she was bound for the *East Indies*, though entered and cleared for *Alicant*. Upon which application, the ship was accordingly stopped, and detained at the expence to the owners of 9 *l.* per day. Nor was she permitted to set sail, till the owners had undeniably demonstrated, that she was actually bound, by charter-party, to *Alicant*; and to return from thence directly to *London*, in company with four more ships. Although matters were thus carried against the associated merchants at court, they came to a resolution, to lay a summary in print before the public, of all the transactions during the recess. This they actually did, inferring from the whole, that such proceedings, if not checked, would render all the foreign trade of *England* precarious, by subjecting it to interruption, from the caprice, insolence, or malice of any one committee-man of the *East India* company. That admitting such a power in the crown would be of dangerous consequence, as having a direct tendency to induce future kings to farm out all trade, and so to raise money without the assistance of parliaments. And that asserting the right of the subject was become the more necessary, as the omitting it so long had paved the way for pleading prescription, which had been urged as an argument of the power of the crown to restrain this trade. That it was apparent, the crown had not the power of restraining foreign trade to some, and excluding others, without consent of parliament, from the following circumstances.

1st. THE confirming the *Hudson's Bay* company, since the accession of their majesties, by act of parliament. This was a demonstration of the insufficiency of a charter to exclude the subject. Nay, the petition of the *East India* company to the house of commons acknowledged as much. *Their arguments.*

2d, His majesty's message, sent last session to the house of commons, in answer to their address for dissolving the *India* company. Here the king declared, that he could not determine the trade by his own single authority.

d 3d, THE several judgments given in *Westminster-Hall*, against stopping ships belonging to private traders bound to the *East Indies*, or seizing of ships or goods by virtue of such exclusive charter; and this too, since their majesties happy accession to the throne.

LASTLY, It was intimated, that as that bill for declaring and asserting the right of the subject to the freedom of foreign trade, might be passed speedily, without obstruction to other public affairs, this would facilitate the establishment of a new *East India* company for carrying on this trade, without any of the present oppressive objections².

IN spite of all the power, vigour and justice on the side of the associated merchants, the company, on the credit of their newly acquired charter, proceeded to take in subscriptions to the amount of 44,000 *l.* which filled with infinitely more expedition than was expected.

e Their adversaries then, as the next step, presented a petition to the house of commons, founded on the several facts, claims, and authorities already recited. They requested, that from this consideration, the trade to *India* might be established by the authority of parliament. That their pretensions might be favourably heard by the house, and they be set upon an equal footing with the company, they assiduously courted the new ministry, appeared at the levees of the most popular noblemen, and caressed the leading members of the lower house. On the other hand, the company, not satisfied with a bare defence of the charter they had obtained by their influences at court, laboured to have it ratified by a parliamentary sanction. But here they found a strong current against them. Their friends were chiefly of the tory party, whose influence was on the decline³. The conduct of the commons indicated an intention of siding with the strongest, or implicitly coinciding with the measures of the new administration; while the ministers thought it adviseable that some tenderness should be shewn the company, and the affair kept in suspense, till some advantage could be drawn from it. *The company actually open a new subscription.*

f THE company relied greatly upon the influence that had put her in possession of her two charters (S). Nor were their adversaries less sanguine in the interest they imagined they had with the commons and new ministry. It was the general opinion, that all those powers and advantages secured to the former by so many charters, would have settled their affairs upon a solid basis, and especially in a reign that seemed to deny them nothing. This was, however, far from being true at this juncture. The difficulties to which the administration were driven, and the poverty of the government, influenced them to a violation of those very

¹ SOMERS'S Collect. *ibid.*

² SOMERS'S Coll. *ibid.* HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

³ RAPIN, Reign

of King William.

(S) *Viz.* That of *October* the 7th, A. 1693, and a charter of regulations, dated *November* 17, following.

Corruption of
the court.

The commons
resume the
consideration
of the dispute.

A. 1695.

The company's
accounts ex-
amined by a
committee of
the house.

A discovery
made of extra-
ordinary sums
expended on
secret services.

Several of the
a. officers ex-
amined.

The committee
report their
discoveries to
the house.

charters they had granted; for which the company had paid exorbitant sums, and on the faith of which so many persons of all ranks had thrown their fortunes into the company's capital. It was in fact a trial which side should bribe the highest, public authority inclining to one or other, as the irresistible force of gold directed.

In this state were affairs, when the merchants petition to the commons was taken into consideration. After all the allegations contained in it had been repeatedly debated, and after the charters granted to the company, their new subscription, the state of their stock, and every other particular relating to the merits of the cause had been examined, the issue of all was, that in effect the trade was laid open, in virtue of this resolution; "That all the subjects of *England* had an equal right to trade to the *East-Indies*, unless prohibited by parliament." But no censure was passed on the charters, or the manner of obtaining them; nor was any scheme for regulating the trade by authority of parliament, adopted. Having by this trimming conduct paved the way for the extraordinary field of venality and corruption which broke out in the ensuing session, things rested here for the present. The following year it was notorious, that voting was become a lucrative trade; and that members of the house of commons became sharers in every profitable adventure referred to parliament. In the present instance it is well known, that the favour shewn by the court to the *East India* company proceeded from the same source. It was soon proved by a discovery of facts both at court and in the house of commons. An enquiry was therefore set on foot, and it was so contrived, that the same committee which had the inspection of the chamberlain's books, should also examine those of the company. The first thing that occurred, was an abstract of all monies paid for the special service of the company since the year 1687, which served as a clue to their subsequent proceedings. Here it appeared, that the charge for special service, before the dispute between the merchants and company, never exceeded 10,000*l.* and in general was from 1200 to 3000*l.* whereas this last year it amounted to 80,468*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* a sum by several thousand pounds short of what in fact had been expended*.

SIR *Thomas Cooke*, and Mr. *Tyffon*, had been governor and deputy for the two last years; it was probable therefore, that the secret lay in the former. In order to a regular train of discovery, recourse was had to the minute books of the court of committees. In these entries were found, of certain informations given by the governor, of his endeavours to obtain a new charter, together with accounts of sums disbursed in this pursuit, but without descending to particulars, which was a method of proceeding never before permitted. Among the entries were likewise found orders to their cashiers to make payment of such sums of money for the company's service, as the governor should direct (T). Proceeding next to such other particulars as could be discovered, the committee observed, that the money issued by *Heine* and *Cooke*, while the latter was deputy only, was expended upon private service, but brought to account under general charges. The equivocation of *Cooke*, the acknowledgements of Sir *Benjamin Batburst*, one of the court of committees, with many other circumstances, put it beyond all doubt that bribery and corruption had been practised; but yet nothing clear against any individual could be made out. Sir *Thomas Cooke* owned, that the 90,000*l.* was to gratify certain persons, if the bill should pass; but he would give no account of the distribution. Sir *Basil Firebrace* acknowledged his having received 16,000*l.* which he had laid out in stock with the company's permission. As to an accommodation with the merchants (interlopers, as they were called) for buying their shares, in this private trade, at 25 *per cent.* advance, and half the profit, the committee was informed, that lord *Nottingham* had acquainted the company by letter, that his majesty's pleasure was, they should come to an agreement. That about one half accepted the terms; but messrs. *Godfrey* and *Colston* insisting upon 30 *per cent.* the rest went off. Besides, it was imagined the contract for saltpetre to be imported in the ship *Seymour*, made with *Colston*, was only in trust with him for some other person, though the original inducement for the leave given.

In this light it was, that this unprecedented affair appeared in the report of the committee to the house. The report was made on *March* the 12th, yet was *Cooke's* examination put

* RALPH, *ibid.* HARRIS and DODSLEY, *ibid.*

(T) The following sums were found specified, with particular orders for the payment; viz. April 13, A. 1693, for 22,275*l.* November 24, for 24,983*l.* For January, A. 1694, for the sum of 30,000*l.* besides smaller sums, to the amount of ten thousand pounds; the whole amounting to 87,402*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*—The point was now to trace the disposal of this money. A great part of it, it was said, had been paid into the hands of Sir *Basil Firebrace*. Upon examination of the company's cash book, it appeared, that the balance was

124,249*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* But when the question was put to the cashier, whether he had that sum in cash, he answered in the negative, and produced a receipt of the governor's, dated January 1694, for 90,000*l.* and signifying, that he had expended the sum of 99,197*l.* *East India* stock, on the company's account. But the committee could neither find any warrant for the said sum, nor any transfer of stock on the company's account, except for eighteen thousand three hundred pounds (1).

(1) *Vid. Journ. H. of C. Debates of the H. of C. Parliam. Hist. A. 1693-4.*

- a off till the 26th. As he was a member, decency and justice required that he should immediately be examined. All of a sudden, the phlegm of the house was converted into choler: the heat with which they now pursued the enquiry, was equal to the coldness with which they a few days since regarded it. *Cooke*, on refusing to answer the questions put to him, was committed to the *Tower*, and a bill of pains and penalties ordered in to oblige him to account for the sum of 17,302 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* mentioned in the report. The bill was read on the 29th, and referred to a committee of the whole house, when *Cooke* desired leave to be heard against it by his council. After some amendments on it, *Cooke's* council were heard a second time; after which, the bill was passed and sent up to the lords. Here it took a different turn. The duke of *Leeds*, after solemn asseverations of purity and innocence, exclaimed with great warmth against the bill. He exhausted his whole stock of eloquence to convince the lords, that they ought to reject it, as contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a dangerous precedent. Either his grace's elocution, or something else more powerful, prevailed. For seven days the bill was entirely dropt; and when resumed, an expedient was found to keep matters in agitation, and yet avoid the chief aim. *Cooke* petitioned for a bill of indemnity, saying, that nothing besides prevented his making ample discovery. He made his apology to the commons, for making this request to the lords; their refusal occasioning this appeal. A bill accordingly was prepared to indemnify him against all suits and actions, those of the company excepted, and sent down to the commons on the 17th. After having tacked a penal clause to it, by way of amendment, it was returned, and the lords signified their concurrence to the amendment, by a message on the 19th. By this means the two bills were in effect reduced to one; notwithstanding which unanimity and seeming ardor for the discovery of transactions so black and infamous, all that was done for several days, was the appointing a committee to make the inquest. All parties, the patriot, the courtier, the whig and the tory, equally affected a concern for the prosecution; nor is it to be doubted, that they were equally concerned in it. Each had friends to screen, and enemies to expose; and the point of contest probably was, which of the parties should be made answerable to the public. In short, after *Cooke* had given in a written discovery, in which several persons of note in both houses were hinted at as having touched the company's money; after *Firebrace*, *Alton*, and *Bates* had been examined, and next Sir *J. Child*, *Tysson* and *Craggs*; an imputation fixed on the duke of *Leeds*, and an easy clue for discovery in their hands; the whole affair was dropt, never to be resumed, as if by unanimous consent. Hence it was concluded, that too many of all parties were deeply concerned in the dirty jobb^y. Bishop *Burnet*, and all succeeding historians, seem to join in this opinion; and truly, from the evidences of *Cooke*, *Firebrace*, *Alton*, *Child*, and others, it is difficult to determine where the greater share of this scandalous corruption lay.

- THUS stood the whole process till the year 1698; the ministry indulging private merchants with licences, in contempt of those exclusive charters they had granted to the company; while this last was reduced to poverty and disgrace by the exorbitant sums expended in prosecution of those charters, and the discoveries made of their unconstitutional corruption. Now a greater stroke was requisite; the sum wanted by the government was two millions. It was not believed, that any number of new proprietors would advance so large a sum for a new charter on the credit of an administration that had so lately prevaricated with the company. The affair was therefore laid before the house of commons, in order to have every thing settled upon a solid basis, that of national security. This was the time when ministerial service was deemed the highest political merit; nay, when ministers were to be gratified in all their demands, and that in the way and manner in which they desired. Some considerable persons first sounded the company, to know how they stood disposed to advance money by loan, in consideration of a settlement by authority of parliament. Undertakers were found to lay the proposition before a general court; but the persons entrusted with the management, either from want of address, courage or zeal, suffered the affair to languish in their hands. The occasion was urgent; the court, wearied with expectation, had now an opportunity offered of striking in with the merchants, which was accordingly done. By this the motions of the company were quickened. They were sensible, that no alteration in the present course of trade could be made without affecting their charter, which but four years ago had cost them so dear, or their profits, or both^y.

UNDER these apprehensions it was resolved in a general court to advance the sum of 700,000 *l.* in procuring a parliamentary settlement, as had been some time before suggested to them. This sum was determined upon, because it had appeared to be the sense of the public, that considering their losses by the war, a constitutional establishment might be granted

^y SOMERS'S Collect. *ibid.* RALPH, A. 1694. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. A. 1698.

^z RALPH, vol. ii.

Mr. Montague proposes a scheme for raising the two millions. A bill of regulations brought into the house.

The company's offer rejected, and they petition the parliament.

No success from the petition.

An unfavourable report of the state of the company made to the house, by the committee appointed to inspect their stock.

them for a loan of 600,000 *l.* The resolution was presented to the ministry, and by them to the house of commons. Both the court and commons seemed disposed to accept the offer; but this, according to *Kennet*^a, was but a snare; for in the mean time, a new bill, under the direction of Mr. *Montague*, was preparing. By this, a method for raising two millions, by way of loan, at eight *per cent.* on the security of a fund sufficient for repaying both principal and interest, was proposed. This proposal was laid before the house on the 20th of May; and so much favour did it find with the majority, that a bill agreeable to it was ordered to be brought into the house, with the following additions; *viz.* 1st. That every subscriber have liberty of trading yearly to the amount of his subscription; or assign over his right to any other. 2d. That his majesty have power to incorporate such of those subscribers as should desire it. 3d. That the privileges for conducting the *East India* trade, be settled by parliament. 4th. That the subscribers enjoy eight *per cent.* and the liberty of trading to *India*, exclusive of all others, for the term of ten years, and till the sum subscribed be redeemed by parliament. 5th. That every share of 500 *l.* have a vote; and no person enjoy more than one vote. 6th. That all ships loaded in *India* should unload in *England*. 7th. That no person being a member of any corporation trading to *England*, should trade otherwise than in the joint stock of such corporation of which he was a member. 8th. That 5 *l. per an. ad valorem*, be paid by the importer on all returns from the *East Indies*, to be placed to the account of the subscribers, towards the expence of embassies, and other extraordinary charges. 9th. That besides the duties now payable, a further duty of 1 *s.* 10 *d.* *per lb.* be laid on all wrought silks imported from *India* and *Persia*; this to be paid by the importer^b.

ALTHOUGH the company were informed by hints, that their offer even of raising the two millions would be rejected, yet did they by petition appeal to the justice and equity of parliament, as well as to the public. They again recited their rights and claims under so many royal charters, particularly the last, calculated to remove every reasonable objection, and superinduce many national advantages, agreeable to several regulations proposed and resolved in the house of commons; no forfeiture of which either had or could be urged. 2d. The regard that was due to the property of above a thousand families deeply engaged in the stock, and in particular to 781 new adventurers, who subscribed on the credit of the new charter the sum of 744,000 *l.* Nor was the company's property in *India*, amounting to 44,000 *l. per annum* revenue, a consideration undeserving of notice, before an attempt was made to deprive them of it. 3d. The expence the company had been at in fortifications, amounting to a million sterling. 4th. Their losses during the war, by which, since their last subscription, twelve great ships, worth a million and a half, had been wrecked or taken by the enemy. 5th. Their merits to the government, their contributing so largely to the customs, their furnishing a great quantity of powder on a pressing emergency, and advancing 80,000 *l.* for circulating exchequer bills in a case of extremity, at that time esteemed a very important service^c.

BOTH bishop *Burnet* and the continuator of *Rapin*, acquaint us, that this petition met with so much regard in the house, that an offer was made of settling the trade on the company, if they would accept of it on the limitations, and under the restrictions, agreed to by the merchants; which they refused. We do not find any authority on which to ground this assertion, nor indeed is it reconcileable with the sequel of the transaction. The petition was, it is true, read a second time, and proceeded upon as a point of business immediately to be dispatched; yet when the company, in consequence of a resolution of the general court, offered to submit their stock to a valuation of 50 *per cent.* *viz.* 20 on the dead, and 30 on the quick stock, which they were content to warrant at the sum, and to open subscriptions for the two millions, this concession produced nothing favourable to them. On the contrary, the committee appointed to inspect their books, stock, &c. made their report three days after, by which it appeared, that the company had not only, at several different periods, greatly over-rated their stock, and raised their dividends above the profits, but also that out of the new subscription a sum of 325,565 *l.* 0 *s.* 4 *d.* was paid to the proprietors, together with several sums for bribery, corruption, and the purposes of venality, under the article of special service. Hence a motion was made, for giving satisfaction to the new subscribers for all damages done them, by making dividends beyond the real value of the stock; and also by the payment of the above sums to the old proprietors, out of the estate of the new. The debate on this motion was, however, adjourned till the next day, when the company made it appear, that the said payment was made by the consent of the new subscribers, upon which the motion was dropt^d.

^a Vol. ii. p. 349.
vol. xxx p. 129.

^b Debates of the House of Commons. A. 1698.
^c Debates of the Commons, A. 1698.

^d SOMERS'S Collect.

- a ALARMED with so home an attack, and justly apprehensive of what was next to ensue, the directors called another general court of the proprietors, in which the persons of the most credit agreed to open an immediate subscription of 200,000 *l.* as the first payment of the 2,000,000 *l.* and subject to forfeiture, in case the subsequent payments were not made good. Proposals on this plan were, the same day, presented to the commons, as were also those of the merchants. The latter appeared to the ministry the most reasonable, and accordingly had the preference. Their sway was great, and the whole business of the nation was made a jobb. The new company, as it now began to be called, was formed out of the old *interlopers*, having set out upon their foundation, although it did not include all the private traders that went by this name. Such of them, whose stocks were better suited to a separate than a joint trade, and who found themselves more likely to be excluded now than ever they were, equally opposed the pretensions of both contending parties. They published a sensible pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter to a Gentleman*, in which the reasoning against an exclusive trade, in the manner in which it had been conducted, was forcible, convincing, and spirited; but unsuccessful, as it did not square with the views of the court and commons (U). The bill, against which they opposed all their might, was passed by the commons, and sent up to the peers. The old company, having obtained leave to be heard by their counsel, insisted, as before, upon their rights by charter, and even vigorously attacked the new regulations in the bill, asserting them to be less beneficial to the public than those inserted in their last charter. According to the charter, they were obliged to take in additional subscriptions, to the amount of 744,000 *l.* whereas by the present bill, no provision was made for any certain stock. They were likewise obliged to export home manufactures, to the value of 100,000 *l.* per annum, whereas the new subscribers were laid under no such obligation. By their charter, none but natural born subjects, and persons naturalized, had the privilege of a share; but the new bill admitted foreigners, which might produce effects pernicious to the general good of the nation. Though the old company had offered to raise two millions, the new were obliged, by the bill, to raise no more than one. It was therefore not unreasonable to question, whether the remaining million would be raised by voluntary subscription? Lastly, the counsel for the old company urged, that whereas, by the votes of peers and commons, the best way to carry on a trade was by a joint stock, exclusive of all others, the bill provided both for a joint stock and a separate trade; a circumstance which, they apprehended, would increase the difficulty of raising the two millions. These were the arguments advanced in allegation of their right, and against the claim of their adversaries, by the company.
- b
- c
- d

*The company
proposed to sub-
scribe
200,000 *l.* as
the first pay-
ment of two
millions.*

*A third party
arises, who
are for setting
the trade open.*

*A bill passes
the house in
favour of the
merchants.*

*The company
object to the
regulations
contained in
the bill, and
are heard by
their counsel.*

*The reply of
the merchants.*

* SOMERS'S Collect. *ibid.* HARRIS, *ubi supra.*

(U) "The landholders," says the letter writer, "of England, who all depend on trade, and who are traders, would think it highly irrational to erect by law monopolizing corporations for corn, cattle, wool, &c. well knowing that those, by commanding the markets, buying cheap and selling dear, would grind both the first seller and consumer. They would rob the landlords of their income, deprive the people of their subsistence, discourage manufactures, labour, and all sorts of industry, relating to the produce of the country. By the artifice of combination they would cut up the roots of trade at home, which depends on *cheap living*; whereas such corporations relating to foreign trade are no less pernicious, by destroying the foundation of wealth to be drawn from abroad, which is *cheap selling*. The present company, and what may be designed to succeed it, being but one buyer of commodities proper for trade, and one seller of whatever is imported from thence, will get such a mastery over the markets, in both cases, as to buy and sell with their own stated profits. Whereas private traders must take the markets as they find them. It is certain, that from A. 1653 to 1657, while the trade was open, the Dutch suffered greatly, by the low prices of the

English. Nor can any thing be more serviceable to the *Hollanders*, than that the opulence and enterprising spirit of this nation be confined and fettered in a lazy monopoly, which can regulate the prices with them to their own mutual advantage, but to the prejudice of the public. I shall not," says the letter writer, "insist on the difficulty of good government in a new corporation, though some late instances of corruption, charged on the *India* company, might justify me: I shall only remind you of the national constitution. In the late reigns, the *East India* company, and the bankers of *Lombard-street*, were thought dangerous to liberty, by the loans of great sums to *Charles* and *James* the second, on the credit of the exchequer only. In the present reign, the bank of *England* was restrained, for the same measures, from loans to the crown, but on parliamentary security. But if a new corporation of two millions fund, with a million or two occasionally or otherwise advanced, with pretence to carry on the trade, together with the constant profits; if this gives no umbrage to patriots, threatens no danger to the constitution, I may then safely conclude this nation for ever out of hazard from secret or open attacks on liberty (1)."

(1) *Vide a Letter concerning the East India trade, A. 1698.*

Some peers
protest against
the bill.

vehemence. No argument, legal artifice, or trick of parliament, were omitted, to dispute and impede its progress. After the bill had passed, by a majority of twenty-seven voices, a protest was signed by twenty-one peers, among whom was the lord *Godolphin*, then first commissioner of the treasury. The reasons contained in the protest were as follow :

“ I. BECAUSE this bill put an unreasonable hardship upon the present *East India* company, since it plainly appeared, at the bar of this house, that a security, of which we conceive there was no reason to doubt, had been offered by the said company, for raising the two millions for the public service : whereas the bill, investing the new subscribers with the trade, upon the subscription of one million only, does not, as we apprehend, give so much as a probability for raising more. And it may be reasonably doubted, whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, may not prove so inconsistent, as to discourage the subscription from ever coming near to the said million.”

“ II. BECAUSE the bill puts a period to the charter of the *East India* company, and gives the trade thither to other persons, without so much as suggesting that the said charter, or the trade carried on by virtue of it, hath been prejudicial to the king or kingdom, though the said company have an express clause in their charter, that it shall not be determined without three years notice, even if it should appear not profitable to the king and this realm. And the bill granting likewise a supply of two millions, in which the commons pretended the house of peers ought not to make any alteration, we are of opinion, their lordships are thereby deprived of the freedom of their votes in the matter of the *East India* trade, to which it cannot be denied but they have an equal right with the commons. And yet, by its being joined to a bill of supply, this house must either be the occasion of dilapointing so large and necessary a grant for the public service, or be put on the unreasonable hardship of consenting to a matter, which, though it seems so unjust, it is fruitless to them to examine, if their amendments are not to be admitted, because offered to a money bill, which we conceive to be a manifest violation of the rights of the house, and tending to an alteration of the constitution of the government.”

Bishop Burnet's remark
on the whole
proceeding.

UPON the whole, we will conclude this affair with bishop *Burnet*'s observations on it. “ It is certain,” says he, “ that this act, together with the inclinations which those whigs, who were in good posts, had expressed for keeping up a greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made use of by the tories to disgrace both the king and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money, that was given for the service of the nation, both to the supporting a vast expence, and to the raising great estates among themselves. This was sensible to the people, who were uneasy under heavy taxes, and too ready to believe, that, according to the practice in king *Charles*'s time, a great deal of the money that was given in parliament was divided among those who gave it. These clamours were raised and managed with great dexterity, by those who intended to render the king, and all who were best affected to him, so odious to the nation, that by this means they might carry such an election of a new house of commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was said, that the bank of *England*, and the new *East India* company, being in the hands of whigs, they would have the command of all the money, and by consequence of all the trade, of *England*.” And, indeed, whatever,

The ministry
push the in-
terest of the
merchants.

the bishop might imagine, certain it is, there was great room for this apprehension. Notwithstanding the opinion of the protesting lords, the ministry was fully persuaded, that the old company would not give security for a subscription of two millions, the sum wanted ; they were equally persuaded, that no number of new proprietors would advance so great a sum, without the sanction of parliament ; and they were made to believe, that though half was only stipulated, yet that the remaining million would soon be voluntarily subscribed for, if this check was given to the old company. This determined them, together with the power which it would throw into their hands, to push the affair in parliament with all their strength.

The company's
rights sacrific-
ed to the in-
terest of the
nation, the ne-
cessities of the
court, and the
ambition of in-
dividuals.

Nothing was wanting by the old company, that money or eloquence could effect ; but the bill passed with peers and commons, though in the former their rights were enforced by their counsel, Sir *Thomas Powis* and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, with all the energy of diction, and strength of argument, which the cause would admit of. It was, indeed, a thing determined, to sacrifice justice and the company to the artifice of certain persons, and to the necessities of the government. However strong the arguments for laying open the trade may be, yet we cannot but esteem it an act of the most flagrant injustice to rob the old company of rights which they had done nothing to forfeit since the last grant ; and to give to other persons an exclusive right, which had been solemnly made over to them but four years before.

^f Debates of the Lords for this year.

^e History of his own Times, p. 170, fol. edit.

- a** Thus a new company was constituted and incorporated by law, at the price of a loan of *A new com-* two millions, for which they received interest at the rate of eight *per cent.* though by sub-*pany erected.* sequent acts of the legislature it has been reduced to six and five *per cent* ^a.
- b** ALTHO' the old company did not look upon themselves as dissolved, yet so diffident were *A. 1699.* they of their right, that they assiduously applied to parliament, to be continued as a com-*The old com-* pany, during the remainder of their charter. Nor was the new company in a condition to *pany continued,* withstand this effort. *Montagu*, their great patron, was no longer lord of the ascendant *during the re-* either in the cabinet or in the house. During the suspense of the supply for the year, the *mainder of* commons, of all the branches of the constitution, assumed the most consideration. The old company set out with distributing their case in print, at the door of both houses, in which
- c** they made the most of the equity of their claim, and the injuries they had sustained. The new company took a similar method to answer them, in which, for the sake of exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries, they again laid open the venality of the court, with as much freedom as if there had not been the least room to suspect, that to a corrupt influence in parliament they owed their very existence. But their invectives served only to exasperate; they were imprudent and ill timed, by exciting resentments fatal and destructive of their arguments. Though the old company could not prevent the establishment of the new, they yet had sufficient influence to procure a like establishment for themselves. The bill for au-*Their charter* thorizing their charter by parliament passed, in defiance of all the opposition that was made. *authorized by* Thus the nation had two *East India* companies constituted upon parliamentary authority, in-*parliament.* stead of one, by an act of royal prerogative ¹ (W).
- d** THE two companies appeared now as solicitous for each other's destruction, as before each had been for its own establishment. The same heats, animosity, and resentment, were rather inflamed than abated. They had both tasted the sweets of the profits accruing from the trade, and looked on each other with that jealousy, and deep resentment, which ambition and avarice will ever inspire. In the year 1700, they had both been detected in bribery and corruption at elections. The old, indeed, began with corrupting members, and purchasing voices in the house: the new followed their example with a little variation; for instead of purchasing votes, they bought seats; instead of corrupting the representatives, they began with bribing the constituents, and securing a majority in the house. A great number of attempts to unite
- e** both the companies for the two last years were made, but they were ineffectual.
- f** THE commons had appointed a committee to receive proposals for paying off the public debts, and advancing the credit of the nation. To this committee did the old company *A. 1701.* propose, by the interposition of their old factor Sir *Thomas Cooke*, to pay the principal and *Proposals made* interest of so much of the two millions as had been advanced by the new company and se-*to the house by* parate traders, at an interest of eight *per cent.* This sum, which was the consideration of *the old com-* their establishment, amounted on the whole to 1,688,000 *l.* As to the remainder of the two millions, it was advanced by the old company, at five *per cent.* payable out of certain funds already settled by act of parliament. With what views and with what ends this loan was made, at an interest so low, does not appear; probably it was the price of their parliamen-*pany.* tary establishment. The principal money so paid (which was to be at ten payments in twenty months) to be redeemable in a certain number of years, to be determined by the house, and subject to such regulations and restrictions, as might be necessary for the public good, and the preservation, progress, and security of trade. An opening too was to be left for any persons whatsoever to subscribe a certain sum to be fixed by the house, and thereby to become proprietors ².
- THIS was a proposal of dangerous tendency to the new company, and which, if accepted, must infallibly have destroyed them. But they were sufficiently aware of their danger, and vigilant to prevent it. While, therefore, their rivals were drawing up the proposal in form, as they were required to do by the committee, the new company began to talk and write in the same strain their adversaries had formerly done. They declaimed on the importance of preserving the public faith unhurt and unmolested; on the wrong policy of saving 60,000 *l.* *per ann.* by a measure which would not only disoblige, but even ruin, a thousand families, subscribers in the new company. Without reserve, they exposed the perfidy of resuming, under any pretence whatsoever, the right (the exclusive right, as they at first understood it to be) vested in them, till the 20th of *September 1711*, only because three words had been

^a HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. RALPH, A. 1698-9. Collection, vol. xxx. p. 152.

¹ *Ibid.* *ibid.* *ubi sup.*

² SOMER'S

(W) It is remarkable that in the abridgment of the statutes, this act, which is of the extraordinary nature, and which so essentially concerned so vast a

branch of trade, is ranged under the head of private acts.

omitted in the act (X). In short, with such success did they talk, write, and act, that when the committee reported the proposal of the old company to the house, no resolution was taken upon it¹.

Both companies
make secret
offers of a co-
alition.
Terms of the
agreement
between the
companies.

AFTER these civil feuds had continued upwards of two years, at length both sides growing sick of a quarrel which might possibly terminate in the ruin of both, by laying the trade open, began secretly to think of a reconciliation, and an union of stocks. An agreement was soon determined, by which it was resolved, that the effects of both companies should be brought home with all convenient expedition, to be disposed of for their separate accounts, and all precautions taken for doing it with security. That no advantages, either on the part of the crown or of the new company, should be taken of the old, under pretence of forfeiture (which clause would seem unnecessary after the charters of regulation, granted and afterwards confirmed by parliament); that a release should be given by the two companies to each other reciprocally, and by each of them to their respective factors and servants. That the funds of the old company, amounting to 315,000 *l.* should immediately, on the execution of the above part of the agreement, be united to the capital of the new company. That the old company purchase of the new 693,500 *l.* in the capital stock and fund of 1,662,000 *l.* to be transferred by three of the members in their political capacity. Thus the old company may have 988,500 *l.* in the common funds, an equivalent to the interest of the new company therein. That the above stock of 673,500 *l.* should be transferred at four several times, one fourth to be paid for at each transfer, at the rate of par. That the dead stock of the old company at home and abroad should be valued at 33,000 *l.* that of the new company at 70,000 *l.* That the old company should, at the time of transferring their first fourth of the said 673,500 *l.* transfer all their dead stock at home and abroad to the new company, the latter paying for one moiety thereof 16,500 *l.* That the old company would also pay to the new company the sum 35,500 *l.* as the one moiety of their dead stock, upon which the old company shall be intitled to one moiety of both dead stocks, in the same manner as the members of the new. The members of the new company transferring shall be intitled to the arrears of their annuities, till the time of the said transfers; after which all annuities arising from the stock of the old company (315,000 *l.*) to be paid to persons appointed for that purpose by the old company for their use. In like manner the new company to enjoy all profits previous to this agreement, and also 5 *l. per cent.* on all ships entered homeward, or cleared outwards, previous to the same agreement; but that each company desist from any separate exportation².

It was likewise stipulated, that both companies should, for seven years next ensuing, share equally in the administration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce; and that twelve persons should be elected by the general court of each company respectively, out of the courts of committees and directors of the said companies, to be nominated in the new charter, the *managers* of the *united trade to India*; and that a new and additional stock should be raised for the support and increase of the future trade, to be advanced at the time, and in the manner, determined by the twenty-four directors composed of each court, the general court approving of their determination. That for the seven ensuing years the old company should remain a separate corporation, and preserve their stock as a body politic, with power to transfer and assign in their own books, as at the time of signing the agreement. That at the end of this term they should transfer and assign in the books of the new company their share in the capital, to such members as should then stand intitled to the same, upon which the members of the old company should, without fee or cost, become members of the new. That each company should indemnify the other from their debts and demands, and a proper proviso be made for that purpose. That the new company, from the time that this agreement is in force, should not take up money on their common seal, nor do any other act that related to both, without the consent and concurrence of the old company. That it should be stipulated, agreed, and covenanted between them, that his majesty should, within ten days after making the above assignment, make a re-grant, and that the old company should surrender their charter and act of incorporation within one month after the expiration of the above term of seven years. Also that the king should, within ten days after the said surrender, make a new grant to the trustees, and subject to the same trustees, all estate and effects of the old company as should come to or devolve upon the crown, by reason of the said surrender. Lastly, That immediately from and after the said surrender, the new company shall be styled, *The united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies*. That the future management of the said

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. *ibid.*

² DODSLEY, vol. ii. c. 3. RALPH'S Hist. Eng. under this year.

(X) The words, *and not former*, having been omitted in the act, the old company laid hold of this mistake, to endeavour to prevail on the commons to restore the grant they had, saying it might be done, according to the literal sense of the act.

- a stock and trade, after the expiration of the term of seven years, should be according to the charter of the new company, bearing date the 5th of September, *an.* 1698. That there shall be a tripartite indenture for the better obtaining the purposes specified above, to be executed by the king and both the said companies; and that here such provisions and covenants should be made as should be thought reasonable, with proper releases to each company, in such manner as that as soon as the above term of seven years should be expired, the two companies should thenceforward become one in name and effect ^a.

- Thus were the animosities, heats, and enmities between the two companies terminated by an union, equally beneficial to both. The markets, which took advantage of the rivalry between them, were lowered, and the stock to carry on trade enlarged. It was, indeed, the only possible remedy for so great an evil, the bad consequences of which were foreseen by the prudent and impartial, before the two charters had been granted. Experience, however, multiplied the bad effects prognosticated, and probably pointed out the cure. It was the opinion of many, that the animosities between the company and private merchants, and afterwards the project of two companies, was, if not planned, at least promoted, by the Dutch. Nor is the conjecture without probability, considering the advantages they reaped from it. A circumstance that strongly corroborates the notion is, that the subscription for the two millions was chiefly filled up by foreigners. It has the air of a paradox, that people would lend their money to hurt the old *East India* company; but this difficulty will be easily solved, if we consider, that the subscribers relied less upon the dividends and advantages of trade, than on the 8 *l.* per cent. interest.

- c But however things might be brought to an amicable crisis at home, by this union of the two companies, it was by no means so abroad for a considerable time. The coalition was known, but little observed, in those distant parts. Their rancour, jealousy, and enmity would seem to be inflamed by the heat of the climate; and what originally had its rise from interest and selfish notions, to have now become constitutional from habit.

- To give the reader a more distinct idea how far those prejudices were carried, we shall take a succinct view of the settlements abroad, and of the conduct of the governors, factors, and servants of the companies. It is somewhat difficult to represent in one distinct scene, so great a variety of objects; but we shall attempt it, hoping for the candid reader's excuse for any slips we may be guilty of, whilst we are pursuing a theme hardly touched upon by former historians (Y).

- Nothing but the cement of avarice and self interest had held the *British* subjects engaged in this commerce united. By means of this, persons who secretly entertained the greatest aversion for each other, were forced to a certain degree of compliance, in order to obtain their several ends. It will easily be believed that the companies affairs were in a languid condition, as they were intirely conducted by such as had no other concern for them than in the proportion their private interests were connected with those of their masters. Hence every opportunity of enriching themselves, at the expence of their constituents, were laid hold of by the governors and factors. The divisions among the servants of each company arose from opposite private interests, as much as from the enmities between the companies. Neither honour, justice, or humanity were regarded, whenever an occasion of injuring each other, or bettering themselves, occurred; all was conducted by fraud or open force (Z). The ministry were

^a The above cited authors, *ibid.*

(Y) Captain Hamilton's history is our only guide; who, tho' an honest and faithful writer, is so diffuse, perplexed, and languid, as almost to nauseate a reader.

(Z) The following story from Captain Hamilton will strongly mark the character of the *East India* governors at this time.

"Perrin, the master of a ship A. 1706, took up 500 *l.* on *respondentia* from Mr. Sheldon, one of the company's governors in Bengal. The money was intended for a voyage to *Perfia*, and was payable on his return to Bengal. Perrin having dispatched his affairs in *Perfia*, called, in his return, at *Goa*, where he bought a *Surat* built ship. This he loaded at *Calicut* with pepper, designed for the *Bengal* market. He also took in store of *Perfia* wines, for which having no sale at *Fort St. George*, he carried the whole to Bengal. On his arrival, he complimented Sheldon with the first offer of his pepper and wines, which he declined, taking no more than would balance the account between them of principal and *respondentia*. On delivering the goods,

he desired his bond; which Sheldon refused, saying, that, as he was an *interloper*, he would keep the bond as a security for his future conduct. Perrin used all his influence and arguments to procure the surrender of his bond, but to no purpose. Nor was the governor satisfied with this exertion of his power and resentment; he used a still more cruel method of hurting Perrin, which was by vilifying his pepper and wines, and spoiling their sale. Sheldon's intention was to bring down the price in such a manner, that he and his associates might have a bargain of them, which Perrin was at last obliged to grant, holding a quarter part in his own hands. Perrin made his complaint to me, but I was in no condition to assist him, because having three or four large ships at Bengal, I was reckoned a criminal, guilty of that unpardonable sin of *interloping*. However, I advised him to comply with his inexorable master on any terms, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at least keep the command of his ship, which he had hardly done but by an accident. One day meeting me on the green near the fort, he stopped

were taken up with humbling the exorbitant power of the house of *Bourbon*; the ballance of *Europe* engrossed their whole attention, and prevented their finding leisure for the more tranquil concerns of manufactures, trade, and commerce. There is nothing, however, more obvious, than that commerce ought to be a principal concern with a *British* ministry; since the extension of trade is, perhaps, the sole means of raising the power and credit of the nation. Our naval force will ever render us considerable abroad; but this cannot be maintained by any other means than promoting a spirit of trade and navigation.

stopped me to relate his grievances, and begged that if he was turned out of his ship he might be employed in one of mine; which I promised he should. *Sheldon* observed us out of a window, holding a long conversation, and being impatient to know the subject of it, sent a servant to call *Perrin*, and he, obeying the summons, was interrogated about the nature of our conversation. *Perrin* told him of my promise; upon which the governor replied, that he was as able to employ him as I was. *Perrin* answered, that he knew that, but wished he would be as willing. Upon which *Sheldon* promised, that he should command his own ship to *Persia*.

But the wine still lay unfold, though at that time it was scarce in *Bengal*. The bad name it had got by *Sheldon's* means stuck so fast to it, that none would go off. I therefore advised *Perrin* to carry it off in the night in my boats, on board of one of my ships, and I would try whether I could not serve him, which was done accordingly. Two gentlemen of the council coming one day to dine with me, I treated them and the rest of the company with *Perrin's* wine, which they all praised, and asked where I got it? I told them, that knowing good wine would be scarce that year in *Bengal*, I had provided a good quantity at *Surat*. Every one begged that I would spare them some chests, which I condescended to do as a favour, and next day sent it at double the price the owner demanded. Thus I disposed of 100 chests, by which *Perrin* was enabled to satisfy most of his creditors. *Sheldon* provided a stock and freight for him to *Persia*,

putting on board some rotten long pepper, which he could not otherwise dispose of, and some damaged *Gunnies*, much used, if good, in *Persia*, for embalming; and obliged poor *Perrin*, *volens nolens*, to sign bills of lading for sound well-conditioned goods. Just as he was setting sail he was stopped, till he could raise the sum of 2500 rupees, to discharge a bill then due, and indorsed to *Sheldon*. I helped him out of this difficulty likewise, upon which he proceeded on his voyage; but called at *Calcut*, where he laid up his ship, and took protection of a *Nayer*, with the full hand of 11,000 *l*. From hence he wrote to *Sheldon*, that he might keep his former bond, and he would take care of his part of the stock in his hands. He wrote also to me, that he would soon reimburse me; but he died soon afterward, and his effects came into the *English* chief's hands, who detained them several years, denying that he ever received any. At length, on Mr. *Bozot's* coming, A. 1715, to the government of *Bombay*, the affair was somewhat cleared up by a lame account. I have been so prolix and particular in this story, says the Captain, as it forms an idea of the deformity and dismal image of tyranny and villainy, supported by a power that neither divine nor human laws have force enough to bridle or restrain (1). It is, indeed, apparent, from a number of circumstances, that the grossest abuses were committed by these petty tyrants, while the attention of the companies were engaged too much at home, to regard the conduct of their servants abroad.

(1) *Hamilton's History of the Indies*, vol. i.

S E C T. V.

Containing an act empowering the company to borrow money on their common seal; an act to prevent foreigners from establishing a trade prejudicial to the interest of the company; several other acts in their favour; massacre of the factory at Pulo Condore; the revolt of the natives at Bencoolen, &c.

The United company resolve to lend the government money.

An act passed in favour of the company.

AS the views of the ministry, during the long war with *France*, were wholly abstracted from the concerns of trade, the *India* company was obliged to devise means for the removal of many inconveniences, which remained after the union of both companies. To obtain such a law as would settle their affairs upon a proper footing, they resolved, in the sixth year of queen *Anne*, to lend the government the sum of 1,200,000 *l*. over and above the former loans. This had been a way of procuring the protection of the government of antient standing, and it was practised on this occasion with success. The proposal was readily embraced; in consideration of which the parliament was ready to grant whatever they required for the benefit of their trade (A). A law was therefore passed, in which it was enacted, That the *English* company trading to the *East Indies* shall pay into the exchequer the above-mentioned sum at certain stated payments, in failure whereof the money to be recovered of

(A) It may be proper to observe, that here the *India* company is to be considered in a double capacity, as creditors to the public, and as a trading company. In the first they have a security, as other companies have, for the money they advance to the government, and a proportionable interest for it. In their other capacity, their directors are trustees for the company's trade, the profits of which likewise belong to the proprietors. Hence it appears, that the dividends upon their stock are compounded of the profits on

trade, and the interest from the government. This latter being fixed and invariable (except on the reduction of interest by parliamentary authority), serves as an index to the former; since at all times the interest paid to the company, being deducted from the dividend paid by them to the proprietors, leaves the clear profits of trade. This short note will serve the reader as a key to the nature of *East India* stock, the difficulty of understanding which we have heard many sensible persons complain of.

the

- a the company by action of debt, with 12 *per cent.* damages; and that the company be empowered to borrow on their common seal a sum of money, the principal not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* over and above what they were before legally intitled to borrow on their common stock. In case the governor and company of merchants of *London* trading to the *East Indies*, and the general court of the said company, whilst they continue separate, shall think fit to call in money from their respective adventurers, towards raising the said sum of 1,200,000*l.* or repayment of money borrowed for that purpose, they are invested with full powers to make such calls. And if any members shall neglect or refuse to pay their money so called in, or which the company, in pursuance of statute 9th *Wm.* III. c. 44. or their charters, shall call in for carrying on their trade (after notice fixed on the Royal Exchange),
- b that then the company may stop the dividends payable to such members, and apply the same towards such payment, till it be satisfied. They may also stop the transfers of the shares of such defaulters, and charge them with interest at 5 *per cent.* till such payment. If the same be neglected for three months, the company may afterwards sell so much of the defaulters stock as will amount to the sum required by the call ^a.

- THE above sum of 1,200,000*l.* shall be deemed an addition to the stock of the *English East India* company, and be free of taxes. The united stock of the company shall be subject to the debts contracted by the said company, and such persons intitled to 7,200*l.* part of the 2,000,000*l.* original stock, as have not united their stock to the corporation's, and who are authorized to carry on a trade for their separate use, may hold and enjoy the trade as if this
- c act had not been made. The company may repay the same at the expiration of three years, together with the annuities due thereon, upon which the whole trade shall be invested in the said company. Disputes between the two companies, relative to the union between them, to be referred to the arbitration of *Sidney* earl of *Godolphin*. After award is made, and the charter of the governor and company surrendered, the persons who, at the time of the surrender, pursuant to an indenture tripartite, made between the queen on the first part, the said governor and company on the second part, and the said company on the third part, shall be directors and managers of the United Company, and shall continue in that capacity until new directors are chosen, according to their charter, dated *September* 5th, and 10th *William* III.; provided, That after a term limited, and repayment of the said two millions two hundred
- d thousand pounds, and all arrears then due for annuities, which annuities amount to 160,000*l.* *per ann.* and upon three years notice, that then the aforesaid duties on salt, &c. and the benefit of trade given by this and the former charter cease. This proviso is extended as to the time, by stat. 10 *Ann.* c. 28 & 29. and impowers the company to enter such goods as they shall import at the custom-house, by bills at sight or sufferance, and shall give security under their common seal for payment of such customs and duties as are rated in the book of rates, and upon coffee, to be ascertained on the oath of the importer; viz. for payment of one half at the end of six calendar months, and the other half at the end of twelve months. The custom-house officers shall grant to the company such bills at sight or sufferance, and take security as aforesaid, making such allowances and deductions as are made to other merchants
- e paying their customs at or before the landing their goods and merchandize. Nothing however, herein contained, to extend to alter the method of paying the duties of 15 *per cent.* on muslins and calicoes, or the duties of any other goods, to be ascertained by sale of candle ^b.

- NOT long after the accession of *George* the first to the *British* crown, a new evil was discovered, the preventing of which was of the utmost consequence to the whole nation, as well as to the company. It was found that various attempts had been made to penetrate into the secrets of this commerce, for the information of foreigners, who projected a scheme for sharing in so beneficial a traffick. To put a stop to so dangerous a design, a bill passed in parliament, and received the royal assent, to render all such practices ineffectual. It was
- f enacted, That all his majesty's subjects, who shall sail or go to the *East Indies*, or such places of *Asia*, &c. beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the *Streights of Magellan*, contrary to the laws in being, or the tenor of this act, shall be liable to the punishments inflicted by law for such offences; and it shall be lawful for the united company of *English* merchants trading to the *East Indies*, and their successors, to seize such persons, and to send them to *England* to stand trial, and to be punished according to law: whoever shall solicit, procure, obtain, or act under, any commission, authority, or pass, from any foreign power, to sail or trade to or in the *East Indies*, shall forfeit 500*l.* whereof one moiety to the informer, another to the crown; the said penalties and forfeitures to be recoverable in any court of record at *Westminster* ^c.

^a HARRIS, ubi sup. HAMILTON, vol. i. DODSLEY, vol. ii. c. 3. J. P. A. 1705-6.
the House under this year.

^c Ibid. Etiam DODSLEY, vol. ii. b. 3.

^b Debates of

*This law in-
effectual.*

THIS law, notwithstanding the severity, did not produce the intended effect. The profits of the *English* company, who had, for several years past, divided ten *per cent.* on their capital, excited a general eagerness among foreigners and others to share in so lucrative a commerce. The *English* merchants, excluded by the company's charter, thought themselves injured by this monopoly, and determined, if possible, to avoid the penalty by other means projected. This gave occasion, among other plans laid out by our neighbours, to the establishment of a new company at *Ostend*, of which we shall speak more particularly in another place. In this project so many *English* traders and merchants were concerned, that, to obviate the inconveniencies resulting to the company and nation from the share they had in the new foreign subscription, an act was passed in the 9th year of *George* the first. By this act all the subjects of the three kingdoms were prohibited from encouraging, in any way, the establishment of any foreign company trading from the *Austrian Netherlands* to any place mentioned in the *English* company's charter, or to have any interest or share in the stocks or actions of any such foreign company, or to make payment in money, bills, or any other method whatsoever, towards the promoting or support of that or any other foreign company; the persons so offending to forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of such company, with thrice the value thereof; one third to go to the crown, and the remainder to the *English* company, in case they inform or sue for it; otherwise one third to go to the certain informer, recoverable by action of debt.

*Act to prevent
British subjects
from encouraging
foreign
East India
commerce.*

*Terms of the
act.*

THE attorney-general, of his own authority, or on the relation of the said united company, and for the company, may file a bill of complaint in the court of chancery or of the exchequer, against any person who shall have contributed to, promoted, or any ways become interested in, the establishment of any such foreign *East India* company, or the stock or trade thereof, for the discovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's stock or concern in any such company, and insisting only on the single value. And if, upon this, such person shall answer to the bill, and not plead or demur to the discovery thereby sought; and in case the single value only of such stock, share, or interest, shall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof shall go to his majesty, and the other two thirds to the company. If any *British* subject shall have accepted of any trust, or know of any interest, share, or concern, which any of his majesty's subjects shall have in such foreign company, and shall not, within six months after accepting the trust, or the coming to the knowledge of any such interest, truly discover the same in writing to the said united company of *England*, or their court of directors, he shall forfeit thrice the value of the said concern, interest, &c. so accepted in trust, or so known and not discovered; one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will sue for it by action of debt; or such offender shall, at the discretion of the court where the cause is tried, suffer one year's imprisonment: such persons as shall, within the time limited above, voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true discovery in writing of the interest, &c. of any subject in the stock of any foreign company, shall have one half of the clear amount of the forfeitures arising from this act.

ANY of his majesty's subjects, not legally authorized, found in the *East Indies*, are declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and may be prosecuted for the same; and if found guilty, shall be liable to such corporal punishment, imprisonment, or fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall see fit. And the offenders may be seized and brought to *England*, and any justice of the peace may commit them to the next county jail, till sufficient security be given by natural-born subjects, or denizens, for their appearance in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave. All actions on account of offences against this act, or against the 9th of *William III.* c. 44. or 5th *Geo. I.* c. 21. shall be laid in *London* or *Middlesex*, at the option of the prosecutor; and a *capias* in the first process shall issue upon any bill, plaint, or indictment, prosecuted for the said offences^d.

THESE laws, one would imagine, would be sufficient to prevent *British* subjects from engaging in schemes pernicious to the nation; yet so far was it otherwise, that all the measures taken since by foreigners, to the prejudice of our commerce, owed their birth, in a great degree, to *Britons*. To make great fortunes at any rate, was the resolution of numbers of determined pursuers; and no laws were a sufficient barrier against the irresistible motions of ambition and avarice.

*Another act
passed for the
security of
commerce.*

IN the 7th year of *George* the first, a law was passed for the better preventing an unlawful and securing a legal commerce to the *East Indies*. Here it was enacted, That any goods shipped for the *East Indies*, except goods for the company, goods licensed by them, naval stores, provisions, and necessaries for the ships in their voyage; and all goods taken out of such ships in their voyage homewards from the *East Indies* and to *England*, before her arrival here, shall be forfeited, with double the value; and the master or officer of such ships, know- g

^d HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2. DODSLEY, vol. ii. c. 3.

a ingly permitting such goods to be shipped or unshipped, shall, for every offence, forfeit one thousand pounds, and wages.

ALL agreements or contracts made or entered into by any of his majesty's subjects, or in trust for them, on the loan of money, by way of bottomry, upon any ship in the service of foreigners, and bound to the *East Indies*, &c. and all contracts for loading or supplying any ship with a cargo of any sort of goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, or with provisions, stores, or necessities; and copartnerships entered into with relation to any such voyage; shall be void. Every subject of his majesty that shall go to the *East Indies*, contrary to the laws now in force, shall be deemed a trader, and to have traded there; and all the goods there bartered or trafficked for, purchased by such person, or found in his custody, or any other in trust for him, by his order or procurement, shall be forfeited, with double the value.

LIKEWISE by this act it shall be lawful for the attorney-general, or the company, to file informations in any court at *Westminster*, against clandestine traders. If the defendants are found guilty, the court shall immediately proceed to give judgment against them. It shall also be lawful for the attorney-general, at the relation of the company, or by his own authority, to exhibit bills of complaint in the exchequer, against persons trading to or from the *East Indies*, contrary to law. All copartners, agents, and factors, of such illicit traders may be prosecuted, for the discovery of such their trading, and for recovering the duties and damages. And such persons shall pay to his majesty the customs of the goods of such unlawful trading; shall answer to the company 30 per cent. according to the value of the goods in *England*; the amount of such customs being paid into the exchequer, and damages to the company, the prosecution shall drop. But if a decree be obtained against the offender, he shall pay costs to his majesty and the relator respectively.

If such bills as are exhibited at the relation of the company be dismissed by the court, the company shall pay every defendant his full costs. The forfeitures and penalties herein before appointed, or in former acts, relating to the *East India* company, may be sued for, not only by the attorney-general, or the said company, but also by any officer of the customs, such officer having the consent and order of the court of directors, as by the act is particularly required: one third of the penalty shall be to the crown, one third to the company, and the remaining third to such officer of the customs as shall inform and sue as aforesaid.

It is also provided, That the United Company be permitted to ship out stores, provisions, utensils of war, and necessities for maintaining the garrisons and settlements, free of all duties, so that such duties, if they had been paid, should not exceed 300 l. No *East India* goods to be imported into *Ireland* or the plantations, but from *Great Britain*, on pain of forfeiting ship and goods.

THUS have we seen the *East India* company struggle with a variety of difficulties, dangers, and perplexities, through a series of years. They were partly owing to the maxims of certain leading men in the nation, who obliged them to purchase every favour at an exorbitant price. The *Dutch* too had been the cause of numberless hazards to them. This advantage the *Hollanders* had over the *English*, that they were always sure of the utmost support from their government, and were permitted to conduct their affairs in the manner they thought most advantageous, in a sovereign and independent manner. Of late years, indeed, the circumstances of the *India* company have been greatly altered for the better. The legislature has now taken under their protection a corporation from which the nation in general, and the revenue in particular, receives infinite benefits. In consequence the company has been gaining ground on the *Dutch*; at least in those countries where an equal freedom of trade is permitted, and where the success depends on the choice and good opinion of the natives.

THE desire we had of continuing the chain of domestic transactions prevented us from taking notice of accidents that gave a disagreeable check to the rapid progress the company was making in this commerce.

THE company had a settlement in the island of *Pulo Condore*, subject to the monarch of *Cochin China*, and inhabited by *Cochin Chinese* and *Cambodians*. The first residence of the *English* here was in the year 1702, when they built a slight fort with earth and palisadoes, mounting on it a few pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned with about 45 *Europeans*, including the agents and servants, with eight *Topazes* and sixteen *Bugasses*. With the caution of persons not well fixed in their habitation, and unacquainted with the manners, disposition, and inclination of the inhabitants towards them, the *English* prohibited the natives from keeping arms in their custody on any pretence whatever. The misfortune of the *English* factory is attributed to the disgust of the *Bugass* or *Maccassar* soldiers, who were threatened with corporal punishment for letting two of the slaves belonging to the factory escape. The revenge they meditated was cruel, and strongly marks the vindictive nature of those wretches. At night, on the 3d of

March, 1705, while the garrison was asleep, they set fire to the houses within the fort, and murdered the *English* as they ran out naked to extinguish it. Above thirty of the *English* were massacred amidst the confusion the fire had occasioned, twelve only out of forty-five having escaped the resentment of the *Macassars*, by means of a sloop that lay in the harbour. The following letter from Mr. *James Cunningham* to the company's supercargoes and captains in *China*, gives a minute account of the horrid tragedy.

“ BEFORE this comes to your hands, you may have heard of the overthrow of the settlement
 “ at *Condore*, of which I shall here give you a more particular account, that you may impart
 “ the same to our honourable masters. Our *Macassars* were told they should be punished for
 “ letting some of our slaves escape, whereupon they resolved to take a cruel revenge: for on
 “ the 2d of *March*, at one o'clock in the morning, they set fire to the fort, and at the same
 “ time killed Mr. *Catchpole* the governor, Mr. *Lloyd*, Captain *Rashwell*, Mr. *Fuller*, and
 “ others, to the number of nineteen. Doctor *Pound*, Mr. *Chitty*, and Captain *Dennet*, with
 “ eight or nine more, made their escape in a sloop to *Malacca*, I suppose, and from thence
 “ to *Batavia*. Those that remained were so dispersed that hardly two remained together. I
 “ went to the *Cochin Chinese* for their assistance; but their fear was so great, that they went
 “ to barricado themselves. The *Macassars* having perpetrated their villainy, got into a *Cochin*
 “ *Chinese* prow to put to sea, but were assaulted by the people of a *Cambodia* vessel, which
 “ was then on the island. Our armourer, who was with the *Cambodians*, killed one of the
 “ *Macassars*, and wounded two more, which made them put again to shore, and make their
 “ escape to the woods. In the morning betimes, the *Cochin Chinese* took possession of the
 “ fort; fearing, I suppose, we should have joined with the *Cambodians* to carry away what
 “ the fire had not destroyed; for being got together we were sixteen *English*, four of whom
 “ were dangerously wounded, six *Topazes*, and about twenty slaves, too small a number to cope
 “ with these, who were above 200. The *Chinese* being like so many cyphers, and the *Madrafs*
 “ sloop in *Cochin China*, obliged us to desire their friendly assistance. Whereupon the money
 “ was all put into chests, and the most part weighed and carried into their custody. During
 “ this time, the *Macassars* thought to have seized another prow to escape in, but were frightened
 “ away by the *Cochin Chinese*, who promised, in a few days, to bring them all, dead or alive.
 “ Most of us were dubious of their friendship, but did not know how to answer it to our
 “ honourable masters, to leave so much money, while they pretended to be our friends, and
 “ we had not deserved otherwise at their hands. We could have got away in the *Cambodia*
 “ boat that sailed, which sailed the seventh following, and Mr. *Baldwin* and Mr. *Wingate* did
 “ go to *Cambodia*, to make the best of their way to *Batavia*; but we staid to take care of the
 “ money. The day after the departure of the boat, the *Cochin Chinese* caught one of the
 “ *Macassars*, and immediately cut off his head, by which we began to make sure of their
 “ friendship. Yet on the tenth, and without any the least provocation, but to make sure of
 “ their prey, they barbarously murdered all the *English*, among which were Mr. *Pottinger*,
 “ Mr. *Townshend*, Mr. *Ridges*, and Mr. *St. Paul*, with four *Topazes*, and six slaves; only
 “ me they saved alive, after giving me two wounds, one slight in the arm, and the other
 “ more dangerous in my left side, of which I am now well. They besides saved two *Topazes*
 “ and fifteen slaves. On the 18th arrived in the island from *Borea* some *Cochin Chinese* galleys,
 “ with prows, amounting in all to 65, and in them 300 soldiers, the other *Cochin Chinese*
 “ making about 300 more. In these they embarked every thing worth taking away, and
 “ during their stay sent three or four times in search of the *Macassars*. Lighting on them at
 “ last, they put four to death.
 “ On the 7th of *April* I was ordered on board one of the galleys, and not having leave
 “ to stir but attended by a soldier. I saw and understood that all the people belonging to
 “ the *Madrafs* sloop were in confinement, in separate houses, and also in *Congas*, except Captain
 “ *Ridley*. I desired several times to wait upon the governor, but was denied admittance, he
 “ was so busy in over-hauling the goods brought from *Pulo Condore*, and weighing the money,
 “ which, it was found, amounted to 21,300 tale. At last, on the 28th, I was obliged to
 “ appear as a criminal, in *Congas*, before the governor and his grand council, attended with
 “ all the slaves in *Congas*. Here I was charged with three crimes: the first, That the *English*,
 “ when they arrived at *Pulo Condore*, said they would stay there whether the king of *Cochin*
 “ *China* would or not. The second, That there were no *English* sent with the present to
 “ court last year. And the third, That we sent a ship to *Cambodia*, and did not acquaint the
 “ governor of *Borea* with it. To the first charge I replied, that we had never said any such
 “ thing. For, on our arrival, we did not know that the island was inhabited; and that, as
 “ soon as our governor had dispatched the ships for *China*, he sent an embassy to *Cochin*
 “ *China*, and obtained leave to stay. To the second article I answered, That all the *English*
 “ were so sickly, that we had not one of any rank to send, and therefore spoke to a *Chinese*
 “ captain, then present, who agreed to go; but that the *Casem* taking the present upon
 “ himself,

- a " himself, promised to make our apology to the king. To this they replied, that the
 " sending a *Chinese* was all one as sending the *Cafom*, and that an *Englishman* would have
 " done better. I answered, That was the *Cafom*'s fault, who ought to have informed us
 " better. They then asked why we did not get some out of the ships to send, when there
 " were so many? To which I replied, That we had no power over the ships. As to the
 " third article, I said that we were never informed that we ought to have acquainted the
 " governor of *Borca* before we sent a ship to *Cambodia*. They insisted upon it, that no
 " *Englishman* came from the ship at the mouth of *Cambodia* river, when the governor sent
 " to speak about the ships. To this I replied, that the ship was not yet returned to *Pulo*
 " *Condore*, therefore I could not say what the reason of their conduct might be. Upon
 b " this I was dismissed, and returned home, where I had the *Congas* (thumb-bolts) taken
 " off. The next day I was at the governor's son's house, and the governor, accidentally
 " passing by, saw me, and sent for me to his house. He asked me nothing of moment,
 " but why I sent two *Englishmen* to *Cambodia*, and how much I had given them. After
 " answering his questions, I desired to know what he intended doing with us. He told
 " me we must stay here till he had a return from court, which would take up two months.
 " I then asked for captain *Ridley*, who was sick at *Dangai*, about twenty leagues from
 " thence, and to have the *Congas* taken off his people; he only replied, he would see to
 " it shortly. I know not what our honourable masters will be willing to do, therefore
 " cannot advise them herein. I am,
- c " With much respect, &c.

" Signed,
 " CUNNINGHAM."

THIS gentleman was afterwards president of *Banjar*, where he was equally unfortunate, the settlement having been ruined by the natives before he had been there ten days; but in a less fatal manner. At *Pulo Condore* were massacred by the *Macassars* the following gentlemen; viz. Mr. *Catchpole*, governor, Messrs. *Ridges*, *Rasbwell*, *Fuller*, *Aust*, *Emneet*, *Manfield*, *Boult*, *Stratford*, *Herring*, *Watts*, *Walton*, *Ormond*, *Hill*, *Bensley*, *Lindsey*, *Ormans*, *Bradford*. Some days after were massacred by the *Cochin Chinese*, Messrs. *Loyd*, *Pottin-*
 d *ger*, *Townshend*, *Savage*, *St. Paul*, *Hudson*, *Dorothy*, *Pennyman*, *Lynch*, *Cellon*, *Cornelius*, *Ridges*. Many of these were persons of inferior rank, and menials or mechanics. We no-where can find that the company ever recovered their effects, or obtained satisfaction for this injury and barbarous treatment. It is possible the distance might have rendered this difficult^f.

IN the year 1719, the governor and council at *Bencoulen* had resolved, on account of ^{The company} the unwholsomeness of the situation, to remove the factory to a few miles distance from ^{remove their} its present situation. For this purpose the ground was traced out for *Marlborough* fort, ^{settlement from} and the work carried on with great vigour and spirit; but the council had not sufficiently ^{Bencoulen to} consulted the temper and inclinations of the natives, who were greatly displeased with this ^{rough.} design. Some little jealousies and heartburnings had appeared among them before; but as they did not break out into an open rupture, the factory disregarded them. The natives observing that this new fortification was applied to with such diligence, mistook the intention of it, interpreting it into a design upon their liberties, or, at least, into a suspicion in the *English* of their affection. This notion taking root, diffused such a spirit of rebellion among them, that nothing less than a general revolt, and an absolute destruction of the power they began to dread, was meditated. They concealed, however, their sentiments so artfully, and shewed so little sign of uneasiness or resentment, that the *English* proceeded in their work without any apprehension of what was contriving against them, till it was on the point of breaking out^g. The whole affair will best appear, and the conclusion of
 f the conspiracy be set in the most genuine light, by the following letter from the council at *Bencoulen* to *Joseph Collett*, Esq; governor of *Fort St. George*.

— " It is with the greatest concern that we acquaint you with the misfortunes that ^{Discontent of} have befallen us and our honourable masters affairs since our last advices. In these we ^{the natives,} assured you, with too much confidence, of the perfect peace and tranquility we then ^{their revolt,} enjoyed, which the satisfaction the natives seemed to express in our administration gave ^{and the massa-} us but little reason to imagine would prove of so short duration. Our pepper, for ^{cre of the set-} some time, coming in very plentifully, and we having frequent promises from them of ^{tlement.} much greater quantities being ready to be brought out of the country, we had made a
 g " progress in our buildings, even beyond our expectations. The foundations of one gorge

^f LOCKYER, p. 90, &c,
 MOD. HIST. VOL. IV.

^g HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 4.
 4 X

" and

“ and two curtains of our fort walls were laid, and raised in brick and chinan a foot above a
 “ ground, and the earth laid open for a third, in the space of a little more than a month.
 “ We had laid in such provision of brick and chinan that we should have had sufficient to
 “ complete the whole in less than twelve months, at the rate we had begun. Thus we
 “ thought ourselves successful in our undertaking; and it was no small pleasure to us to
 “ think, that, by diligently serving our masters, it would add to our credit, and, in a
 “ more peculiar manner, recommend us to their favour hereafter. But, in the midst of
 “ our prosperity, all our hopes were blasted by a secret combination of the whole coun-
 “ try against us, which they certainly designed to execute while we had no ship in the road
 “ to help us. The *Metck-lapatane* had been at *Bantal* since the 21st of *January*, but fortu-
 “ nately returned to our assistance the 18th of *March*, a few days before the discovery of b
 “ this horrid plot.

“ It was late at night, on the 23d of *March*, before we had the least suspicion of any
 “ treachery, when captain *Gibb* advised the deputy-governor that *Dupurty Bentlorin* had got
 “ together between four and five thousand men in his *Dusan*, and he believed they designed
 “ to make war on the company. Upon this the deputy-governor dispatched a letter to
 “ *Bentlorin*, to demand the reason of his assembling such a number of people, ordering
 “ him immediately to disperse them, and to come himself to the fort in the morning,
 “ that if he had any grievances they might be heard and redressed. That if he did not
 “ immediately comply he should no longer be considered as a friend, but be treated as an
 “ enemy. Early in the morning *Bentlorin* returned an answer, filled with frivolous excuses c
 “ and false assurances of friendship, without taking notice of dispersing his army, or of
 “ coming in person to the fort. The council was immediately assembled, and acquainted
 “ with what had passed, when it was determined to send Mr. *Mackey*, who was *Bentlorin*’s
 “ friend, to confer with him, and persuade him to come to the fort. About noon *Mackey*
 “ returned with the *Dupurty*’s answer, and promise to wait on the governor next morning.
 “ In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Dattoos* were sent for to consult with on this occa-
 “ sion, who were the persons that ought to have given us the first notice; but they seemed
 “ to make light of our apprehensions, persuading us, that the *Dupurty* was an honest and
 “ well-affected man. That the people of his *Dusan* were only friends he had assembled d
 “ from the country to feast with him; and that he had no intention to hurt the company.
 “ This opinion of theirs made us jealous of their fidelity, and tender a fresh oath of alle-
 “ giance to them, which, after much persuasion, they took at the hands of their *Paars*.
 “ After this *Pangaran Munco Rajah* undertook to bring in the *Dupurty*, and did accordingly
 “ set out himself for *Bentlorin*. Not an hour after we were alarmed with the dreadful sight
 “ of the sugar plantations on fire, it being then about six o’clock in the evening. A strong
 “ party, commanded by ensign *Adaire*, was immediately sent out to *Bencoulen*, with orders
 “ to proceed next morning to *Dusan Bentlorin*, and to engage the enemy either there or
 “ where-ever he should meet them, using his endeavours to destroy the *Dusan*, and as many
 “ of their people as he could. But in this he had no success, for want of the *Pangaran*’s
 “ assistance, who had promised to supply *sampars* to ferry his people over the water at e
 “ *Bentlorin*, or where-ever he should have occasion for them, in which they deceived us.
 “ For our party finding a body of the enemy had fortified themselves with a strong breast-
 “ work of fire-wood, and some small guns, on the other side of the river, opposite to the
 “ sugar plantations, and not one *sampar* sent by the *Pangarans*, *Adaire* was prevented from
 “ fighting them, and obliged to return to the fort, after he had been deserted by the *Bu-*
 “ *gasses*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese*, who went over to the enemy. By the ensign’s account, it
 “ was plain that the whole country were concerned in this rebellion. The principal per-
 “ sons whom he saw and knew among them, were *Rajong*, *Pangaran Munco Rajah*; most
 “ of the *Dupurtys* of the *Dusans* adjacent to us, with many of the people and *Bazars* of f
 “ *Bencoulen*, headed by *Dupurty Bentlorin* and *Selebrian*; but he could not guess at their num-
 “ ber, as they were under the cover of trees and the breast-work they had raised of fire-wood.
 “ Mr. *Alcock*, from *Sellenbar*, acquainted us the same day, that *Pangaran Fantentaley* and his
 “ country were also in concert with them.

“ On the 26th of *March*, in the morning, the strongest party we could muster of *English*,
 “ *Bugasses*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese*, was ordered out to engage the enemy, under the command
 “ of Mr. *Newcombe*, and ensign *Johnson*. When they came to *Bencoulen* to join the *Bugasses*,
 “ they were strangely surprised at their refusing to fight without a present reward; and
 “ Mr. *Newcombe* was credibly informed, that a considerable number of *Bugasses* were laid
 “ in ambush to fall on the *English*, of which he sent immediate notice to the fort. Where-
 “ upon the signal was given for recalling the party, which prevented our coming to an g
 “ action that day. The Sultan being examined, pretended that a wrong construction was
 “ put on what he said at *Bencoulen*, and affirmed that he had always been, and was still,
 “ ready

- a “ ready and willing to fight for the company ; but our suspicion of his treachery made us
 “ unwilling to trust him at that time. About eleven o'clock the same day *Pangaran Munco*
 “ *Rajah* brought a token, which, as he said, was from his uncle *Rajah Boojong*, from *Sin-*
 “ *gledemand*, to acquaint us that 200 *Orangcomoes* were come over to our side at *Singledemand*,
 “ and desired we would lend the *Malayes* some weapons to defend themselves. This
 “ we had great reason to suspect was false, *Rajah Boojong* being at that time in arms against
 “ us at *Bentlerin*, but the *Pangaran* positively affirmed he was then at *Singledemand*, not-
 “ withstanding ensign *Adaire* had seen and spoke to him at *Bentlerin*.
 “ WHEN we found ourselves so deeply involved in trouble on all sides, that we were
 “ betrayed by our *Pangarans*, and deserted by our *Bugasses*, none remaining but the *English*,
 b “ *Blacks*, and *Chinese*, and that the former did not exceed 120 men both civil and military,
 “ many of them unexperienced, and others disabled, while the others had given us but
 “ little confidence in them, from their conduct under *Adaire* ; we thought ourselves in the
 “ utmost danger. Wherefore a general council was called of all the company's servants,
 “ and inhabitants of the place, to consult about saving what we could of the company's
 “ effects, and making some provision for our passage, if we should be defeated. Here it
 “ was the unanimous opinion, that it was adviseable to put on board the ship *Metch-lapa-*
 “ *tane* the company's treasure and books, with what stores and provisions our time would
 “ permit, with all the expedition and secrecy possible. After which, if we were forced, we
 “ might make our escape in the best manner possible. The remainder of the day was spent
 c “ in pursuing that resolution ; but no boats could be got off that evening. Early next
 “ day the company's treasure, &c. as *per* the inclosed bill of lading, were sent on board.
 “ About eight o'clock news came that both the *Pangarans* and families were eloped from
 “ *Bencoulen*, and no account could be given of their route. About ten Sultan *Catcheel*
 “ undertook to accommodate matters with the country people, provided we would con-
 “ sent to their chusing new *Pangarans* ; to which we agreed. But before we could come
 “ to a *Bechar*, or conference with them, the *Portuguese Padre*'s slave told us, that the *Bu-*
 “ *gasses* and *Malayes* were risen at *Bencoulen*, and had cut off the *Padre*, and most of the
 “ *Portuguese*, without distinction of sex or ages. He had hardly finished his account,
 “ when a great fire broke out at *Bencoulen*, another near the fort, behind *Canbury Paggar*,
 d “ another towards *Sillebar*, and soon after at the *Hermitage* house. Till this time no enemy
 “ appeared, but still fresh fires were seen in different places, which could only have been
 “ done by our own *Bugasses* and *Malayes*. As no enemy as yet appeared, we discharged
 “ all the great guns we had mounted at the thickest of these fires, as we thought : in doing
 “ which, one of the wads of our own guns unfortunately fell upon the top of the fort
 “ buildings, which took fire, and burnt so fierce, that there was no extinguishing it ; at
 “ which time we marched out of the fort in one body to meet the enemy. We first passed
 “ the lower ground, from thence round the *Horse Stable Hill*, to the *Hermitage*, and so by
 “ the *China Town* and brick-shades, which were all on fire, but no enemy to be seen. We
 “ thence proceeded to the sea-side, where we saw some thousands of *Malayes*, headed by
 e “ our Sultan and *Bugasses*. Most of the *Chinese* had secured themselves in boats, and on
 “ board of their own prows. We had then none to stand by us but our own *Blacks*.
 “ Under these disadvantages, we thought it vain longer to hazard our lives against so
 “ numerous an enemy. Our fort and most of our buildings being destroyed by fire, put
 “ every man upon saving his life by swimming, or getting on board the boats in the best
 “ manner he could ; in which attempt near half our people were drowned, or killed by
 “ the enemy. Next morning we computed near 350 black and white men, women, and
 “ children, were saved on board the ship *Metch-lapatane*, Mr. *Newcombe*'s barge, and three
 “ *Tombongons*, or boats for going on board ships, for which number we had not water
 “ for above five days, at a pint a day each. Our first design was to go to *Bantal* ; but
 f “ both the wind and current were so strong against us, that, after continuing in the road
 “ till the 26th of *March*, we were obliged to alter it, and make the best of our way to
 “ *Batavia*. After supplying each boat with water and provisions for five days, we set sail
 “ in company for *Batavia*.” The remainder of the letter is taken up with a journal of
 their voyage to *Batavia* ; their usage there, and their being transported from thence to
Nagapatam, from whence this account is wrote, signed by the deputy-governor and two
 of the council.

g SUBSEQUENT to this is a paper signed *Thomas Cooke*, containing a narrative of the cir-
 cumstances which brought about the ruin of this settlement. Among these the following
 seem most remarkable. The *English* had been involved in troubles with the country
 government both at *Mariborough* and *Bantal* before. Mr. *Cooke* had seemingly terminated

those differences amicably, and a fair correspondence for several months ensued with the natives. Under the mask of friendship they had, however, harboured resentments, and at the time they preserved the most specious appearances were forming plots, combinations, and conspiracies against the *English*. Seeing fort *Marlborough* in great forwardness, they apprehended their schemes would be frustrated if they delayed the execution till the *English* were secured by strong brick walls and cannon. Besides, they suspected that this fortress was an attack upon their liberties, and would be an asylum to those who had committed the most unpardonable injuries against them. Not long after this rebellion a difference had happened between *Dupattay Bandarin* and *Sec Gibb*, captain of the *Chinese*, and undertaker of the company's sugar and arrack plantations. The *Dupattay* is one of the second men in the kingdom, and governor of *Dasanore*. He is well beloved among the natives, being esteemed a priest among them, and always thought to be a good friend to the *English*. The quarrel first began to shew itself by the *Chinese* killing four of the *Dupattay's* buffaloes, breaking down his fences, and damaging his plantations, which they affirmed had been done by order of Mr. *Farmer*, the preceding deputy-governor. Mr. *Cooke*, however, put a stop to this violence, obliging the *Chinese* to render the *Dupattay* full satisfaction for the damages done him. Notwithstanding this, some of the *Dupattay's* men, in revenge, killed a slave belonging to the captain; and his brother was known to be of the party. The governor ordered him to be seized and confined in the cock-house till next day, when he took his trial, and was acquitted, without sustaining other damage than one night's confinement. This affront sunk deep in the *Dupattay's* mind, and was the original cause of the catastrophe which soon ensued, in obliging the *English* to quit *Bencoulen* ^b (B).

The original cause of this unfortunate affair.

The *English* permitted to re-establish the settlement.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *English* were thus driven from *Bencoulen*, their best settlement on the island of *Sumatra*, they were permitted by the natives to return the year following, and proceed without interruption in the building *Marlborough* fort. Thus what the council affirm in their letter, of the fort's being the chief bone of contention, seems groundless; it plainly appearing, from the letters quoted in our notes, that the natives thought themselves injured and oppressed by the *English*. The chiefs of the factory did not always abound in discretion; and their assuming and imperious behaviour had greatly disgusted the natives: but as this was very tolerable in comparison of the brutal tyranny the *Dutch* ^d exerted where-ever they were settled, the *Malayes*, upon the expulsion of the *English*, began to apprehend a visit from those cruel and unwelcome neighbours. From this dread, they soon dropt their resentments against the *English*, and burying in oblivion their indiscretions, welcomed them back with as much zeal as they had expelled them ⁱ.

THE new fort, notwithstanding its vicinity to the old, was incomparably more healthy; besides, as it is a place of much greater strength than *York Fort* in *Bencoulen*, the servants of the company are freed of all apprehensions of surprize from the natives. So that every thing contributed to extend the traffick and consequence of the company on this island (C).

THESE

^b LOCKYER'S Account, c. 4.

ⁱ HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 41.

(B) The following letter, intercepted by the *English*, A. 1717, shews the disposition of the natives for some time before the rebellion broke out.

"This comes from Sultan *Manfore*, *Rajah Guillamat*, *Datta Pandasb*, all the great men in *Bandat Sapalo*, and the overseers of trade in *Bantyan* and *Tego Loora*; to *Datta Rajah Quasso*, with all the *Proateens* and *Limocotras* from *Salabat* and *Cotroun*, to *Calaboon*, *Suramlu*, and *Malacca*. *Rajah Quasso's* letter is received, which we like well. We are now certified the whole country, as far as *Abong*, likewise *Juan de Gomo*, with his people, will unanimously join us: and when this arrives, send *Juan Mallin* into the country, to advise that we intend utterly to destroy the *English*, and spoil their settlements throughout the whole coast, because they have broke faith, and become quite otherwise than they were formerly. We shall proceed as soon as the festival is over; therefore would have you, *Datta Rajah Quasso*, dispatch a messenger with your real sentiments of this affair, signifying also how the *Proateens* and *Limocotras* are affected." To this letter the following answer was intercepted. "This letter comes from him that eats nothing, to *Rajah Manfore* and *Sultan Guillamat*, assuring them that he will collect all those like himself, and march di-

rectly against *Bencoulen*; therefore desires the assistance of arms, which yourselves, and *Rajah Passassar*, must not fail sending to *Juan de Gomo*, who is resolved, if the kings are agreed, to be their ally; and you may depend upon his fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a lie. When he comes down to the country, he will bring over to his interest the people of *Serangi* to *Bencoulen* and *Lowt Corut*, with those belonging to *Pangaran Munco Anovin*, even as far as *Palombong*. This is what I promise to do; desiring your letter in answer to it. So God blefs and keep you in all your undertakings." After so early information, we cannot but wonder at the security in which the council wrapt themselves. They are blamed with asperity, and deservedly, by Captain *Hamilton*, from whom we have partly extracted this relation. Vol. ii.

(C) The year succeeding this, a kind of war broke out in the kingdom of *Vissafum*, on the *Malabar* coast, between the *English* factory and the *Sandab Rajah*. The *Rajah* had built batteries at the mouth of the river; by this means, locking up the *English* fort from the harbour. This the president complained of, but had no redress. Towards the end of the year, a ship was wrecked on the coast, about four miles from the factory,

- ^a THESE successes, joined to the caution of the company, in sending none but persons of *The great profits of the company, and the thriving condition of their trade.* prudence and abilities in quality of chiefs to *India*, soon gave their affairs a prosperous turn. It has been said, that had it not been for the losses sustained by the establishment of new companies abroad, they would have been in a condition to have doubled their dividends; the benefit of which was laid open by the exhibition of the company's books, and the amount of their sales; a step occasioned by the clamour then raised about the decay of trade^k. The conduct of the ministry it was that gave birth to many new attempts of foreigners, to obtain a share in a traffick they saw attended with such immense returns. While these designs were vigorously pursued by foreigners, there were not wanting men of eminence and weight at home, who were for laying the *India* trade open. A variety of ^{*New attempts to lay the trade open.*} plausible arguments, which greatly alarmed the company, were urged upon this head. The whole nation was filled with complaints of the injustice of a monopoly, by which a body of private merchants satiated their avarice, at the expence of all his majesty's other subjects.

- THE company, to obviate the consequences of arguments become so general, made proposals to the ministry, highly beneficial to the government. No other conditions did they require, than a perfect security to an exclusive right of trading to the *East Indies*. A law was soon passed, by which all their powers, privileges, and immunities were confirmed in the manner they required. By this it was enacted, that the company do, on or before a fixed day, pay into the exchequer 200,000*l.* to be applied to the supplies granted to his majesty. For this no interest shall be paid, nor any addition made to the capital of the company by the public, on account of this grant; nor the same, nor any part of it be paid to the company. That after the 29th day of *September* 1730, the annuity, or yearly fund, of 160,000*l.* be reduced to 128,000*l.* in respect of the capital stock of 3,200,000*l.* That the annuity, so reduced, shall be charged on the same duties and revenues by the like weekly or quarterly payments, and with the same provisions for making good deficiencies in the said reduced funds, as their present fund or annuity is now charged on, till
- ^{*The company obviate those attempts, by making certain proposals to the government.*}
- ^{*The contents of their proposals.*}

^k DODSLEY, vol. ii. HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

to which Mr. Taylor, the *English* chief, claimed a right, as lord of the manor. The *Rajah* disputed his title; but Taylor imprudently maintained it, which highly incensed the sovereign. In consequence, he raised an army, and besieged the fort for two months, before the season would permit relief to be sent by sea. At last, some of the company's ships arrived; but they found it difficult to land in the teeth of the enemy, as the sea ran high. In the first attempt to disembark, they were unsuccessful, thro' the neglect of orders; about 80 *English* were killed, and some made prisoners. However, a few days after, a landing was effected without loss; and in a few weeks their revenge taken on the *Rajah*. An engagement happened on the side of a hill, among thick bushes. The enemy being on the higher ground, attempted to beat the *English* from a spring of fine water, of which they had possession, near the sea; but the small vessels lying close by the shore, to cover 400 men who had the guard of the spring, fired with so much success, that in less than an hour, the *Rajah's* forces were defeated, leaving 200 men dead on the field.

This victory was, however, so far from being decisive, that the *English* were forced still to act on the defensive. They were greatly inferior in number, and diffident of their own military prowess; yet they did not fail to harass the enemy, and keep them in perpetual alarm. They likewise took some vessels belonging to the *Rajah*, laden with salt, provisions, and about 140 *Arabian* horses. At length a reinforcement arrived, and the *English* army, including seamen, mustered 2250 men. To prevent the landing of the succours, *Sandab Rajah* had erected batteries on the strand. The *English* opposed these by some floating batteries, having made the prizes shot-proof above the water, and mounted them with guns, each of them under cover of a frigate of 20 guns. With these they played upon the enemy briskly, and in the mean while landed 1250 men, without molestation. The enemy were preparing for their flight, when they observed some confusion among

the *English*, who were endeavouring to form themselves into a hollow square. The soldiers not being very perfect in their evolutions, instead of making a regular figure, went into the utmost disorder; in which situation they were attacked by the *Rajah*. The consequence was a defeat, after the loss of 250 men; but the floating batteries prevented the enemy from pursuing their success. So terrified were they by the balls which dropt among them, that they did not wait to gather the *English* arms left upon the field. This gave the sailors courage to advance, who brought back to the ships about 200 stands of arms, most of them loaded. On the *Rajah's* side, the loss was trifling, not above a dozen of horse or foot being left dead.

Although he had been thus successful, yet he began to tire of a war, by which little besides empty honour was to be acquired. To support an army of seven or eight thousand men, exceeded his revenues, which were but slender. The loss of his shipping and provisions distressed him; besides, the *Sandab Rajah* had made an invasion on his northern borders, which divided his forces. All these circumstances inclined him to peace; but his pride would not suffer him to make the first overtures. However, he permitted a Brachman to go on board the commodore, to make certain proposals, as if from himself, which he would endeavour to prevail on the *Rajah* to accede to. The commodore referred the agent to Mr. Taylor, the president; but he would by no means treat with him, who had been the occasion of the war; and he affirmed, that *Sandab Rajah* would refuse the most advantageous terms, from the man he had so much reason to dislike. Both sides, however, being desirous of peace, it was brought about by the mediation of a Seic, who pretended the utmost impartiality and friendship for both sides. Nor indeed had the *English* any other reason to complain, than that the *Rajah* still kept the batteries at the mouth of the river (1).

(1) Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i.

other provision is made by parliament with consent of the company. That upon one year's notice by parliament, after the 25th of *March* 1736, after the expiration of that year, and on repayment of the said debt of 3,200,000*l.* to the company, and all arrears of their reduced annuity of 128,000*l.* which shall be due at the end of the said year; then and thenceforwards the said annuity or yearly fund shall cease, and be no longer payable. At any time after the said 25th day of *March*, after a year's notice by parliament, and after the expiration of that year, upon repayment made to the company of any sum not less than 500,000*l.* part of the capital stock, and on payment of all arrears then due on their reduced annuity, that after such payments made, such part of the said annuity as shall bear a certain proportion to the capital so paid in part, shall cease and be abated. Thus from time to time, upon such yearly notices, and payment of such other sums in part of the said capital stock, till the whole of their annuity be intirely sunk and determined.

NOTWITHSTANDING any such redemption, all persons intituled to any interest in the stock, &c. of the said company, shall be and continue a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession, with power to purchase lands, &c. in *Great Britain*, not exceeding ten thousand pounds in value at any one purchase, with full enjoyment of all powers, privileges, and immunities, as by former charters have been granted, with power to declare what share in their remaining capital shall qualify members to be directors, or to vote in general courts. The company, notwithstanding such redemption, shall continue to enjoy the whole and sole trade to the *East Indies*, &c. but with the proviso of determination herein mentioned.

ALL persons (factors, &c. excepted) sailing or trading to the *East Indies*, shall forfeit the goods, ship, and double the value, to be sued for, recovered, and distributed, as in the statute of 7 *Geo. I.* c. 21, is directed. The company shall enjoy all the powers granted them by former charters, and not charged by this act, freed and discharged from all provisos of redemption, as fully as if the same were here repeated; but subject to the restrictions as are contained in acts and letters patent now in force; as also to all provisions following:

PROVIDED, that upon three years notice by parliament, after the 25th of *March* 1736, and repayment made to the company of the capital stock, with all arrears due with regard to it; then and from thenceforth the right, title, and interest of the said company to the sole, intire, and exclusive trade to the *East Indies*, shall cease and determine. But after the said determination of the company's right, the corporation may, with all or part of their joint stock, trade to those parts in common with other subjects of his majesty. Any notice in writing from the speaker of the house of commons, to be deemed a due and proper notice by parliament. Nothing in this act to extend to subject the *Levant* company to any penalties and forfeitures on account of their traffick in the *Levant* seas; nor restrain any trade within the limits of the *East India* company, that the *South Sea* company are any way intituled to¹.

In this condition did the *East India* company continue till the beginning of the last war with *France*. Towards the close of 1743, after the *French* had attacked the confederate army, headed by his *Britannic* majesty, lord *Carteret*, who at that time had the direction of public affairs, proposed sending a squadron to the *East Indies*. It was not doubted but the *French* would embrace every opportunity of attacking this nation in her most vital part, her commerce; on which depends her strength, her wealth, and happiness. The scheme was, however, for that time postponed. We shall shew, in the progress of our account of commerce, what a number of unsuccessful attempts had been made in *France* to erect and support an *East India* company, for near fourscore years. About 1720, the *French* company began to make a figure, and almost ever since had regular returns of three, four, five, six, and seven fine rich ships. It was therefore the business of a *British* ministry, not only to secure the settlements of the *English* company, but, if possible, to check the progress of the *French*. Accordingly war was no sooner declared, than the minister made the above proposal of sending a squadron thither, under the conduct of commodore *Barnet*. This was the more necessary, as the *British* company had of late both suffered in their trade by a competition with the *French*, and also by the encouragement that had been given to the latter by smuggling their *India* goods into the kingdom. In point of interest, it is true, the *Dutch* were more nearly concerned than we to ruin the *French* commerce to the *East Indies*. It was likewise now easy for them to effect this, as they had beyond doubt an incomparably greater strength in those parts. But though it was an effort expedient to their maritime power, yet as they had not declared war with *France*, nothing of this sort was to be expected from them. *Great Britain* was left to attend the concerns of *Holland*, as well as her own; g

Scheme of the
ministry to
send a squad-
ron to the
East Indies.

¹ HARRIS, vol. ii. b. i. c. 2.

a and by attacking the *French* in *India*, gave the States General an equal advantage in her success with the *British* subjects, entirely at her expence.

THE affairs of the *French* company, and their head settlement at *Pondicherry*, were now in a prosperous condition. As from hence apprehensions arose, that the commerce of this nation would be incommoded, an application was made from the court of directors to the lords of the admiralty, that a fleet should be sent for the protection of their settlements, and the annoyance of the enemy. In consequence, three ships of the line and a frigate were ordered to be got ready (D). *Barnet*, with his squadron, sailed from *Portsmouth* on the 5th of May 1744. On the 26th he arrived at *St. Jago*, where he found a *Spanish* privateer of fourteen guns and seventy-nine men, with a pink of 250 tons, under *Spanish* colours. As this was a neutral port belonging to the *Portuguese*, the commodore had no intention of attacking the privateer, till he was informed, that she had taken and burnt three *English* ships at anchor in the *Isle of May*, the crews of which she had left upon that island. Finding she had thus notoriously violated the laws of nations, he summoned her and the pink to surrender, which they accordingly did. He then sent the pink to the *Isle of May* for the masters and sailors of the *British* vessels: he put them on board her, and a brigantine he took in the offing, furnished them with provisions, and gave them all the effects he could recover to which they laid claim.

c LORD *Northesk* in the *Preston*, intended getting in the *Streights of Sunda*; from thence to the *Streights of Banca*; while the *Medway* and *Diamond* proceeded in their course to the *Streights of Malacca*. His design was to intercept the *French East India* fleet of merchant-men, expected to be on their return to *Europe* without convoy; for there was but one fifty-gun ship for the protection of the *French* settlements in those seas. The commodore disguised the *Deptford* and *Preston*, by rigging and painting them in the *Dutch* manner, arriving in this condition in the *Streights of Banca*. Here they continued at anchor till the 25th of January, when they could descry three sail of large ships coming towards them. They had no sooner discovered them to be *French* built, than it was concluded they were *Chinamen*, under convoy of the fifty-gun man of war from *Pondicherry*. The commodore got under sail to receive them, and so effectually disguised his ships, that they were taken for *Dutch*, till he came within musket-shot of the enemy. He then struck the *Dutch*, and hoisted *English* colours. The commodore gave the enemy a broadside, which they briskly returned, and a sharp engagement ensued. He then ordered the *Preston* to board one of the ships with all possible expedition, at the same time that he intended boarding another. As they were both preparing for this, the enemy's shot cut the tillers of both ships, and frustrated their intention. Upon this the engagement was renewed with great guns and small arms, when in about three glasses the *French* struck, after a gallant resistance. The prizes were the *Dauphin*, the *Hercules*, and the *Jason*, from *Canton*, of 700 tons burthen, 30 guns, and 150 men each.

d THE commodore sent officers and men to take possession of them, and to bring the captains and supercargoes on board his own ship. They were generously received, the commodore shewing them the utmost favour, friendship, and humanity. He soon found himself possessed of a valuable acquisition, the supercargoes acquainting him that the cargo of each ship was worth 100,000*l.* in *France*. Some of the officers and supercargoes were put on board two of the *English* company's ships, homeward-bound, and the rest with the prizes carried into *Batavia* ^m.

e NOR was captain *Peyton*, with the *Medway* and *Diamond*, less successful in the *Streights of Malacca*, where he took a *French* ship from *Manila*, worth 246,000*l.* having on board 72 ton, with a chests of dollars, each containing 3000*l.* besides two chests of gold, amounting to 30,000*l.* He then proceeded to the *Streights of Banca*, resolving to wait for the *Chinamen*. Here he was informed, by an *English* officer on board a homeward-bound *Swedish* Indiaman with intelligence to the lords of the admiralty from the commodore, that he was anticipated; upon which he steered his course for *Batavia*, where he soon after met with the commodore.

f BEFORE we proceed farther with commodore *Barnet*, we shall stop to make a few reflections on the state of the *French* company, and the methods they took to render *Barnet's* voyage ineffectual. The *French* company found a great return of treasure in the *Asiatic* commerce; but their advantages were still inferior to ours. For some time before war was declared, the

^m ROLT's Hist. of the last War, vol. iii. c. 2.

(D) The names of the ships are as follows :	<i>Preston</i> , lord <i>Northesk</i> ,	50
	Guns <i>Diamond</i> , captain <i>Moore</i> ,	20
<i>Deptford</i> , commodore <i>Barnet</i> ,	60 The whole amounting to 190 guns, and about 1220	
<i>Medway</i> , captain <i>Peyton</i> ,	60 seamen and marines.	
	French	

The Sieur
Bourdonnais
sent with a
fleet to Pondi-
cherry.

The French
company pro-
pose a conven-
tion of neutra-
lity between
them and the
English com-
pany.

It is rejected
by the English.

1745.
Bourdonnais
made com-
mander in
chief in India.

Barnet dies,
and captain
Peyton suc-
ceeds to the
command.

French were at prodigious expences at *Pondicherry*, and their lesser factories, while their ^a remittances from *France* were but slow. This obliged them to contract large debts in *India*, to carry on their affairs; and they were conscious, that a war would put a total stop to supplies from *Europe*, as well as to their credit abroad. These circumstances being thoroughly weighed by the court of *Versailles*, before a rupture with *England*, *Pondicherry* was in consequence put in a state of defence. M. *Bourdonnais* was sent thither in 1739, with 1500 men, to reinforce that and the other settlements ^b. Notwithstanding this precaution of the ministry, the *French* company, although they were sensible that the *English* had neglected to put their principal settlement in a defensible condition, were willing to establish a neutrality between the two companies. To extend the flames of war to so great a distance, must, they foresaw, be attended with a prodigious expence. Accordingly, in *November* ^c 1742, the directors of the company drew up certain proposals for concluding a convention of neutrality. These proposals they confined to three articles. The first was to prevent hostilities in any of the settlements belonging to either company. The second, to grant the ships of either company leave reciprocally to touch at any of their settlements, and not only to depart without obstruction or impediment, but to be furnished with such fresh necessities as the place could supply them with. And thirdly, to restrain the ships of either company, meeting at sea, from attacking or making prize of one another. The proposals of the directors met with a favourable reception from the cardinals *Fleury* and *Tencin*. They were afterwards presented to the king by M. *Orry*, comptroller-general, and returned with this answer, "That his majesty would ratify any conditions stipulated for the benefit of com- ^d merce between the two companies."

AFTER this the proposals were sent over to *Britain*, upon which the directors met to deliberate upon what measures were most adviseable. The result was to reject them, because they imagined the neutrality could be of no service, but by an agreement among the settle- ^e ments, as in the last war, when the governors of *Madras* and *Pondicherry* came to a resolution to commit no hostilities upon either of their presidencies. They were farther of opinion, it would be for their interest to procure a squadron of men of war to be sent into *India*, if for no other purpose than the destruction of the *French* marine on that coast. The value of the prizes they doubted not would excite diligence in the officers; and the success of *Barnet* proved they were not mistaken in this particular ^f.

THE *French* company were greatly concerned to have their proposed neutrality frustrated. They pretended not to be able to discover what motives could induce the *English* to reject a scheme which had nothing in view but the security of trade. It would, they said, most certainly prevent expences, and might probably obviate great losses; besides, the *English* were in every particular gainers, because carrying on a more considerable trade, they had more to lose, consequently the advantage was on their side. Finding that the *British* company persevered in their resolution; that commodore *Barnet*, with a squadron, was cruising on the *Indian* coasts, where he made rich captures; and that tampering with the enemy would only be losing time, they resolved to exert themselves with vigour, and try to effect by arms, what was denied them by treaties. On the 11th of *April* his most Christian majesty granted ^e M. *Bourdonnais* a commission, ordaining, that all captains and officers of the *India* company's ships should acknowledge him for a commander, and obey him as such. As soon as this commission was received by *Bourdonnais*, he applied his whole attention to oppress the *British* company. As the means most effectual, he meditated the reduction of *Madras*, the head settlement. This he thought a more rational method than spending his time in uncertain cruizes, and endeavouring to intercept the *English* ships ^f.

COMMODORE *Barnet* dying about this time, was succeeded in command by captain *Peyton*. He sent home the *Deptford* and *Diamond*, and was reinforced by three men of war from *England* in their room. This fleet consisted now of one ship of sixty guns, three of fifty, one of forty, and one of twenty; for the *Medway's* prize was retained, and the com- ^f mand given to captain *Griffith*. *Peyton* seemed wholly bent in cruising, while the settlements, on which depended the safety and success of trade, were intirely neglected. The governor of *Madras* had made repeated remonstrances on the weak and defenceless condition of the place; the *French* had set a seasonable example, and *Bourdonnais* was at the head of a formidable squadron (E); yet did the company, as well as *Peyton*, seem to be lulled in a

^a Memoire pour le Sieur BOURDONNAIS, vol. i.

^b ROLT, vol. iii. ibid.

^c Memoire BOURDONNAIS, ibid.

(E) M. *Dupleix* then had the command in *Pondicherry*, while *Bourdonnais* took upon him the conduct of the fleet, which consisted of the *Achilles*, of 70 guns, and 700 men; *Duc d'Orleans* and *Bourbon*, of 50 guns; the *Nep-*

tune and *Phoenix*, of 54 guns; and the *St. Louis*, of 44 guns, with each 400 men; the *Lis*, of 40 guns, 300 men, six of these being the company's ships, fitted out as men of war (1).

(1) Mem. de S. Bourdonnais, vol. iii. p. 29.

a perfect security. The *British* squadron had taken five merchantmen, four of them exceeding rich, a privateer and two sloops, before the *French* admiral had taken one; they were now watching each other's motions at their different stations; the first at *Fort St. David's*, and the last preparing for his expedition against *Madrafs* at *Pondicherry* ¹.

ON the 24th of *June*, while *Peyton* anchored in the *Nagapatâm* road, he spied a fleet, about day-break, to the offing, which he soon discovered to be *Bourdonnais's* squadron. Upon this he immediately got under sail, and both fleets prepared for battle; but it being almost a calm, they could not get within cannon-shot before four in the afternoon. At this time the engagement began, and continued till seven o'clock, when the darkness occasioned the separation of both squadrons. They continued within sight of each other all the next day, without renewing the fight; when in the evening *Peyton* called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid battle, and to proceed to *Trinquimâl Bay*. *Peyton*, after refitting his ships here, appeared again off *Nagapatâm*, on the 3d of *August*, and was soon followed by *Bourdonnais*, who wanted to draw him into a general engagement. As the *British* commodore had no such intention, he soon disappeared, making the best of his way to the bay of *Bengal*; upon which the *French* squadron returned to *Pondicherry* ².

BOURDONNAIS having now got every-thing in readiness for his enterprize against *Madrafs*, was desirous to know whether the *British* commodore would endeavour to frustrate him. For this purpose he appeared before the place on the 18th of *August*, and fired on the *Princess Mary*, one of the company's ships, which was returned both by the ship and the fort. Each of *Bourdonnais's* squadron gave a broadside; after which he retired to *Pondicherry*, to watch *Peyton's* intentions. On the 23d of *August*, the *British* squadron appeared before *Madrafs*, and stood into *Pullicât* road, to the northward of the city. Here he sent a lieutenant on board a ship in the road, where he was informed of what the *French* admiral had done. This he no sooner heard, than he disappeared, leaving *Madrafs* an easy prey to the *French* ³. *Bourdonnais*, pleased with this intelligence, immediately determined upon the attack. He arrived before *Madrafs* on the 3d of *September*, having on board 3,200 *Europeans*, 500 *Caffrs*, a considerable number of *Sipoys* and *Peons*, the natives of the coast of *Coromandel*. The *White Town* was in a tenable condition, if the garrison had been sufficiently numerous, and infantry provided to sustain a siege; but this the company had neglected. Besides the remon-

d strances made by Mr. *Morse*, then governor, commodore *Barnet* had acquainted the secret committee with the insufficiency of the garrison, and bad state of the fortifications. This judicious officer expresses his surprize that a settlement of such consequence to the company should be left in so bad a condition: "The works," says he in his letter, "seem rather built by chance than design; the bastions are placed contrary to all rule, and the curtain no better than a long unflanked garden-wall; the garrison so weak, that I should never sleep sound in a *French* war, while there were 500 *Europeans* in *Pondicherry*. I have seen and considered the plan proposed, which I think a good one: when completed, the town will be sufficiently fortified on that side: but then something must be done towards the sea, where the embrasures are rather for form than use, there being no rampart to mount guns on. The distance between the bastions is too great; and the wall insufficient to stand the fire of a sixty-gun ship for two hours. It is my opinion, that in this space she would make an intire breast from bastion to bastion ⁴."

SUCH was the condition of this valuable settlement when M. *Bourdonnais* appeared a second time before it. *Nicholas Morse*, Esq; governor, did all that lay in his power for the security of the place; but he was no military man; nor indeed had the company one engineer or tolerable officer in the garrison. In the beginning of 1745, the governor sent to *Bombay* for military persons of the most judgment and experience he could procure; but had these answered his wishes, what could be done against a powerful and bitter enemy, with a garrison so slender! The company had, long before the commencement of the war, promised to augment it with 600 *Europeans*, exclusive of the gun-room crew; yet when the *French* came before *Madrafs*, the whole muster of *Europeans* they could make amounted only to 300, 23 of which were *Portuguese* deserters from *Goa*, 34 in the hospital, and many others incapable of service. The whole garrison fit to bear arms, it is certain, was composed of 200 *Europeans*, with the crew of the *Princess Mary*, consisting of 80 men; and about 200 *Tepasses*, a black, degenerate, and wretched race of the antient *Portuguese*, little to be confided in where danger appeared. *Peter Eckman*, a superannuated and superficial *Swede*, was the principal officer. He had been a common soldier; but now bore the rank of a lieutenant. This officer was assisted by two other lieutenants, and seven ensigns. The garrison had cannon; but they wanted gunners, and persons able to charge, play, and

¹ ROLT, vol. iv. part 8.

² Mem. BOURDONNAIS, vol. i.

³ Mem. BOURDONNAIS, ubi supra.

⁴ ROLT, vol. iv. part 8.

point them; which, with the scarcity of ammunition, gave M. Bourdonnais every advantage a he could desire.

The prudent
conduct of
Bourdonnais.

THIS officer had made himself perfectly acquainted with every circumstance relating to his design; he well knew the situation of *Madrafs*, the nature of the works, the force and ability of the garrison. As he had been preparing the execution of this plan for above a year, nothing was wanting to insure success. Every implement and instrument of war, with persons skilled in the use of them, were provided; so that he came before it with no other doubt of taking it, than what arose from his apprehensions that the *British* commodore would have performed his duty. On the 1st of *September*, Bourdonnais landed 600 men twenty miles south of *Madrafs*, with orders for this corps to march to *St. Thomas's*, within three miles of the town. Here they could cover the landing of the remainder of the troops, without sustaining any loss from the garrison, which was not in a condition to send out a detachment strong enough to incommode the enemy. As soon as the troops were disembarked, the town was invested on the land side, Bourdonnais forming his grand camp at *Gbindadu Pettah*; the fleet at the same time blocking it up by sea. Almost all the *Asiatic* inhabitants fled up into the country with their most valuable effects; and a general panic had spread over the whole town and garrison. Some relief was expected from the Nabob of *Arkkât*, in consequence of his promise; but this viceroy preferred *French* gold to *English* professions. He had indeed received considerable presents and favours from the settlement; but these were forgot, either through fear or policy.

He lands his
troops before
Madrafs.

The garrison
abandon the
Black Town.

THE *French* were no sooner landed, than the garrison abandoned the *Black Town*, after having withdrawn or nailed up all the cannon; and this before one shot had been fired, or the enemy's artillery landed. On the 6th, two batteries were raised, one of nine mortars, behind the garden-house, on the north side of the town; the other of six, to the southward. These they immediately opened, and began to play with great vigour, but did little execution for that day. On the 7th, Mr. *Smith*, the only real engineer in the garrison, died of a fever, which furnished the enemy with an opportunity of proceeding in their works, almost without molestation. They threw their bombs into the town without intermission till the 8th, by which time 700 shells had fallen into the *White Town*. The besieged, however, were not so much disturbed, but they had leisure to plunder the *Black Town*; in which laudable employment, and drinking of arrack, the greatest part of the garrison was busied, instead of attending to the defence of the place. The utmost disorder reigned within the walls, in defiance of all the arguments and threats of the governor. On the 9th, the besiegers played both their batteries so warmly, that before night above 500 shells had fallen into the town. The ships likewise kept up a constant fire; the *Topasses* deserted, and every thing contributed to bring destruction upon the place. The governor and council began now to join in the panic, which before had seized the inhabitants. Intelligence was brought, that the enemy were erecting a battery of eighteen pounders, and had sent for a number of seamen to begin an assault. The notion of standing an assault, and being put to the sword, increased the terrors of the besieged. Nothing but the shrieks of women, and confusion of men disordered with spirits and want of rest, was to be heard or seen. In this emergency, it was necessary the council should come to a final resolution. That the most prudent measures which their situation would admit might be taken, the strength of both sides was maturely weighed. The military men gave it as their opinion, that the place was not defensible against the number of the enemy. There was no place that was bomb-proof for the garrison to sleep in. This, with a number of other deficiencies, the clamours of the inhabitants, and other discouraging circumstances, induced the council to believe there was little probability of being able to resist an assault. Upon these considerations, and seeing no hopes of relief, either from the Nabob or from commodore *Peyton*, it was agreed, "That to wait being stormed, whether the *White Town* was first attacked, or the enemy possessed themselves of the *Black Town*, would only be to expose the whole to be plundered, the garrison to be massacred, and to leave the town to the discretion of the incensed besiegers. As the value and importance of the settlement to the company appeared to the governor and council of a different value and nature from the common towns in *Europe* to their sovereigns; it seemed more for the future credit and interest of the company, and the *British* nation in these parts, to redeem it, if possible, out of the hands of the besiegers, though at the expence of a very heavy ransom, than to sacrifice the lives of the best part of their countrymen, and the properties of all the inhabitants, without a prospect of maintaining the place thereby, and consequently without any advantage accruing to the company from their obstinacy. It was there-

A 1746.
Madrafs in-
vested and
bombarded.

The irregular
and bad con-
duct of the gar-
rison.

A council cal-
led, and their
resolution.

^a Mem. sur le BOURDONNAIS, vol. i. ROLT, *ibid.*

^w Mem. pour BOURDONNAIS, *ibid.*

- a “ fore determined to send a deputation to the *Sieur Bourdonnais*, to try what terms would be granted *.”

IMMEDIATELY the resolution was drawn up, and *William Monson* and *John Hallyburton*, They send proposals of surrender to M. Bourdonnais. Esqrs. were sent in quality of deputies to the *French* camp. Their instructions were to obtain the mildest terms possible, and above all, the ransom of the settlement. They arrived there on the 10th, and were genteelly received by *Bourdonnais*, who, after conferring with them, made the following proposals; viz.

- “ I. THAT *Fort St. George* and the town of *Madrafs*, with their dependencies, should be delivered up to M. *Bourdonnais*, by two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 21st of September, with the whole garrison, officers, and council; the *English* in general remaining prisoners of war. His terms of surrender.
- b “ II. THAT all the council, officers, servants, and other *English* gentlemen of the better fort, should have liberty to go and come where-ever they thought proper, even to *Europe*, provided they did not bear arms against *France* offensively or defensively, till they were exchanged, according to the terms prescribed to the *French* by Mr. *Barnet*.
- “ III. THAT to facilitate the *English* in ransoming the place, and to render valid the acts which should in consequence pass, the governor and council should cease to be prisoners of war the moment they should enter into negotiation; and M. *De la Bourdonnais* oblige himself to give them an authentic act, twenty-four hours before the first sitting.
- c “ IV. THAT the articles of capitulation being signed, those of the ransom should be amicably adjusted between M. *Bourdonnais* and the *English* governor, or his deputies, who should engage to surrender all the effects, merchandizes already received, or to be received, the books of accounts, arsenals, magazines, ammunition, provision, and vessels, together with all other goods belonging to the company, without reserving any thing, whether in gold, silver, merchandize, moveables, or other effects whatsoever, contained in the fort, town, or suburbs, to whomsoever they belonged, without excepting any thing, in such manner as the right of war requires.
- “ V. THAT the garrison should be conducted to *Fort St. David*, as prisoners of war. And if by ransom the town of *Madrafs* should be delivered, the *English* should be at liberty to repossess their garrison to defend themselves against the country people, for which there should be returned to the *French* by the *English* an equal number of prisoners. And if at present they had not a sufficient number, the first *French* that should be made prisoners after the capitulation, should be free to complete the article.
- d “ VI. THAT the sailors should be sent to *Caddalore*, and their exchange begin with those who were actually at *Pondicherry*, and the others pass in their own ships to *England*. But they should not be at liberty to bear arms against *France*, until an exchange had been made of a like number of sailors in *India* or *Europe*; but in *India* by preference.
- “ VII. THAT on these conditions the water-gate should be delivered up to M. *De la Bourdonnais*; at two o'clock the gates of the town be relieved by his troops; and a full declaration made to M. *Bourdonnais*, of all mines, countermines, and other subterraneous works charged with powder † (F).”

e As *Bourdonnais* had no instructions for forming a new settlement, 'tis obvious he had only this alternative, either to destroy what he became possessed of, or else to treat for a ransom. This last was the most suitable both to his disposition and interest; and as he had only agreed that it should be regulated in a friendly manner, the deputies demanded a farther explanation. “ Gentlemen,” says M. *Bourdonnais*, “ I do not sell honour. The flag of my king shall fly over *Madrafs*, or I will die before the walls. In the ransom of the town, as in every thing else, you shall be satisfied with me.” Then taking his hat from one of the deputies, “ This hat,” says he, “ is worth six rupees: you shall give me three or four for it. In this manner we shall adjust other particulars.” The deputies struck dumb with this noble answer, and with the freedom and greatness of the *French* admiral, Mr. *Hallyburton* returned to the governor and council with the conditions signed by M. *Bourdonnais*. The same day he went back with the articles accepted by the governor and council. In consequence, *Bourdonnais* entered the fort with part of his troops, and took possession of the magazines, warehouses, and other places. All the *English* soldiers and sailors were carried on board the fleet, while the governor and council consulted with the *French* commander concerning the price of the ransom. After a good deal of deliberation, it was at length stated at 1,100,000 pagodas; Bourdonnais agrees to restore it at a certain ransom.

* ROLT, vol. iv. p. 8.

† ROLT, *ibid.* Mem. BOURDON. *ibid.*

(F) It would be tedious to give all the particulars of this affair, as we find them in the *Memoire* published at *Paris*, in justification of *Bourdonnais*; sufficient it is, that *Bourdonnais* and Mr. *Morje* appear from this

piece to be the only persons who discharged their trust with honour and fidelity, though they alone were questioned by the constituents.

pagodas, equal to 421,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. sterling. A valuable present was agreed upon to *M. Bourdonnais*, for the noble manner in which he treated the prisoners; and it was finally adjusted, that the *English*, on these considerations, should be fully reinstated in their former possessions * (G).

M. Dupliex
refuses to rati-
fy the treaty
of ransom.

THIS agreement soon came to nothing; for after it had been signed by *Bourdonnais*, the *English* governor and council, and ratified by the government of *Pondicherry*, it was revoked. *M. le Bourdonnais* was reembarking his troops, when a protest arrived from *M. Dupliex*, declaring the contract null, void, and of no effect. This protest, although the treaty had been ratified by the council of *Pondicherry*, ran in the following terms; viz. That the treaty of ransom was an act of *M. Bourdonnais*, without power or lawful authority to perform it, and with prisoners who could not engage in an affair of so much importance, but for their own conduct only. It was the will of the governor and high council of *Pondicherry*, that things should remain at *Madras* in the situation in which they were at the treaty of capitulation; and that all subsequent acts should be void, null, and regarded as nothing. *Bourdonnais* was incensed at this insult upon his authority. He put *M. Paradis*, appointed governor of *Madras* by *Dupliex* and the council of *Pondicherry*, with several of his officers, under arrest. *Mr. Morfe*, the *English* governor, sent to the *French* presidency a counter instrument, bearing date the 25th of September 1746, in the name of his *Britannic* majesty and the united company of *England*. Here he protested against all those who should obstruct the intire and full execution of the capitulation and subsequent agreement, rendering them responsible for the consequences. He complained of the injurious suspicions industriously propagated, that the *English* would not fulfil their engagements. He represented, that if the *British* hostages, if the parole of honour of all *Madras*, were insufficient to satisfy the *French* government at *Pondicherry*; yet the respect due to a nation like his ought to have suspended a judgment so precipitate and false, till the *English* had at least countenanced the reflection by a breach of their word, which they never would.

Mr. Morfe
draws up an
instrument a-
gainst Du-
plicx's remon-
strance.

Bourdonnais
is forced to re-
voke the treaty.

NOTWITHSTANDING this spirited conduct of *Morfe* and *Bourdonnais*, they were foiled, and the latter forced to revoke the terms of ransom he had granted; and re-demand the parole of honour he had given the *British* governor and council. They were conducted prisoners to *Pondicherry*, while the rest of the *English* were ordered to quit the town on a day fixed; upon which they dispersed themselves to different places, leaving the *French* in the quiet possession of all their effects. *Bourdonnais* resented this usage the more, because it gave the *English* room to call his honour in question. *Morfe* had surrendered the town sooner than otherwise he might have done, from the expectation given him of a ransom; and if the *French* had kept their engagements, the terms were such as the *English* ought to have been satisfied with (H). The enemy obtained a booty of silver, woollen cloths, velvets, copper, iron,

* Ibid. p. 143. vol. i.

(G) After *Bourdonnais* had entered the town, he was met by the governor, who delivered to him his sword, which the other immediately returned. The governor acquainted him, that the utmost disorder had prevailed in the garrison from the time it was first invested. This he did in order to obviate the reflections that might arise from any insults committed on *Bourdonnais* or his officers. So elevated with rage and arrack were many of the soldiers, that they openly declared, they would cheerfully sacrifice their lives for the satisfaction of putting the *French* commander to death; and yet those very persons could not be kept to their duty while there was a prospect of being able to defend the town. *Mr. Morfe* expressed the utmost uneasiness at this conduct; acquainted *Bourdonnais* with it; apprized him of his danger; gave him the strongest assurances that it was not connived at by any of the superiors of the garrison; and desired he would take the necessary measures for appeasing the tumult, and his own security. This *Bourdonnais* did, by sending the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet in the road, and accepting the offer of some marine officers, who desired leave to attend his person (1).

(H) It must be observed, that after *Bourdonnais* had signed, and the council of *Pondicherry* ratified, the treaty of ransom, he received a letter from *Dupliex*, acquainting him, that he had entered into treaty with the Nabob to give *Madras* up to him. *Bourdonnais* was at a loss what to make of this letter, in which *Dupliex* assumed to himself a sovereign power, in giving to one prince the towns conquered from another. He was still more at a

loss what *Dupliex*'s intention could be in entering on this treaty, unless it was to oblige him to forfeit his honour, which he had engaged to the governor's council of *Madras*. However, it soon appeared that this pretended treaty was a mere feint to impose on both the Nabob and *Bourdonnais*. The monsoons were soon approaching, which would oblige the fleet to quit *Madras*; in which event *Dupliex*'s creatures would have full scope and liberty to ravage and plunder the town. These are the reasons given in *Bourdonnais*'s *Memoire* for the conduct of his rival; and they are such as facts have proved. For, first, the treaty with the Nabob was broken off as soon as *Bourdonnais* quitted the road; and in consequence of this it was, that the vizier's orders had been sent to the Nabob of *Arkhāt* to expel the *French*. *M. Dupliex*'s motives were more strongly expressed by letters which *Bourdonnais* received from him, towards the close of the month. In these he observed, that *Madras*, the moment the king's standard was erected in it, became a dependence upon the governor and council of *Pondicherry*; and that the sieur *Bourdonnais*, altho' entrusted by the king with the conduct of the fleet, was, notwithstanding, subjected to his and the council's authority. He therefore ordered him to revoke the engagement he had entered into with the *English*; the parole he had granted; and to depart from the road. These orders *Bourdonnais* for a long time delayed. The quarrel was carried so high, that the *French* deputies from *Pondicherry* made some attempts to arrest and carry him prisoner with them. Nor did it terminate here; *Bourdonnais* was

(1) *Memoire sur le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, tom. i. p. 139.

a iron, lead, and stores for use and sale, to the amount of 73,000*l.* in plate, furniture, and ^{Besty obtained in Madras.} other small articles, about 12,000*l.* besides 7000 bags of saltpetre, 1600 bales of calicoes, and 800 landies of red wood, valued at 72,000*l.* prime cost, with the ships in the harbour, and every thing else included, the whole loss to the company exceeded 200,000*l.* To this might be added a much more considerable sum, from the deprivation of so important a branch of commerce; from the loss of revenues; from the public buildings, which alone cost 160,000*l.* In short, the loss of *Madras* was a great, and almost fatal stroke to the *India* company; especially as it was attended with danger to all their other settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*^a.

b THE *English* were no sooner gone, than the *French* intended demolishing the town, and would have executed this design, if they had not received fresh instructions, in consequence of *Cape Breton*'s falling into the hands of the *English*. This caused them to alter their measures, with the view of exchanging them; which was actually done about two years after. In this the *French* did not act up to those professions of honour of which they are so liberal; for although they received *Cape Breton*, in pursuance of the general treaty, whole, intire, and in a better condition than they left it, yet did they demolish the fortifications, and ruin the chief buildings, before they surrendered *Madras*.

c BUT the *French* did not propose confining their conquests to the taking *Madras*. M. Bourdonnais meditated nothing less than the extirpation of all the *English* settlements in *India*; at least on the coast of *Coromandel*. He was soon in a condition to attempt this, by the arrival of a seventy and two fifty-gun ships from *Europe*; nor is there any doubt but his designs would have succeeded against *Fort St. David*, had not his fleet suffered by a storm before he left *Madras Road*. In this tempest he had three ships foundered; and several rendered unfit for immediate service. A thousand two hundred of his men perished, together with sixty of the *English* prisoners, who were on board the *Duc d'Orleans*, which foundered. Bourdonnais, instead of prosecuting his intention, was under the necessity of returning directly to *Pondicherry*, after he had sent four of his fleet to refit at the isle of *Bourbon*. Soon after his departure, M. *Paradis*, who commanded a garrison of 500 men at *Madras*, was invested by the Nabob of *Arkhât*, in consequence of orders he had received from the grand vizier *Nizam Mulmulock*, to drive the *French* out of the settlement, and to restore the *English*. To execute these orders he came with a body of troops before the town, on the 17th of *October*. M. *Paradis*, the governor, ordered a party of 200 *Europeans* to sally out upon his advanced guard. After the fight had continued the whole night, the *French* being reinforced by a party from *Pondicherry*, attacked and defeated the main body of the *Moors*; after which they committed the most shocking barbarities. Where-ever they went, they burnt the houses and corn, cut down the grass, and spoiled the orchards; at the same time that they slew without distinction men, women, and children^b.

d BEFORE the disputes between M. *Dupliex* and Bourdonnais were terminated, the other *English* settlements at *Fort St. David*, *Bengal*, and *Bombay*, had leisure to put themselves in a state of defence; but their greatest security were the damages the *French* navy had sustained in the late storm, and the differences between those two commanders. Mr. *Hynd*, governor of *Fort St. David*, took every possible precaution for resisting the enemy, if they attacked him. He took a number of militia into pay, strengthened the fortifications, laid in provisions, and regulated the whole conduct of the garrison in case of a siege. These precautions soon became necessary; for, on the 8th of *December*, the greatest part of the garrison of *Pondicherry* appeared before the fort, with a strong train of artillery. This detachment consisted of 1000 regulars, and about 200 well disciplined *Peons*, with about 500 other natives. Governor *Hynd* sent out a party of 1600 *Indians* to attack the enemy before they began to erect batteries; to harass them all night, and keep them in perpetual alarm. This they did with great success; and in the morning began a regular engagement. The *French* soon forced their way to the garden-house; which Mr. *Hynd* observing, detached another body of *Moors*, with an hundred *Europeans*, to support and maintain the battle. For an hour the enemy stood their ground; at last, fearing to be surrounded, they retreated with great precipitation, leaving dead upon the field about 200 men, among which were four officers of some distinction. Their tents, ammunition, six camels, two mortars, with their shells, two chests of arms, four drums, and all their provisions, fell into the hands of the garrison^c. The *French* returned to *Pondicherry*.

^a Mem. pour BOURDONNAIS, p. 156—160, &c.

^b ROLT, vol. iv. ibid.

^c ROLT, vol. iv. ibid.

recalled, put in the *Basile*, at which time his *Memoire* was published. It has so much the air of truth, is so circumstantial and particular in relation to facts, that we can no more doubt of Bourdonnais's conduct at *Madras*, than of his bravery and generosity. His misfortunes we attribute to the clamours raised against him by the interest of his rival, who never had it in his power to

equal him in any thing but wealth; in which he surpassed most subjects in *Europe*. In his way to *Europe*, he was taken by an *English* privateer, conducted to *London*, and soon sent over to *France*, where he was arrested by the *India* company for a debt of a million of livres, and thrown into the *Basile*, in which he continued for some time (1).

Commodore Griffin arrived in India, and takes the command of the English fleet. after their defeat, where they renewed their preparations for another attempt. But this likewise a was frustrated by the arrival of commodore Griffin, with a fleet from Europe, to take upon him the command of Peyton's squadron.

ABOUT the middle of December 1746, Mr. Griffin, with two ships, joined the squadron before stationed in India, and found himself at the head of an armament consisting of the *Princess Mary* and *Medway* of 60 guns, the *Harwich*, *Winchelsea*, and *Preston*, of 50 guns, the *Pearl* and *Medway's Prize* of 40, and the *Lively* of 20 guns; and next year the squadron was farther reinforced by the *Exeter* and *York* of 60, and the *Eltham* of 40 guns. At this time the French squadron was composed of two ships of 74 guns, two of 56, one of 54, two of 50 guns, and a bomb-ketch. These had been refitted after the storm, at the island of *Mauritius*, but had not as yet attempted returning into the *East Indies*, or making any dispositions to engage the British squadron, which continued to block up and cut off provisions from *Pondicherry*, for near the space of two years. Mr. Griffin's disposition was so good, that he prevented the settlements receiving any kind of supplies, by means of his cruisers, and squadron generally lying in *Fort St. David's* road, but five leagues to windward of *Pondicherry*. He also burnt the *Neptune* ship of war of 54 guns, in *Madras* road; and of six vessels which had got into *Pondicherry* with provisions, he destroyed five, and run the sixth ashore. These advantages counterbalanced the loss of the *Princess Amelia* India ship, which, having put into *Madras* road, supposing it still in the possession of the English, was taken by M. *Paradis*, who had kept English colours flying upon the fort; a stratagem that had nearly decoyed several other India ships into his power.

COMMODORE Griffin found the force he commanded too slender to reduce either *Pondicherry* or retake *Madras*. The former was defended by 200 pieces of heavy cannon, mounted upon regular fortifications; six additional forts, to flank the exterior works, had lately been erected; the magazines and arsenals were well stored; and the garrison, with the trained Indians, formed a body of 4500 effective men. Nor was *Madras* neglected; the garrison was not only augmented, stores and ammunition laid in, but some new works raised, and many additional cannon mounted. Nor was this all; for the court of *Dehli*, after the Nabob's defeat before *Madras*, professed a strict neutrality. The viceroy for some time continued to threaten; but *Dupleix* silenced him with a sum of money, the most irresistible argument that can be urged with an Asiatic minister. In such a situation of things, Griffin found himself unable to assert the character of his country, and retrieve the circumstances of the company, till the arrival of a proper reinforcement. The French, having refitted their ships, and procured a supply of money, returned to India; and on the 10th of June 1748 appeared off *Fort St. David's*, and about four in the afternoon brought to at the distance of three or four leagues to windward of the British squadron, then lying in *Fort St. David's* road. It would seem that the French commandant's design was to attack the British squadron, if he could have surprised it unprepared; or much inferior to his, on account of the detached cruisers; at the same time that he kept it in his power to avoid being forced to an action, from the nature of the regular winds on that coast. Admiral Griffin had intelligence, by a frigate cruising for that purpose, of the approach of a fleet, supposed to be the enemy's squadron, and therefore made immediate preparations for receiving or attacking them; but perceiving the French designs, and the danger of getting under sail after the enemy appeared, as the sea breeze had set in (which, by driving his squadron to leeward, might have enabled them to attack *Fort St. David* in his sight, without his having power either to protect or secure the settlement), was forced to remain at anchor till the evening, when the land breeze furnished him with an opportunity to sail. Losing sight, however, of the enemy in the dark, and uncertain of their intended route and measures, they, under cover of the night, steered for *Madras*, where in a few hours they landed money and some men; and, immediately after quitting the coast, returned to the island of *Mauritius*. Such, at least, are the assertions advanced in the admiral's appeal, to which we accede, as they stand unanswered, and are perfectly consistent with his former conduct.

Thus disappointed, he returned to *Fort St. David*, where, on the 29th of July, rear-admiral *Boscawen* arrived, and took upon him the command. After this junction, the British fleet consisted of nine ships of the line, two frigates, a sloop, and two tenders, having on board 3580 seamen, eight companies of independent foot, besides marines. Every thing was put in motion, with intention to undertake the siege of *Pondicherry*. The troops and marines were landed, and joined by a detachment of the garrison, with which a body of 3600 British troops was formed: besides this, there were 148 artillery men, 120 Dutch lent from their settlements, and 2000 Indians. All things being in readiness, the army set out by land for *Pondicherry*, while the fleet blocked up the harbour, and cut off all communication with the French squadron. On the 11th they arrived within four miles of the fort, where they discovered the enemy posted behind an intrenchment they had thrown up. Mr. *Boscawen*, who led the forces, still advancing, the enemy abandoned their works; but notwithstanding his near approach, the garrison apprehended no danger. It consisted of 2000 Europeans, and 3000 Indians. *Dupleix* had taken the most seasonable and best precautions against an attack, having

^a ROLIN, vol. iv. p. 10. c. 3. See also the Gazettes published by authority.

- a intelligence of the design of Mr. *Boscawen*, long before his arrival. Besides the additional fortifications round the town, he had likewise put the fort of *Aria Coupan* in a state of defence, having garrisoned it with 200 *Europeans* and blacks. Mr. *Boscawen* having advice that this fort was maintained by no more than 100 men, resolved to attack and gain a lodgment in a village contiguous to it, where he proposed erecting a bomb battery. Accordingly he ordered a body of grenadiers and piquets, accompanied by a detachment of *Indians*, to march up to the village. As they came within musket-shot of the enemy, a cannon-ball lighting among the *Indians*, employed in carrying up the tools necessary for raising an intrenchment, put them to flight, which unfortunately frustrated the design. The detachment was at the same time flanked by two batteries the enemy had erected on the opposite side of *Aria Coupan* river: these playing with great vigour, occasioned some confusion in the *British* troops, who found means, however, of opening a pass to the sea, by means of which cannon, and the materials for a siege, might be landed. It was now perceived, that approaches in form against *Aria Coupan* fort were necessary, as they found it defended by a berm, ditch, draw-bridge, and covered way. The detachment was obliged to lie on their arms the whole night, after losing several men in the attack on the village: one lieutenant was killed, and three officers wounded, besides major *Goudier*, the commanding officer of the artillery, who was rendered incapable of service by a cannon-shot in the leg; a loss the more sensible, as he was an able and experienced officer, who would have conducted their approaches in a different manner than that in which they were performed. Early the next day the army joined the detachment, and was farther reinforced by a body of 1100 seamen. These the admiral had caused to be disciplined on board, and experienced in platoons, under the command of captain *Loyd*. They mounted guard, and performed every other part of the duty of the land troops. On the 16th, four 18 and as many 12 pounders were landed, with which the admiral ordered two batteries to be erected. One was constructed by the engineers, and began to play the next morning, but without success, it having been injudiciously contrived. On the 18th the other battery, executed by the artillery men, was opened, when the effects answered the most sanguine expectations. The enemy, with a troop of *European* horse, supported by an equal number of foot, and some seamen, sallied out of the fort, with intention to destroy this battery. They attacked the advanced guard in the trench with so much fury, that it was put in disorder; but soon after rallying, they repulsed the *French*, and made the commanding officer prisoner. Soon after one of the *French* batteries blew up, and destroyed about 120 men; upon which the besiegers played with great vigour on the fort. About noon it was blown up by a bomb-shell; but the garrison had seasonably retired, leaving behind all their cloaths and effects. The admiral immediately removed his camp to *Aria Coupan* fort, which he repaired with all possible diligence. On the 25th it was completed, and the army crossing the river, took possession of a strong post in the round hedge of the town, about a mile from the walls of *Pondicherry*, which the enemy injudiciously abandoned, though it was so situated as, with a small number of men, to have foiled all *Boscawen's* power, and of great importance to the defence of the town. Having got possession of this post to the north-west of the town, Mr. *Boscawen* ordered his fleet to the northward of it. He then opened a communication that way to the sea, and gave directions for landing all the necessaries for breaking ground before the fort. This was begun on the 30th, in pursuance of a plan produced by one of the engineers, which seemed feasible. On the 1st of *September* the besieged made a sally, in which they were repulsed with the loss of 100 men, three officers killed, and *Monf. Paradis*, the chief engineer and director of all the military affairs, who was just returned from *Madrafs*, mortally wounded: after which the engineers continued working every night, without any material progress. The batteries were not completed till the 25th, when they began to play: they consisted of one of eight guns, and one of four, together with a bomb battery of five large mortars, and fifteen royals, besides another of fifteen cohorns. Nor were the *French* on their parts less active and industrious. They raised three fascine batteries to play on the admiral's trenches, which gave him much annoyance, obliging him to erect two more batteries against them. These consisted one of three and the other of two guns, continuing to play till the grand batteries were completed. Besides this, the besieged had laid the ground round the town under water; by this rendering it impossible for the besiegers to carry their approaches nearer. Upon first breaking ground, the admiral had directed captain *Lisle* to bring the bomb ketch close by the walls, and begin bombarding the citadel without intermission. This he did, but with little damage to the besieged; for in a short time they had got her length so exactly, that she was forced to discontinue her fire in the day, renewing it always at night. Besides this, captain *Lisle* was ordered to extend the fleet in line of battle before the town, to work in, and begin cannonading as soon as the batteries were opened. Captain *Lisle* obeyed his orders, keeping a constant and warm fire on the town, which was briskly returned for a while; after which the fire towards the sea was slackened, and the whole force

He lays siege to Pondicherry.

Condition of Pondicherry.

A sharp engagement between the besiegers and the garrison.

The garrison make a sally, and are repulsed.

Slow progress of the besiegers.

Mr. Duplex lays the town under water, and impedes the approach of the admiral.

of the besieged converted to the land side; the season being now far advanced, and the besieged too well fortified and provided for the admiral to have any other expectation of taking the town, than what might arise from a random shot, and the garrison's being harassed and fatigued. He, however, continued firing, beating down a great part of the defence where the attack was intended. As he was prevented by the inundation from carrying his approaches nearer, and his troops were insufficient to begin a new attack, he endeavoured to make a breach in the curtain, at the distance he then was. This he soon found to be impracticable, the enemy's batteries being greatly superior to his. Upon this a council of war was called on the 30th of *September*. Here the state of affairs was deliberated; and it appearing that the strength of the army was greatly reduced, and daily diminishing by sickness and fatigue; that the ships could be of no use in the siege, having cannonaded a whole day without effect; that the monsoons and rainy season approached; that these would not only oblige them to raise the siege with the loss of their artillery and stores, but probably render the rivers impassable, destroy the roads, and cut off the retreat of the army to *Fort St. David*; besides the risque of having the ships driven off the shore, and dispersed and lost in the tempest; upon these considerations it was unanimously resolved to embark the stores and cannon, and to raise the siege. From the 1st of *October* to the 4th was employed in shipping these; on the 5th the admiral set fire to the batteries, and reembarked the sailors; and the day following the army began its march to *Fort St. David*, where it arrived the day following, having destroyed the fort of *Aria Coupan* in their way. Thus terminated the siege of *Pondicherry*, with the loss of 757 soldiers, 43 cannon, and 265 seamen, to the besiegers; and about 500 *Europeans* on the side of the besieged. There would seem neither courage nor conduct wanting in the admiral's army; yet it was unsuccessful; although a force less proportioned to the occasion had the year before got possession of *Madras*. *Pondicherry* was still a place of liberty; *Madras* was in captivity, and likely to remain so, if a peace did not rescue it. The *French* were now too formidable to dread any future attempts; and their intelligence was too good not to take the requisite measures for safety. In short, the ill success of the expedition may be reasonably attributed to the long detention of Mr. *Boscawen* in *England*, of which the *French* being apprised, had sent a squadron with supplies to frustrate his designs.

The siege raised.

Peace concluded with France.

A part of admiral Boscawen's fleet lost in a storm.

General account of the wars in India, in which the French and English were engaged as allies, on opposite sides.

BEFORE the admiral had time after the monsoons to attempt any thing else for the advantage of the *English* company, or annoyance of the *French*, all hostilities were ended by the arrival of intelligence of a cessation of arms, and the conclusion of a general peace. Soon after this, he had the misfortune to see several of his ships, and about 1200 seamen, miserably perish in a storm on the *Coromandel* coast; after which he returned into *Europe*.

AFTER the restitution of *Madras*, at the general peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the affairs of the company prospered till the late unhappy affair at *Bengal*. They were, however, embroiled on the coast of *Coromandel*, in a war with *Sundab Sâbeb*, assisted by the *French* at *Pondicherry*. The particulars of this affair we shall endeavour to lay before the reader in as concise a manner as possible, not doubting but the relation will be agreeable to our readers, both as it connects the narrative, gives the first instances of the valour of that self-instructed general Mr. *Clive*, and presents a series of facts but little known, even to persons deeply concerned in the affairs of the company. As we are here necessarily obliged to rely upon private letters and intelligence, we hope we shall be excused if we fail of that accuracy that might reasonably be expected, had we written testimonies always before us.

ABOUT the end of the year 1742, or the beginning of the following year, animosity, jealousy, and discord, began to appear among the Nabobs of *Arkbât*, *Velûr*, *Polûr*, and *Tiruchirapalli*. Each of them aspired to the possession of *Arkbât*, the first to stand his ground, and all the rest to supplant him. In consequence *Daft Ali Khân* was defeated and cut off by *Muley Ali Khân*, the former Nabob of *Arkbât*, or *Arcot*, and the latter of *Velûr*. This revolution was brought about in favour of *Sundab Sâbeb*, brother-in-law to *Muley Ali Khân*, who was made governor of the capital. His promotion, however, was disagreeable to the Mogul's court: he was deposed, and *Anawerdi Khân* put in his room. *Sundab Sâbeb*, resolving to recover his government, applied to the Count *D'Anteuil*, the *French* general in *Pondicherry*, and received from him a supply of 2000 *Sipoys*, 60 *Blacks* or *Caffrs*, and 420 *French* soldiers; on condition that, if he was successful, he should cede to the *French* the town of *Velûr*, in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. This may serve for a key to the mysteriousness of the *French* conduct, who, after obtaining so many favours from the court of *Debli* for protecting the lawful sovereign of *Arkbât* against the *Mabarattas* in 1741, should now draw the sword in the cause of a rebel and usurper. It is even suggested, that the scheme for distressing *Anawerdi Khân* was formed by *Sundab Sâbeb* and Mr. *Dupliex*: in consequence, *Anawerdi Khân* was defeated by the *French* and their allies, in which action the Count *D'Anteuil* was wounded; *Sundab Sâbeb* was reinstated in the government of *Arkbât*,

- a and his conditions and engagements to the *French* were punctually executed. *Anawardi Khán* had been killed in the action; and his son *Mohammed Ali Khán*, flying to *Tiruchirapalli*, supplicated the assistance of the *English*, who sent him a reinforcement of men, money, and stores, under major *Lawrence*, a resolute and experienced officer. Some advantages were gained over the enemy; they were forced to retreat, but no decisive blow had been struck. Soon after *Mohammed Ali* came in person to *Fort St. David's*, to solicit more powerful assistance, alleging that his interest and that of the *English* were mutual, as it was apparent, if the enemy were suffered to proceed in their conquests, the *English* would soon be forced to abandon the whole coast. Perhaps likewise thinking this a proper occasion to revenge the loss of *Madrafs*, they dispatched a strong reinforcement, under the command of captain *Cope*; however nothing was done, and the *English*, after some unsuccessful attempts, retired; the enemy attacked *Mohammed Ali* in their absence, and obtained over him a complete victory. The unfortunate Nabob entered then into a stricter alliance with the *English*, and ceded to them some commercial points which had been long in dispute. Captain *Gingen*, a *Swiss* officer, in the service of the company, was sent with 400 *Europeans* as auxiliaries, and captain *Cope* dispatched to put *Tiruchirapalli* in a posture of defence. The two armies lay for a month encamped within sight of each other; but nothing happened besides skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the *English*, and their Nabob ally*.
- b

- To make a diversion, and divide the *French* forces, it was thought expedient to send a detachment into the province of *Arkkát*. Mr. *Clive*, then purveyor of the army, a gentleman born with all the talents of a great officer, and a hero rather by instinct than from education, offered his service without pay on this occasion. He set sail in the *Wager* to *Madrafs*, with 130 *Europeans*, and on his arrival there was reinforced by 80 more. With this slender force he marched with such secrecy and expedition to *Arkkát*, that he got possession of the capital without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare the city; but his own generosity and prudence were their security: he refused their money, and at the same time ordered proclamation to be made, that those who were willing to remain in their houses should receive no injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this wise conduct he gained the affections of the natives so completely, that they who did not chuse to stay in the town, gave him afterwards, when he was besieged, the most exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, which probably saved the place. For *Sundab Sábeb* appearing soon before it with a large army, laid siege to it; but it was the 24th of September before the place was fully invested, the enemy's approaches being retarded by the frequent and brisk sallies made by Mr. *Clive*; and although the siege was under the direction of the *French*, it was more than a fortnight before they could effect a breach. About that time, indeed, two very considerable ones were made; but such was the diligence of Mr. *Clive* in repairing them, that before the enemy could prepare for storming they were filled up, and as strong as any part of the walls. At length, on the 14th of October, at three in the morning, they attacked both breaches and one of the gates, which they attempted to force open with elephants; but Mr. *Clive*, having received intelligence when the assault was intended, had so well prepared for it with masked batteries, that he repulsed the besiegers in every quarter, with great slaughter, not 20 men returning alive from the breaches, and obliged them to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation. Such were the first glimmerings of that greatness of soul, which, a few years afterwards, burst forth in the full blaze of glory.
- c
- d
- e

An account of Mr. Clive's first appearance in a military capacity. 1751.

Mr. Clive besieged in Arkkát, and the besiegers repulsed.

- AFTER receiving a reinforcement under captain *Kirkpatrick*, he pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of *Arani*, on the 3d of December, he attacked them with the utmost intrepidity, and, after a contest of five hours, totally defeated them, with little or no loss on his own side. He soon obliged *Arani* and *Kajevarán* to surrender, rather to the terror of his name than to the force of his arms; after which he returned covered with laurels to *Fort St. David's*.
- f

He defeats the enemy in the field, and takes several towns.

Mr. *Clive* had not resided above a month at the fort, when fresh incursions of the enemy called him again into the field. He marched to *Madrafs* with 150 men, and there was joined by a reinforcement from *Bengal* of 160 more (A). With this slender force he joined battle with the *French* and *Indians* at *Kavaripakkán*, commonly called *Koveripauk*. The enemy had 1500 *Sipoy*s and 100 *French* in front, with eight pieces of cannon; 50 *Europeans* more, with some natives, drawn up on a rising ground, formed the left wing, and on the right were posted 1700 horse. Mr. *Clive* immediately advanced within push of bayonet, ordering his troops to reserve their fire, and soon drove them within their intrenchments; but it being now

1752. Defeats them a second time.

* Private intelligence, and a letter to the directors of the India company from a gentleman of the council at *Madrafs*.

(A) We can learn from no authority what number of natives Mr. *Clive* had under his command; yet it is probable that he must have had some, as it can hardly be supposed he would have engaged the enemy with so unequal a force.

dark, and his troops raw and undisciplined, the victory remained for a time doubtful. At length Mr. *Clive* sending a detachment round to fall on the rear of their battery, the design succeeded happily, as it was executed with courage and planned with prudence. The *English* entered with fixed bayonets, and firing a platoon, so disconcerted the enemy, that the *French* to a man threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war, whilst many of the rest, especially the horse, made their escape under cover of the night. This battery was defended by 48 *French*, 14 *Topasses* or *Portuguese* of the country, and a body of *Indians*, under the command of a lieutenant, all of whom surrendered at discretion: eight pieces of cannon, nine tumbrils of powder, 208 stands of arms were likewise taken; a great number were killed; and the victory would have been decisive, but for the intervention of the night.

Major Lawrence takes the command of the English troops.

THE brave and fortunate *Clive* having cleared the province of enemies, set out for *Fort St. David*, where he arrived on the 11th of *March*, the command of the troops devolving upon major *Lawrence*, then returned from *England*, as the superior officer (B). The only action deserving notice was performed by a detachment under the command of Mr. *Clive*, who returned to the army to serve in an inferior capacity. With a party of 400 men he dislodged a large body of the enemy, posted at *Samcaveram*, a strong fort and temple upon the river *Kalderon*, upon which *Sundab Sâbeb* broke up his camp before *Sirangbam*, and retired within the temple. Here *Clive* proposed to attack him; but receiving advice that captain *D'Anteuil* was arrived from *Pondicherry* at *Utatur*, with money and stores for the enemy's camp, he marched directly thither. Being disappointed by false intelligence, he returned the same night, and, though much fatigued, immediately invested the temple. The commanding officer, and several others, attempting to push out at the gate, were killed, and the rest surrendered, to the amount of 66 *Europeans*, and a great number of *Sipoys*. The enemy had still possession of another ecclesiastical fortress, against which *Clive* carried on regular approaches, which soon reduced the enemy to the necessity of hanging out a flag of capitulation, just as *Clive* was advancing to storm the breach. The *Sipoys*, ignorant of the meaning of the flag, and mounting the breach, pushed on the attack, which so terrified the enemy, that 24 *French* plunged themselves in the river, and all perished but four: an accident that gave Mr. *Clive* great uneasiness. The remainder, in all 72 and three officers, were made prisoners. The officers made loud complaints that no regard had been paid to their flag; yet certain it is, that the clemency of Mr. *Clive* alone saved them from being cut in pieces, in the heat of action, and the career of victory. To the same complaint Mr. *Dupliex* added another, of the contempt with which that gentleman had treated the *French*; but this invective was disproved by all the prisoners to a man, and very justly attributed to the effects of *Dupliex's* resentment, for *Clive's* having demolished his new city.

Mr. Clive possesses himself of a strong fort, and takes the garrison prisoners.

Mr. Clive defeats a French detachment.

AFTER the reduction of *Acbeveram*, Mr. *Clive*, equally judicious in forming and alert in executing his plans, marched directly to *Golkonda*, whither he was told *D'Anteuil* had retired. Here he attacked and drove him out of the village where he was retrenched, making himself master of all the cannon. The enemy attempted to escape into the fort; but the governor apprehending they might be followed by the *English*, shut the gates against them, which obliged them to scale the walls for refuge, and afforded Mr. *Clive* an opportunity of destroying the whole body. After he had made a prodigious slaughter, humanity supplanted in his breast every other passion, and he sent the conquered a flag of truce, which they joyfully accepting, a capitulation was signed, the terms of which were, that *D'Anteuil* and three other officers should remain prisoners on parole for one year; that the rest of the garrison should be prisoners till they were exchanged; and that the money and stores should belong to the Nabob in the *English* alliance. On this occasion were taken 48,000 rupees, four pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of warlike stores. But the consequences of Mr. *Clive's* rapid victories were more important, though less striking, than all his military strokes, the battles he had won, and the towns he had taken: for the enemy's army of 30,000 men was totally dispersed and ruined, for want of provisions. In the course of this war the *English* had killed and taken an army infinitely superior to their own; their artillery, which amounted to forty pieces of cannon and ten mortars, with all their ammunition and military stores. Among the prisoners were thirty *French* officers, and upwards of 800 men; whilst the whole loss on the side of the conquerors did not amount to fifty *Europeans*.

D'Anteuil the French commander made prisoner.

Number of French prisoners made during this war.

WE have delivered the transactions of this war the more explicitly, because it serves as a military history of the rise and first dawnings of *Clive's* genius; to record which faithfully is really no other than to write a panegyric. It is not always in pitched battles between great armies, on the success of which hangs the fate of empires, where the masterly strokes of genius are displayed; less affairs frequently call for as much or more sagacity, refinement, intrepidity, and presence of mind in the commander. Yet are they generally passed over as

(B) Major *Lawrence* set sail from *India* on the 12th of *September* 1750, and was now returned, with some additional rank, of which we know not the particulars.

a matters of no consequence, by those who rather consider the greatness of the event than the spirit of the enterprize; measuring every action by the narrow views of interest, or the superficial notions of the vulgar.

THE war being thus ended, so contrary to the hopes of Mr. Duplex, he, at the instance of his confederate Nabob, sent to solicit peace of *Mohammed Ali Khan*, who declared himself ready to consent, provided it was to the satisfaction of the *English*, his allies^b. Peace how-
ever did not take effect; but a cessation of arms ensuing, Mr. Clive set sail for *England*, where he remained till the year 1754, when the service of his country and of the *East India* company again required his attendance in *India*, previous to the most unfortunate and calamitous event recorded in history.

^b Private intelligence, letters to the directors, &c.

S E C T. VII.

Containing a short account of the unhappy affair at Calcutta; the reduction of Angria by admiral Watson and Mr. Clive; the retaking of Calcutta, and all the company's settlements on the Ganges; the reduction of the French settlement at Chandernagore; the defeat of the Nabob of Bengal; and lastly, a recapitulation of the preceding history of the company.

b **S**IX months after the departure of Mr. Clive, hostilities were re-commenced, while nei-
ther the *English* or *French* companies were at open war. They had each engaged in the war as allies to support the interest of those Nabobs in treaty with them; but they acted as principals, and with all the animosity and bitterness of rivals in arms and commerce. Major *Lawrence*, an officer of experience, resolution, and conduct, but of an haughty and insolent disposition, had the sole command of the *English* auxiliaries, obtained several advantages, and was in a fair way of terminating the dispute by dint of arms, when the unhappy affair at *Calcutta* for a time suspended the rapid progress of the company's flourishing condition. Without pretending to decide where the blame of this catastrophe ought justly to be placed, we shall briefly relate the circumstances. Indeed, such were the heats and prejudices of the proprietors of *India* stocks, and of the directors themselves, and such the interest of some persons the most suspected, that no clear knowledge of this calamitous affair ever appeared.

c **W**HILE a treaty between the *French* and *English* companies was upon the carpet, the Nabob of *Bengal*, irritated at the protection given to one of his subjects by the governor of *Calcutta*, and, as it is said, at the refusal of some duties to which he claimed a right, with some other co-operating reasons, levied a great army, and suddenly laid siege to that place, then in no posture of defence. Mr. D. the governor, terrified by the number of the enemy, with some of the principal persons in the settlement, immediately abandoned the fort, and took refuge on board the ships in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the company's books. Thus deserted, Mr. *Holwell*, the second in command, bravely defended
d the place to the last extremity, assisted by a few gallant friends, and the remains of a feeble garrison. A very intrepid defence was insufficient to protect an untenable place against so powerful an enemy, or *Holwell's* character, which was aspersed with the most malevolent slander that cowardice, guilt, and envy could contrive. The fort was taken, and the garrison being made prisoners, were thrust into a narrow dungeon, from whence Mr. *Holwell* and a few others came out alive, to paint a scene of the most cruel distress which perhaps human nature ever suffered or survived. "Figure to yourself," says Mr. *Holwell*, "if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus
e "crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in *Bengal*; shut up
"to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from whence air could come to us, by
"dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two win-
"dows, strongly barred within, from whence we could receive scarce any the least circulation
"of fresh air." Such was the residence of those unhappy victims for the space of twelve hours; which alone is sufficient to paint their distress, without our entering upon the melancholy tale, which must draw tears from the eyes, and pity from the heart, of the most obdurate and savage breast (C).

(C) Soon after Mr. *Holwell's* arrival in *England*, he published, in the year 1757, a full account of this deplorable disaster, in terms so pathetic, so feeling, and so moving, as could not be dictated but by a heart susceptible of the tenderest emotions of friendship, even though he was a sufferer. To this we refer the reader, as the best written account of the kind we have ever perused.

THUS

THUS from the height of prosperity the affairs of the company fell into the utmost confusion, and their credit at home kept pace with their fortune abroad; but it would be an invidious task to enter upon particulars so recent in the memory of every man; sufficient it is, that by the conduct of Mr. *Clive* and the brave admiral *Watson*, their affairs were soon retrieved, their settlements on the *Ganges* recovered, and the pride and cruelty of the Nabob justly punished.

Admiral Watson with his Squadron arrives in the East Indies.

Admiral Watson and Mr. Clive destroy Angria the famous pirate.

They sail for Bengal;

take Busbudgia fort;

and Tanna fort.

They retake Calcutta.

Take and destroy the city of Hugly.

ADMIRAL *Watson* being arrived at *Fort St. David's* with his majesty's ships, the *Kent* of 70 guns, the *Cumberland* of 66, *Tyger* of 60, *Salisbury* of 50, the *Bridgewater* of 24 guns, with sloops and bomb-ketches, the first expedition proposed was to reduce *Tulagee Angria*, a piratical prince, who had for many years molested the *East India* trade. The governor of *Fort St. David* had, on the admiral's arrival, received intelligence that *Angria* was entering upon some treaty with the *Mabarattas*, concerning *Geriab*, no way favourable to the company's affairs; and this it was that determined the admiral to proceed thither, after taking on board some of the company's forces. On his arrival before the harbour, he summoned the town to surrender; but no regard being paid to his menaces, he stood in in two divisions, the enemy firing all the while with great vigour from their batteries. As soon as the ships were properly disposed, they began so warm a fire as soon silenced the batteries, and gave the admiral an opportunity of landing the troops. The enemy, now invested on all hands, were plied so closely, that on the 13th of *February* 1756 they hung out a flag of capitulation; but the admiral, not chusing to grant their terms, began his attack with such vigour, that they were soon forced to call out for mercy, and submit at discretion. Among the prisoners were the brother, the wife, and the child of *Angria*, his brother-in-law, and the commander in chief of his grabs, or fleet. In the place the *English* found 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, and a large supply of stores and ammunition; the money and effects amounting to 130,000*l*. *Angria's* fleet, consisting of eight large grabs, one ship in the harbour, and two upon the stocks, together with a number of small vessels called gallivats, were all destroyed; the spirits of the company somewhat restored, and fresh vigour given to their actions, which had been drooping from the time the loss of *Calcutta* was known^c.

In *October* following admiral *Watson* taking on board Mr. *Clive* and the company's troops, sailed for *Bengal*, with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Bridgewater*, *Salisbury*, and *Kingsfisher* sloop; and by the united endeavours of those two brave officers, soon changed the face of the company's affairs. On the 5th of *December* he anchored in *Balasore* road, in the kingdom of *Bengal*; and having crossed the *Braces* on the 8th, proceeded up the *Ganges*, and arrived at *Falta* on the 15th, where he found governor *Drake*, and those who had escaped from *Calcutta* before it was taken, on board the company's ships and vessels, in a very deplorable condition. After affording them all possible relief, and strengthening the land forces with all the recruits they could draw together, Mr. *Clive*, with his troops, was landed, in order to attack *Busbudgia* fort by land, while the squadron battered it on the side of the river. *Busbudgia* made but a slight resistance, the garrison having abandoned it in less than an hour after the first attack. This fort was extremely well situated for defence, having a wet ditch round it, but badly provided with cannon; no more than eighteen pieces, from twenty-four to six pounders, with forty barrels of powder, and ball in proportion, being found in it.

On the 1st of *January* the *Kent* and *Tyger* anchored between *Tanna* fort and a battery opposite to it, both which the enemy abandoned before either ship fired a single gun. About forty pieces of cannon, some twenty-four pounders, all mounted on good carriages, with some powder and ball, were found in the fort and battery. The passage now being open to *Calcutta*, admiral *Watson* resolved to lose no time in attacking it; and accordingly proceeded up the river, leaving the *Salisbury* as a guard-ship, to prevent the enemy's regaining the places he had taken. In the night several armed boats were sent before the squadron, to burn a ship and some vessels said to be filled with combustibles; an enterprize that succeeded happily, as all the former had done: and next morning Mr. *Clive* landed with his troops, and began his march towards *Calcutta*. Animated with revenge at the affecting sight of a place, the scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many of their countrymen, the ships and land forces attacked it with such spirit and undaunted resolution, that the *Indians*, unable to maintain their ground, surrendered the fort the same day it was approached. The ships had scarce suffered any-thing in their hulls or rigging; nine seamen only were killed, and twenty-one wounded; and the loss was still less considerable among the land forces, where not an officer was either killed or hurt. Four mortars, ninety-one guns of different sizes, and a considerable quantity of all kinds of ammunition, were found in the fort; and the company once more put into full possession of this settlement, that had cost the lives of so many brave men. A few days after, *Hugly*, situated higher up the *Ganges*, was reduced with as little difficulty, but greater loss^d; for here fell captain *Dugall Campbell*, an officer in the service

^c See the Gazette printed by authority, November 6, 1756.

^d Ibid. July 23, 1757.

a of the company, endued with every social and generous virtue; brave, liberal, and humane; neglected in his early years by *relations* who knew not his merit, and cut off from *friends* in the bloom of youth and career of fortune, who loved and now bewail him.—This tribute to his memory friendship and affection demand, affinity forbids more. In *Hughy* the *English* found twenty pieces of cannon, from twenty-four pounders downwards, with a quantity of ammunition. The city was soon after burnt and destroyed, together with the granaries and storehouses, which greatly distressed the Nabob, and facilitated the farther designs of Mr. Clive.

b THIS vigilant and brave officer, not contented with reinstating the company in all their settlements, had resolved to humble the pride of the Nabob; who perceiving that the torrent of Clive's valour was not to be resisted by such feeble dams as forts defended by *Indians*, drew down an army consisting of 10,000 horse and 15,000 foot. Infinitely inferior as Mr. Clive was in number, he did not hesitate to engage and even attack the Nabob. On the 2d of February the Nabob's army were seen marching towards the town, within a mile of the *English* camp; upon which Mr. Clive sent for a reinforcement to the admiral. Accordingly captain Warwick received orders from admiral Watson to take upon him the command of a detachment of 569 seamen, and immediately proceed to the camp. At two o'clock the same day he joined Mr. Clive, and found him ready to march, the men being all under arms. The king's troops and company's grenadiers were in the front; captain Warwick, with his seamen, were ordered to take charge of the artillery; and the *Sipoy*s were in the rear. At three c Mr. Clive altered his disposition, by strengthening the front, in which order he came up with the Nabob, and was soon charged in the van by the enemy's horse. Before the rear got up to the Nabob's camp, the engagement became general from hedges and bushes; upon which Mr. Clive ordered the artillery to be pointed against the thickest of the enemy's fire, and with a success that proved the wisdom of this measure. The Nabob was soon dislodged, and driven before the victorious *English*; a great slaughter was made, but not a complete victory obtained. The consequences were, however, nearly to that effect; for the Nabob was forced to sue for peace, and to grant the company the following terms:

Mr. Clive defeats the Nabob and obliges him to sue for peace.

d "1. THAT whatever rights and privileges the king has granted the *English* company in their *phirmaund*, and the *busbulboorums* sent from *Dilly*, shall not be disputed or taken from them; and the immunities therein mentioned be acknowledged and stand good. Whatever villages are given the company by the *phirmaund* shall likewise be granted, notwithstanding they have been denied by former *Subabs*; the *Zemindars* of those villages not to be put out or displaced without just cause." Signed. *The articles of the treaty.*

e "2. ALL goods passing or repassing through the country by land or water, with *English* stamps, shall be exempt from any tax, fee, or condition whatever, from *Chokeys*, *Gaalvals*, *Zemindars*, or any other officers."

"3. ALL the company's factories seized by the Nabob shall be returned. All monies, goods, and effects, belonging to the company, their servants, and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the Nabob, shall be restored. What has been plundered and pilaged by his people made good, by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable." Agreed and consented to.

"4. THAT the company have permission to fortify *Calcutta* in such manner as they may think proper, without interruption." Granted.

"5. THAT the company shall have liberty to coin *siccas*, both of gold and silver, of equal weight and fineness as those of *Muxadavad*, which shall pass in the provinces." I consent to the *English* company's coining their own imports of bullion and gold into *siccas*. Signed by the Nabob.

f "6. THAT a treaty shall be ratified by signing and sealing, and swearing to abide by the articles therein contained, not only by the Nabob, but by his principal officers and ministers."

I have sealed and signed those articles in the presence of God.

(In the Nabob's own hand.)

"7. THAT admiral *Charles Watson*, and colonel *Robert Clive*, on the part and behalf of the *English* nation, and of the company, do agree to live in a good understanding with the Nabob, to put an end to these troubles, and to be in friendship with him, while those articles are performed and observed by the Nabob."

SUCH were the terms obtained for the company by the vigorous and gallant measures of those two brave officers, who conducted every thing with a harmony and unanimity that shewed their minds congenial, ambitious of glory, and zealous in the cause and for the honour of their country.

* Gazette, September 20, 1757.

THE war was now broke out in *Europe* and *America* between *Great Britain* and *France*, after both courts had endeavoured, by a tedious negotiation, to adjust the difference and settle the pretensions of each nation in *North America*. The time limited for a cessation of arms between the two companies was likewise expired; and the flames of war began to spread themselves over every quarter of the earth. Notwithstanding the *French* in *Bengal* had treated the unfortunate remains of the deplorable tragedy at *Calcutta* with the humanity and feeling of a civilized and polite nation, yet was it believed, upon good authority, that their intrigues had greatly encouraged the Nabob in this attempt, and that they had even supplied him with ammunition and gunners to assist in the execution of his design. All obstruction having been removed on the side of the *Indians*, admiral *Watson* and colonel *Clive* resolved therefore to turn their arms against the *French*, and to attack their fort at *Chandénagore*, their principal settlement in *Bengal*. *Chandénagore* is a regular fortification: it was on this occasion defended by a numerous garrison, composed of 500 *Europeans* and 700 *Indians*, 183 pieces of cannon, many of them twenty-four pounders, three mortars, and a sufficient quantity of stores and ammunition. In this expedition Mr. *Clive* commanded 700 *Europeans* and 1600 black soldiers or *Sipoy*s. The admirals *Watson* and *Pocock* commanded the squadron, consisting only of three ships of the line and a sloop. Mr. *Clive* made himself master of all the out-posts before the admirals arrival, except one redoubt situated between the fort and the river, which mounted eight pieces of cannon of twenty-four pounders, four of which pointed to the river. Admiral *Watson* having ordered the sloop up the river, to cover the boats attending on the camp, followed with the rest of the squadron with all the expedition possible. On the 18th of *March* 1757 he anchored about two miles below *Chandénagore*, and found the *French* had done everything in their power to obstruct his passage, by sinking two ships, a ketch, a hulk, a snow, and a vessel without masts, all directly in the chanel, within gun-shot of the fort, and that they had laid two booms, moored with chains, across the river. This occasioned some delay, the admiral being forced to cut down the booms, and sound the chanel before he advanced. On the 24th he overcame all those obstructions; and the leading ship having got abreast of the redoubt, soon silenced it, and obliged the garrison to abandon it. The squadron began to play upon the walls, which was returned with great spirit for the space of three hours, while Mr. *Clive* was making his approaches, and firing from a battery on the other side. At nine in the evening the enemy hoisted a white flag; and it was agreed that the fort should be surrendered, the garrison made prisoners of war, the *Indian* inhabitants preserved in the full use of their liberties, and the *Jesuits*, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the company, to be dismissed with their cloaths, linen, and church ornaments^f. The goods and money found in the fort were considerable; but the chief advantage consisted in their having deprived the *French* of their principal settlement on the *Ganges*. All the operations were judiciously timed; the taking of four considerable forts cost those gallant officers no more than four days; a fifth day defeated the whole power of the Nabob. Such were the happy consequences of foresight, conduct, unanimity, and courage.

BEFORE the *French* were alarmed, and any attempts made on *Chandénagore*, care was taken to repossess all the posts the company had formerly held; to humble the Nabob by some effectual blow; and by a treaty to bind him up from acting against the interests of the company. This prince had shewn himself, from the moment of his signing that treaty, but little inclined to perform the articles to which he acceded. He was liberal indeed of his promises, but dilatory in the execution of them; and upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that his affections were not with the company. In fact, he waited but a proper occasion for breaking through all his engagements; and of this Mr. *Clive* was aware, but resolved to conceal his sentiments till he had reduced the *French* power in *Bengal*, which was more formidable to him, small as it was, than all the power of the Nabob. When, in conjunction with admiral *Watson*, he had accomplished this view, both these officers deliberated together, whether they ought not to re-commence hostilities with *Sulajud Dowla*, and oblige him by force to the performance of the treaty. A resolution in the affirmative had been attended with great difficulty and danger, if a most fortunate incident, improved by the address of the gentlemen of the council, and especially by Mr. *Watts*, had not helped to insure success.

The Nabob refuses to comply with the late treaty.

THE Nabob's delaying the final execution of the peace was, in effect, the same to the commerce of the province as if none had been concluded. The leading men in his court and army knew his faithless disposition; they were oppressed and discontented. He had shewn to his own subjects the same haughty and perfidious spirit which had lately broke out with such violence against the *English* company, and still continued to distress it. Some of his chiefs therefore, perceiving no probability of a solid peace in the country, while *Sulajud Dowla* held the reins of government, began first to murmur, and soon after to form a plan

^f *Id. ibid.*

- a for deposing him. *Jaffier Ali Khán*, or *Cawn*, one of his principal ministers and generals, a man of great weight and power in the province, was at the head of this conspiracy. He first communicated the design to Mr. *Watts*, the second in council at *Calcutta*, by whose letters of the 26th and 28th of *April* 1757, the council was informed of the affair. Here it was debated with all the attention and circumspection possible, it being a matter of the utmost consequence, as upon its success depended the fate of the whole commerce of *Bengal*. The Nabob's equivocal conduct, his breach of the articles of the peace he had solemnly sworn to maintain, his refusing to admit a garrison into *Cassembuzar*, and his prohibiting a pound of powder or ball to pass up the river, together with the certain intelligence the council received of his having invited M. *Buffey*, the *French* commandant in *Golkonda*, to join him,
- b with all the troops he could bring, sufficiently evinced, that the Nabob's intention was to begin hostilities, as soon as his designs were ripe for execution. It was therefore determined to enter upon the project concerted by *Jaffier Ali Khán*, to assist it by the most vigorous measures, and thereby settle the company's affairs upon a solid and lasting foundation. The council knew the capacity of Mr. *Clive*, and had all the reason in the world to confide in the conduct of an officer who had given such repeated proofs of his valour. He was ordered to take the field; the admiral undertaking to garrison *Chandernagore* with his seamen, thereby to strengthen Mr. *Clive's* little army, by reinforcing him with the former garrison. A detachment of fifty seamen with their officers was likewise added, to serve as gunners; and a twenty-gun ship stationed above *Hugly*, to preserve a communication between the army and the fleet.

A conspiracy formed against the Nabob by his own generals.

The council of Bengal determined to attack the Nabob.

- On the 19th of *June*, *Catwa* fort and town, situated on that side the river which forms the island of *Cassembuzar*, were taken by a party detached for that purpose. There the army halted for two days, expecting intelligence from *Jaffier Ali Khán*; but none arriving, Mr. *Clive* put his troops in motion on the 22d, crossed the river, and next day, with his own forces only, engaged the Nabob. *Sulajud Dowla's* army consisted of 20,000 fighting men, besides 50 *French* who directed the artillery, and exclusive of the party formed by the conspirators. The event of the battle was agreeable to the good fortune of Mr. *Clive*; it was successful, and obtained in a short time, with little loss. Fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and all the Nabob's baggage. It is probable, indeed, that victory would have been disputed with more obstinacy, had not *Sulajud Dowla* been discouraged with the treachery of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops, who were seized with a panic as soon as they had discovered the conspiracy that was set on foot. After his defeat the Nabob withdrew privately, as did *Montole* his prime minister, and *Monick Chaud* one of his generals, not having sufficient confidence in the fidelity of their troops. *Jaffier Ali Khán*, now declaring himself openly, entered *Muxadavad*, the capital of the province, with an army of his friends, and victorious allies. It had been previously concerted, that *Ali Khán*, who was born of a good family, and greatly esteemed in the province, should succeed to the Nabobship: accordingly he was invested on the 28th of *June* by Mr. *Clive*, with all the badges of authority, and received the homage of every degree of men, as *Subab* of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Baber*, and *Orixa*. On the 30th the late Nabob was made prisoner, just as Mr. *Law*, the *French* chief at *Cassembuzar*, was ready to join him with 200 *Europeans*: and on the 4th he was put to death by his successor *Jaffier Ali Khán*, who granted his allies such generous rewards and immunities as evinced how justly he merited all their assistance. Thus, in the space of about twelve days, this great revolution in the affairs of the company, and the richest kingdoms of *Asia*, was effected by a handful of men; the trade was restored, and even increased beyond what it ever had been; the *English* were strengthened by a powerful ally, whose interest it was to remain firm to his engagements; the sufferers at *Calcutta* compensated for their losses, as far as money could atone for such a calamity; the soldiers and seamen rewarded beyond their most sanguine expectations, for the zeal and courage they had exerted; and the *French* intirely driven out of *Bengal*, and all its dependencies. It may indeed be questioned, whether all the great powers of *Europe* engaged in a war, in which rivers of blood have already been spilt, and millions of treasure exhausted, will, in the conclusion, reap so much solid profit as the *English East India* company did, with no more than 2000 men, two-thirds of them *Indians*, under the conduct of Mr. *Clive*, whose martial abilities posterity will read with amazement, and which even cotemporary envy, jealousy, and malignity, are forced to admire.

Mr. Clive defeats his army.

invests Ali Cawn with the nabobship.

Sulajud Dowla taken and put to death.

The consequences of this revolution.

- But the joy of the nation, and in particular of the *India* company, was not a little damped by the death of admiral *Watson*, who fell a sacrifice to the unwholsomeness of the climate, in which he had established the reputation of a diligent, faithful, and brave officer, and a good man (D). Besides this real loss, *Vizagapatam* was besieged and soon taken by the *French*, and a garrison of 130 *Europeans*, and 200 *Sipoys*, made prisoners; notwithstanding the

Death of admiral Watson.

Loss of Vizagapatam.

(D) Vice-admiral *Watson* was buried on the 17th of *August*, his corpse being attended to the grave by all his own officers, who lamented him as a father, and the inhabitants of the place, who have erected a handsome monument to his memory.

governor made all the defence which became a faithful servant of the company, but unskilled in the art of war.

THE following is a translation of the treaty executed with *Jaffier Ali Khán Bahadr*, written and signed by his own hand.

Treaty with the Nabob.

“ IN the presence of GOD and his prophet, I swear to abide by the terms of this agreement made with admiral *Watson*, colonel *Clive*, governor *Drake*, Mr. *Watts*, and the *English* council at *Calcutta*.”

Signed, MEER MAHMUD JAFFIER KHAN BAHADR,
The slave of ALLAM GEER MOGOL.

- “ 1. THE agreement and treaty made with Nabob *Sulajud Dowla* I agree to and admit of.
- “ 2. THE enemies of the *English* are my enemies, whether *Europeans* or others.
- “ 3. WHATEVER goods and factories belonged to the *French* in the provinces of *Bengal*, *Baber*, or *Orixa*, shall be delivered to the *English*; and the *French* never be permitted to have factories or settlements any more in these provinces.
- “ 4. To indemnify the company for their losses by the capture of *Calcutta*, and the charges they have been at to repossess their factories, I will give one *crore* of *rupees* (E).
- “ 5. To indemnify the *English* inhabitants who suffered by the capture of *Calcutta*, I will give fifty *lack* of *rupees*.
- “ 6. To indemnify the loss suffered by *Jentoos*, *Moormen*, &c. I will give twenty *lack* of *rupees*.
- “ To the inhabitants, the *Armenian Peotts* of *Calcutta*, who suffered by the capture of *Calcutta*, I will give seven *lack* of *rupees*. The division of these donations to be left to the admiral, the colonel, and the committee.
- “ 8. THE lands within the *Maharatta* ditch, all round *Calcutta*, which are now possessed by the other *Zemindars*, and 600 yards all round without the ditch, I will give up intirely to the company.
- “ 9. The *Zemindary* of the lands to the south of *Calcutta*, as low as *Culpee*, shall be in the hands of the company, and under their orders and government; the customary rents of every district within that tract to be paid by the *English* into the king's treasury.
- “ 10. WHENEVER I send for the assistance of the *English* troops, their pay and charges shall be disbursed by me.
- “ 11. FROM *Hugly* downwards I shall build no new forts near the river.
- “ 12. As soon as I am established *Subab* of the three provinces, I will immediately perform the above articles. Dated the 15th of the moon *Ramazan*, in the 4th year of the present reign.”

FROM the last article it is obvious, that the treaty was signed and sealed before Mr. *Clive* put his troops in motion, or the council took any steps to forward the designs of *Ali Khán* in deposing the Nabob. Beside the sums stipulated by treaty, the new Nabob presented the fleet and army with fifty *lack* of *rupees*^b, a sum that, with the plunder of the Nabob's camp, has put the meanest seaman and soldier in a state of affluence. As to the late loss of *Fort St. David*, and the engagement between the *English* Squadron under admiral *Pocock* and the *French* fleet, the public accounts are too unsatisfactory to merit a place in history.

THUS the reader has seen the foundation and origin of the *East India* company and commerce under queen *Elizabeth*; its progress, in consequence of the regulations made, and privileges granted by her successors; the vicissitudes of fortune their affairs have passed through, whether from their enemies the *Indians*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, or *French*; or from the negligence, avarice, pride, and misconduct of their governors and servants abroad; or whether from the still more pernicious practices of ministerial craft, by which prodigious sums have been drawn from them for privileges which are ever precarious: he has seen their flourishing state, from the time that their own consequence, and the services done the government, brought the whole body of the legislature to be their patrons and protectors: he has, lastly, had a view of their losses, chiefly owing to their own indolence and parsimony, as well as to the dilatory measures of the administration.

AFTER the restitution of *Madras* at the general peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, their affairs flourished extremely, till the late unhappy affair in *Bengal*, the particulars of which we have just recited. We have been credibly informed, that after admiral *Watson* and Mr. *Clive*

^a Gazette, February 14, 1758.

^b Id. *ibid*.

(E) One *crore* is an hundred *lack*, each *lack* making 12,500*l*. sterling.

- a had destroyed *Angria*, and previous to the loss of *Calcutta*, the company shared 10 *per cent.* on their capital; nor is there any reason to imagine that their profits have been diminished since, if we consider the glorious success that has ever attended the arms of the fortunate and brave *Clive*; what effect the late losses in *India* may have had on the *actions* of the company, it is not our intention to relate. In the war, terminated by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the loss of *Madras* was more than compensated to the company by the ruin of the *French* marine, and the total stagnation of their *India* trade for the three last years of the war. If the enemy were successful in their attempts upon our head settlement, and in the defence of their own, still their trade gained little by either. The profits of the former went into the pockets of an individual; and the advantages of the latter consisted in the mere
- b preservation of a town, at that time of no utility to commerce; since the whole shipping of the company was employed in military affairs. In short, from the time that Mr. *Barnet* took the *Chinamen*, in the *Streights of Banca*, we believe not more than three or four ships returned into *Europe*, or sailed into *Asia*, on the business of commerce, during the last war. What-
 ever superiority they might seemingly maintain on the coast of *Coromandel*, it is evident, from the *actions* of the company, that their stock was extremely reduced, and their commerce at the last gasp. Another year's continuance of the war would, in all probability, have made the company bankrupt; and in fact it was little less, since the obstruction to supplies, and remittances from *Europe*, had put a total stop to their credit in *India*. All these circumstances were so many acquisitions to the *English* company, who continued to send out
- c fleets as usual, during the whole course of the war. The markets were intirely open to them; no rivalry, no anticipation there, to oblige them to buy at a great price. In short, it is not to be doubted, but under the protection of the king's squadrons, they might have flourished more in a war than in peace, and have made dividends on their profits, which would astonish all the merchants in *Europe*.

*The bad state
of the French
trade.*

- d HAVING now deduced the history of the *East India* company from their origin to the present times, in a manner more connected, full, and explicit, than, we believe, has ever been attempted, we shall proceed to lay before the reader an account of the possessions and settlements belonging to this wealthy body. In the mean time we must beg, that if some part of the preceding narrative appear tedious, the reader will excuse it, by reason of our desire of being complete. If many of the occurrences are languid, yet they are necessary, though incapable of historical embellishment. The history of trade requires a minuteness, a recital of many civil transactions, which would appear superfluous in the general history of a nation. In the present instance, the *India* company is a body separate and distinct, in some respects, from the people; yet in its effects, in its prosperity and adversity, strictly connected with the public good. It is therefore little capable of being placed in a striking view: if we have rendered it useful, we shall think we have sufficiently fulfilled our engagements, and merited the applause of every one who reads rather for instruction than amusement.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing a description of all the company's settlements; the nature of the trade of each; the goods exported and imported; the salaries of the governors and other servants; the manners, laws, and religion of the natives; the coins, measures, duties, and customs used or paid by the company; with several other particulars.

- e **T**O begin with the settlements of the *East India* company: the first in order is *Mocha*,
 a city seated at the entrance of the *Red Sea*, latitude 13 deg. 11 min. north. This
 place, from an inconsiderable fishing town, hardly known, is become, in less than two cen-
 turies, a flourishing city, and the emporium for the trade of all *India* to the *Red Sea*. The
 trade was removed hither from *Adan*, in consequence of the prophecy of a Sheykh, much
 revered by the people. This man, it is said, foretold that it would soon become a place
 of extensive commerce, notwithstanding some disadvantages in point of situation. Be this
 as it will, certain it is, that trade flourishes. *Mocha* stands close to the sea, in a large, dry,
 and sandy plain, that affords no good water within twenty miles of the city. What they
 drink comes from *Mofa*, and costs as dear as small beer in *England*. The water nearer the
 f town, it is imagined, produces a worm which naturalists call *Dracunculus*. It gene-
 rally breeds in the fleshy and muscular parts of the body, appearing commonly in the
 thighs and legs, accompanied with an extreme inflammation and acute pain. The method
 of cure among the natives is, by laying hold of it as soon as it appears on the surface of
 the skin, with small scissars or pincers, and pulling it gently out, about an inch in twenty-

*Description of
the city of
Mocha.*

four hours. They then roll it about a wire, hen's quill, or something of that nature, and extract it with the utmost caution, the consequence being dangerous if any part remains in the body. This animal is extremely active and lively, greatly resembling a fine violin string, and about two feet and a half long. We have lately seen one in the custody of a celebrated naturalist of our own country, corresponding to captain *Hamilton's* account, and, indeed, to that of the celebrated *Linnaeus*.

To proceed; *Mocha* is large, but meanly fortified. The buildings are lofty, and tolerably regular, having a pleasant aspect from *Mecca*. The steeples of several mosques raise their heads into the clouds, and present themselves to view at a great distance. Their markets are well stored with beef, mutton, lamb, kid, camel and antelope's flesh, common fowls, *Guiney* hens, partridge, and pigeon. The sea affords plenty of fish, but not savoury; which some think proceeds from the extreme saltiness of the water, and the nature of their aliment. Fruit, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, quinces, and nectarines, the markets are stocked with; although near the town not a shrub is to be seen, nor a tree, except a few date trees. Frequently no rain is known here for two or three years, and seldom more than a shower or two in a year. In the mountains, indeed, at the distance of twenty miles from *Mocha*, the earth is watered by a gentle shower every morning, which makes the vallies prolific in corn and the fruits natural to the climate.

THE religion of the country and city is *Mohammedism*, in which they are rigidly superstitious, though their practice is hardly reconcileable with any religion; and, indeed, hypocrisy seems the most distinguishing part of the character of an *Arabian* at *Mocha*. Their promises, which they seldom keep, are made with the most solemn invocations on God; and the judge pronounces a grave devout lecture against corruption, at the very time when his arm is extended to receive a bribe. Robbing, thieving, and piracy, are vices no less fashionable here, than are fornication, adultery, and drinking, in some cities in *Europe*; and yet, from the gravity of the people, you would imagine the integrity of a *Cato* lodged in every breast.

THE *English* and *Dutch* companies have handsome houses, but without the grandeur and state they maintain in some others of their settlements. The *English* are much caressed, and carry on an infinite trade for coffee, olibanum, myrrh, aloes, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, gum arabic, mummy, balm of gilead, and other drugs. One inconvenience, however, they sustain from the violence and exaction of the *Arabian* princes; for the king's customs are easy, being fixed at three *per cent.* to *Europeans*.

As to the coins at *Mocha*, the most current is the camassie, which rises or falls in value at the banker's discretion. They are from fifty to eighty for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary species, being always reckoned twenty-one and a half *per cent.* lower than *Spanish* dollars. As to their weights, they are almost infinite, according to the nature of the thing to be weighed. They have the *Banian* weight, the *Magiet*, the *Ambergrise*, the *Agala*, the gold and silver weights, &c. &c. *

Description of
Gombroon.

GOMBROON, or, as the natives call it, *Bander Abassi*, or the sea-port of *Abassi*, is the next settlement. This city, lying in the latitude of 27 deg. 40 min. north, owes its wealth and grandeur to the demolition of *Ormuz*, and the downfall of the *Portuguese* empire in the *East Indies*. It is now justly accounted one of the greatest marts in the east, was built by the great Shah *Abbas*, and from him, as some think, obtained the name *Bander Abassi*, which signifies the court of *Abbas*. We shall leave the reader to determine which of these etymons is the most natural. It stands on a bay, about four leagues to the northward of the east end of the island of *Kishmish*, and three leagues from the famous *Ormuz*. We are told that it had formerly been a fishing town, and of no consequence, till Shah *Abbas* began to build there (A). The *English* began to settle here about the year 1613, when, in consideration of their services against the *Portuguese*, Shah *Abbas* granted them half the customs of that port. This was confirmed by a phirmaund, and duly regarded, till the *English* began to neglect the services they had stipulated, upon which it dwindled to a thousand tomans a year, 3,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which was likewise ill paid, if it be true that the company has any emolument at all from the customs. The situation is bad, wanting almost every thing that contributes to the happiness, and even the support, of life. The city is large, and encompassed by a wall towards the land, which is ruined in several places through neglect. Against the sea are three small forts of five guns each, a platform of eight, and a castle, or citadel,

* HAMILTON, p. 143.

(A) Captain *Hamilton* says, that it had the name of *Gombroon*, or *Comerong*, by way of derision, from the *Portuguese*, because it was remarkable for the number of prawns and shrimps caught on its coasts. This species of shell-fish they call *Comerong* (1).

(1) Vol. i. p. 143.

mounting

- a mounting thirty-five heavy cannon, to secure it and the road from the attempts of an enemy by sea. The houses in most of the streets are so out of repair, some half down, others in a heap of rubbish, that a stranger would imagine the town had been sacked and ravaged by a barbarous people; not a vestige of the wealth really contained in the place appearing in view. The bazars and shops round are for the most part kept by *Banians*, whose houses are generally in good order. When the *Banians* are asked why the *Persians* are so negligent in repairing the buildings erected at a great expence by their ancestors, their common answer is, "For the vanity of building new ones themselves." In the walls of the best houses stone is used, but the common method of building is with earth and lime. Many of them have a contrivance at the top for making a draught of air through the whole
- b house, which, in effect, resembles a ventilator, but is itself a wooden machine of a conical form. These they call wind chimnies, which add not only to the elegance of the houses, but to the conveniency of living, as well as to health, in the intensely hot seasons of the year.

THE most sickly months of this unhealthy situation are *April* and *May*, towards the close of the vernal equinox; *September* and *October* in the autumnal. In fish and mutton the inhabitants are well supplied. Rice is imported from *India*, and wheat so plenty, that the poor chiefly subsist on bread and dates: as for pilloe it is a dish fashionable only among the better sort. This part of *Persia* abounds in the most delicious fruits. Apricots, peaches, pomegranates, pears, mangoes, grapes, guavas, plumbs, sweet quinces, water-melons, are

c here in the utmost profusion and perfection. The apricots, however, are small, and extremely dangerous if eaten to excess, for which reason the *Persians* call them *Kill Franks*; because *Europeans*, not knowing the danger, are often destroyed by them.

BUT the fruit most peculiar to this country and to *Arabia*, is the date. This tree grows much in the manner of the cocoa-nut tree, only the branches are shorter. The fruit hangs on small twigs, thick about the top of the tree under the boughs; and, when ripe, is esteemed there a delicious and wholesome diet. It is deemed fit for use when it begins to melt on the tree; but the dates intended for sale are plucked sooner, and laid wet in a heap, afterwards packed in bales of 100 pounds weight, their own juice candying and preserving them.

- d THESE conveniencies are more than over-balanced by the scarcity of *French* water, with which the inhabitants are supplied from *Afteen*^b (B), a place seven miles distance, there not being one spring or well in the town. Persons of distinction keep a camel in constant employment in bringing fresh and wholesome water. Captain *Hamilton* gives it as his opinion, that one cause of the unwholsomeness of this city is the reflection of the rays of light from a high mountain north of it. His expression is, That when the beams are reflected from this mountain, they almost fire the air; and, for two or three months in the year, render the situation intolerable. For this reason the people of condition retire into the country, to pass the heats of *June*, *July*, and *August*. The very sea, during this season, is affected; inasmuch that the stench is no less disagreeable than that of putrid carcases; and
- e this is increased by the quantities of shell-fish left by the surges on the shore, from which an exhalation arises that tarnishes gold and silver, and less tolerable than the bilge-water of a tight ship.

- ABOUT ten miles from *Afteen*, at the foot of the above mountain, is a place called *Minoa*, where are cold and hot natural baths, reckoned infallible in the cure of all scrophulous disorders, rheumatisms, and other diseases, by bathing. As they are rough and powerful emeticks if drank in the smallest quantity, their use in this respect is neglected. At *Afteen* the *English* factory have a country house and gardens, to which they retire occasionally. Here they have raised a number of fine *Seville* orange trees, which, though not natural to the country, arrive to the highest perfection. These trees, of which they have whole groves,
- f are always verdant, bearing ripe and green fruit, with blossoms, all at the same time. They have likewise *Tanks* and ponds of fine fresh water, with every thing else that can moderate the heat of the climate, and render life agreeable and elegant.

To return to the city of *Gombroon*: it is extremely populous, on account of the prodigious commerce carried on by the *Dutch* and *English* factories, as well as the natives. The *French* formerly had a trade here; but they were forced to withdraw their servants upon a revolution that happened in the company's affairs. The *English* factory is situated close upon the sea, at some distance from the *Dutch*, which is a commodious and fine new building. A great part of the company's profit arises from freights. As the natives have not one good ship of their own, and are extremely ignorant of navigation, they freight their goods for

^b LOCKYER, ch. 8. HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 9.

(B) Captain *Hamilton* says, that this place is fifteen miles distant from *Gombroon*; but Mr. *Lockyer* affirms it to be only seven, and with him agree the best geographers.

Surat and other *Indian* marts, in *English* and *Dutch* bottoms, at an exorbitant rate. The commodities of the *Gombroon* market are fine wines of different kinds, raisins, almonds, kismishes, prunellas, dates, pistachio nuts, ginger, silks, carpets, leather, lapis turty, galbanum, ammoniac, assa foetida, tragacanth, with other gums, and a variety of shop medicines. These are in a great measure the produce of *Carmania*, which they bring to *Gombroon* in caravans. The *English* company had a small factory in the province of *Carmania*, chiefly for the sake of a fine wool used by the hatters. Not long since the company had a project of carrying a breed of the goats to *St. Helena*, but what success it has met with we are no-where told. The fleeces of these animals are thick, long, and soft, of a reddish hue, and silky smoothness.

ALTHOUGH the *English* pay no customs, yet the *Shabander* keeps an officer at the factory, who examines every thing brought on shore, and delivered to the merchants, who usually make him a present, to avoid the trouble he has it in his power to give them. All private traders with the company's passes enjoy the same privileges, on paying 2 per cent. to the company, one to the agent and one to the broker.

WHEN a ship arrives, the *Shabander* sends his boat on board to know whence she came, what her cargo, and to whom she belongs. Were the *Shabander* applied to, in order to waive the company's privileges, he would hardly fail to extort 8 per cent. on the whole cargo, as is evident from his conduct to the interlopers, during the quarrels between the two companies (C). Hence it is, that most people would chuse to trade under the company's protection, notwithstanding some inconveniencies attend it. All private trade, either by *European* or country ships, has so long been engrossed by the company's servants, that they now look upon it as their right, and upon their own terms. The agent at *Isfahan* is one-third concerned, the chief of *Gombroon* one-third, and the rest of the factors in *Persia* the remaining third, in all investments. Hence it is, that scarcely an *Englishman* in

(C) We find the following state of the company's privileges in Mr. *Lockyer's* account of the *India* trade. This gentleman wrote in 1711, since which time no material change in this particular has happened. It is collected from an order hung up in the consultation room, by the agent and council. "The honourable Sir *Nicholas Waite*, general of *India*, &c. council of *Bombay*, having been pleased to appoint us agent and council to manage in *Persia* the affairs of the honourable *East India* company; we do, by virtue of the power given us, and the authority of our honourable masters, represented by us, appoint and order the following rules to be observed by all persons whatsoever, subjects of *Great Britain*, trading under the privileges of the *East India* company, and enjoying the advantage of their house and protection here in *Gombroon*, until they shall be altered or otherwise determined by the honourable company, or their general and council at *Bombay*.

I. "That if any person in the service of the honourable company, shall bring any goods into their house, or ashore to any other place belonging to *Armenians*, or any other natives of this country, or foreigners, under colour of his name to defraud the king of *Persia* of his customs, he shall be forthwith discharged their service, and sent to *Bombay*; there being nothing of more dangerous consequence, nor more likely to occasion the loss of the company's privileges, which, for so many years, and with vast expence, they have been obtaining, than such a practice. And if any commanders of ships, in the service of the company, or private ships trading thither, or any persons by their leave and connivance, shall permit any goods to be run or brought any-where else than to the custom-house, we declare we will protest against them for all damages that may thereby accrue to the company; and we will represent any such attempts to the general and council at *Bombay*, with as much severity as we can, and as the fatal consequences of such ruinous actions deserve.

II. "That as the duties the company require to be paid here on goods exceed not a fifth part of what is paid to the *Shabander*, so we require that when private *English* shipping come to *Persia*, to trade and merchandize that they bring into the company's

"house in *Gombroon*, and into no other part of *Persia*, their goods, where they must necessarily pay customs, which, by so ill an example, may occasion the company to fall under the same misfortune. In such a case they cannot but be esteemed by the general at *Bombay*, the governors of forts, the president in *India*, and us here, as open enemies to the *British* trade, and will be proceeded against by the company with all the rigour their charter will admit of, and to the full extent of the act for the exclusive trade of *India* to the company. And if any goods belonging to the *English* shall not first be brought to the factory, we will seize the same, and transmit them to *Bombay*, to be there condemned as unlicensed and forfeited goods.

III. "The consulage hitherto taken by the agents on private goods brought to the factory, being 2 per cent. we in like manner continue the same, and the 1 per cent. granted by them to their agent, on goods not consigned to him. And he is to be chief in the sale of all cargoes, if on the place, or, in his absence, the chief of *Gombroon*; which 3 per cent. is but one-fifth of 15 per cent. which goods at the custom-house usually pay before they are cleared, by over-valuing presents to the officers.

IV. "If any one load goods on board any of the company's ships without first acquainting the agent, or, in his absence, the chief, therewith, the said goods are, by the company's charter, obliged to pay 40 l. sterl. per ton freight; besides what other penalties the general and council of *Bombay* shall think fit to impose. These matters we have thought fit to make public, that no person hereafter may be ignorant of the same.

"Given under our hands at *Gombroon*, &c.

"Signed,

"*J. Locke*,

"*Will. Lee*,

"*J. Rawlins*,

"and

"*Ed Dennis*" (1).

By this privilege of exacting freight and customs from the *British* private traders the company raises yearly a very considerable revenue.

(1) *Lockyer*, p. 224.

a the plate will give a true account of the value of the goods against his own interest ; yet, that every thing may seem to be done for the benefit of the stranger, the *Cbittera*, or broker, acquaints the *Armenian* and *Banian* merchants of what is to be disposed of, and fixes a time for a number of them to meet at the factory. The chief presides as director of the sale ; they beat down the price, or let the goods remain, although they can and do often sell them the next day at 30 *per cent.* profit. By this collusion the poor trader is bubbled, and the whole profits flow into the pockets of *English* presidents, agents, brokers, and *Banian* or *Armenian* merchants. Another sensible disadvantage to the private trader is in the advance the broker usually puts on the money he pays. If payment is made in *Abasseees*, he will sometimes charge 10 *per cent.* for the difference in exchange. There is b always some allowance, but the honest broker seldom fails of having two *per cent.* more than the current price. It is true this is never done by the authority of the company, nor is it countenanced by them ; it is only a tax which the avarice, the poverty, and the insolence, of some chiefs impose on the industrious and fair trader.

TILL of late years the northern provinces of *Persia*, and most of the grand signor's dominions, were supplied with *English* cloths by the *Turkey* company. Since then, the *East India* company, having taken this branch of trade into consideration, sent large quantities of woollen manufactures round the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Gombroon*, and so by caravans to the respective marts. Some years ago they were very earnest and intent on the exportation of this article ; if they continue it, the advantage will be general, and obviate, in a great c measure, the clamours we every day hear against this monopoly.

AT *Gombroon* all bargains are driven for *Shabeees*, and the company keep their accounts in this imaginary coin (for hardly such a piece of money is to be met with), which is valued at four pence. Payments are made in *Coz*, *Mamoodas*, &c. which are the current coin of the country ; but horses, camels, houses, &c. are commonly sold or bought by the *Toman*, which is 200 *Shabeees*, or 50 *Abasseees*. This is the usual way of rating estates, effects, and a man's wealth ; such a man is worth so many *Tomans*, as in *England* we say he is worth so many pounds. Their great weights are *Maunds*, which differ according to the nature of the commodity to be weighed. Sugar, copper, and all sorts of drugs are sold by the *Maund Tabrees*, which, in the custom-house and factory is esteemed at six pounds and three quarters avoirdupois ; but in the *Bazar*, reckoned at no more than six pounds and a quarter. d Eatables, and all sorts of fruits and vegetables, are sold by the *Maund Copara*, of seven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from seven and a quarter to seven and a half in the *Bazar*. Fine goods, as gold, silver, musk, *Acben* camphire, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves, and cinnamon oil, with dyed *Cbina* silks, or painted sattins, are sold by the *Miscal*, six of which are estimated at an ounce avoirdupois. Its just weight is 2 dwts. 23 gr. 24 d. ps. troy. The *Maund Shaw* is two *Maund Tabrees*, used in *Ispahan* (D). To conclude our account of this city, one great part of the company's profit here arises from passengers with the freight of their effects. They rarely dispatch a ship from *Gombroon* but she is filled with passengers, deep laden with goods, with immense quantities of pearls e and treasure on board, sometimes to the value of 300,000 *l.* Upon all these the freight is prodigious, and often rated by the value of the cargo. Although the company has regu-

(D) The following table of coins and weights in use at *Gombroon*, will not be disagreeable to the curious reader.

10 <i>Coz</i> , or <i>Pice</i> , a copper coin,	—	—	—	1 <i>Shabee</i> .
2 <i>Shabeees</i>	—	—	—	1 <i>Mamooda</i> .
2 <i>Shabeees</i> and 5 <i>Coz</i> ,	—	—	—	1 <i>Laree</i> .
2 <i>Mamoodas</i> ,	—	—	—	1 <i>Abassee</i> .
4 <i>Mamoodas</i> , or 2 <i>Abasseees</i> ,	—	—	—	1 <i>Surat Rupee</i> .

The *Shabee*, in the company's accounts, is valued at 4 *d.* sterl. The *Saree* is used about *Ispahan* ; but *Abasseees* are not to be got without allowing 7 and sometimes 8 *per cent.* for the difference of exchange. Yet returns to *Fort St. George*, and other ports of *India*, are commonly made in them. Next to these, *Chequeens* are the most profitable. Of these there are several kinds, of which the *Venetian* are the best by near 2 *per cent.* at *Surat*, and other *Indian* ports. When a parcel of *Venetian* ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the name of *Chequeens* ; but when separate, one sort is called *Venetian*, and all the rest indifferently by the name of *Gubbas*. As the *Surat Rupees* are overvalued, they seldom pass, few caring to take them at the fixed price (1).

(1) *Lockyer*, p. 242.

WEIGHTS.

1 <i>Maund Tabrees</i>	—	—	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	} <i>English l. b.</i> in the factory.
1 <i>Bazar Maund Tabrees</i> ,	—	—	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	
1 <i>Maund Copara</i> ,	—	—	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	
1 <i>Bazar Maund Copara</i> ,	—	—	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	
1 <i>Maund Shaw</i> ,	—	—	—	2 <i>Maund Tabrees</i> .		
1 <i>Miscal</i> , 2 dwt. 23 gr. 24 decim. pts.	about one-sixth of an ounce avoirdupois.					

Charges on the port to those who trade under the company's protection.

- 2 *Per cent.* on the sale of goods to the company.
- 1 *Per cent.* consulage to the agent.
- 1 *Per cent.* to the broker.
- 30 *Mamoodas* per 2000 *Maund Tabrees*, for a boat, or *Trankey*, hired for landing goods.
- 1 *Coz* of every 20 *Maund Tabrees* for *Hamalage*, or *Cooly*, hire at weighing.
- 10 Bottles make a chest of wine, each containing five quarts ; or two *Carboys* and two bottles to a chest, each *Carboy* holding five gallons.

Rose water, which is a great commodity at *Gombroon*, is also sold by the chest, twenty-four bottles making a chest. But the sizes of the bottles greatly differ, so that the measure has no certain standard (2).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 247.

lated the price of a passage from *Gombroon* to *Surat*; yet the captain of the ship makes a valuable perquisite of it, raising his price according to the disposition and wealth of the passenger. Some gross enormities and grievous extortions have been committed in this manner.

Description of
the town and
English settle-
ment of Surat.

THE next sea-port where the company have a factory is *Surat*. It is situate in 21 deg. and a half north latitude, on the banks of the river *Tapee*, and was built in the year 1660. It is the chief trading town in the *Mogul's* dominions, people of all nations generally residing under the protection of the government. Soon after the *English* settled there, they removed about two miles farther down the river, on account of some inconveniencies in the former situation. In a little time after, others followed their example; so that in a short space, the spot they had chosen for their residence became a large town. After *Rajah Savajee*, who never submitted to the *Mogul's* authority, had taken and ravaged it, the *European* factories excepted, the inhabitants petitioned *Aurengzeb* to be secured by a wall round their town. Their request was granted, and the city was inclosed with a wall four miles in compass. As trade increased, the people became too numerous for so small a space; to remedy which inconvenience, several large suburbs were added, for the convenience of mechanics. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards in height, with round bastions 200 paces distant from each other, with five or six cannon mounted on each.

Its flourishing trade was first disturbed by the governor of *Bombay*, an. 1686, the particulars of which we have related. In the year 1695 its trade and tranquility were a second time disturbed by captain *Avery*, a pirate. In 1705, when *Aurengzeb* was in his dotage, the neighbouring *Rajahs*, with united forces, besieged *Surat* with 80,000 horse, plundering all the villages in its vicinity. This army being unprovided with artillery, could make no impression on the city, though it extremely straitened it, till this inconvenience was removed by getting provisions by sea from *Guzarat*. While this rabble lay before it, the citizens, under the direction of the *Europeans*, built sconces in convenient places, about half a mile from the walls, to protect the suburbs, which they effectually did, as they were mounted with cannon. In process of time, a high wall between each scone was drawn, by which means the whole suburbs are encompassed. All this inclosure is extremely populous, the inhabitants being computed at 200,000 souls, among which are several merchants of prodigious wealth (F).

THE trade of *Surat* is still very considerable, as appears from the customs and land-rents, amounting to 1,300,000 rupees, or 162,500*l*. In *Surat* are a variety of different religions. That by law established is the *Mohammedan*, of *Hali's* sect, the professors of which are called *Moors*. There is one particular sect called *Musey*, who believe both in the *Old Testament* and *Alkoran*, who pay an equal regard to the law of *Moses* and of *Mohammed*. Another sect whom they call *Molacks*, is pretty numerous, and stigmatized with the name of *Heretic* by all the other religions, on account of some detestable rites among them. On an annual festival, the time of celebration only known to themselves, after a great deal of mirth, men and women retire promiscuously into a dark apartment. The women take each a handkerchief, or some token by which they may again be known, before they adjourn to solemnize this rite. Here fathers, daughters, mothers, sons, brothers and sisters, and all without distinction, carefs on mats and carpets spread for the purpose; the women leave their handkerchiefs with persons whom accident has joined to them, and retire from the incestuous embrace. *Aurengzeb* made the solemnization of this festival a capital crime, yet was it never discontinued; and to this day it is practised among the *Molacks*.

OF all the religions in *Surat*, that of the *Banians* is the most numerous. They almost all are merchants, bankers, brokers, accomptants, collectors, or surveyors; few or none are bred to mechanical or mean employments, unless we except taylors and barbers. Those who embrace this religion have a variety of sub-distinctions, some reckoning about eighty-five different sects, where the chief articles of belief are the same, and the difference arising only from some ceremonies. The *Brakmans*, or *Bramanies*, are the priests of the greater part of these sects. Another set of priests there is that declaim against the polity of the former. They are called *Talapoins*, and recommend virtue and innocence as the

(E) Of this captain *Hamilton* relates a very striking instance, of a *Mohammedan* merchant he was acquainted with. This man, called *Abdel Gaffour*, drove a trade equal to the *English East India* company. Captain *Hamilton* has known him fit out in one year a fleet of twenty sail, from 300 to 800 tons burthen. None of those had a cargo worth less than 10,000*l*. and the greater num-

ber were valued at 25,000*l*. sterling. This was the stock he exported; what then must his returns have been? His wealth may be judged by this, that, at his death, his estate was divided among four grandsons. Each was wealthy to an extreme; and yet the *Mogul's* court had seized above a million sterling of his effects (1).

(1) *Hamilton's History of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 149.

- a best guides to felicity. A third set called *Jougies* are in great esteem, though less followed than either of the others, on account of the many austerities and mortifications they practise. The *Jougies* condemn riches; they go almost naked, delighting in nastiness, and holy but beastly obscenity, with great shew of sanctity. Some of their austerities exceed belief to those who have not been eye-witnesses of them. Some stand for years on one foot, with their arms tied to the beam of a house or branch of a tree. By this their arms soon lose all motion and use, and often remain so for the remainder of their lives. Others will sit in the sunshine with their faces looking upwards, till they become incapable of altering the posture of their heads, their necks swelling to the breadth of their shoulders. Captain *Hamilton* relates, that he saw a woman in *Surat*, about thirty years of age, who had
- b made a vow to abstain from all food for three months^c. The governor, who was a zealous *Mohammedan*, ordered her to be confined in a dark prison, with no other nourishment than water. Before she had remained eighty days in those circumstances, captain *Hamilton*, and several *Europeans* with him, procured admittance to see her. They found her in health and spirits, but low, and her pulse weak. The keepers declared that she had no kind of sustenance but water, nor did she crave for any; and she herself told them that she had once before done the same kind of penance for sixty days. Certain it is, whatever credit we may give to particular relations, that some very extraordinary things are performed by those religious.

- c THE *Persees* are numerous in *Surat* and the adjacent country. They are a remnant of the antient *Persians*, who preferred banishment to changing their religion. About the seventh century, when the *Mohammedan* religion over-ran *Persia*, persecution prevailed, and 500 families were sent to sea in ships and boats, without compass or pilot. This miserable exiled crew, steering eastward, in the south-west monsoons, from *Jasques*, in twenty days fell in with the coast of *India*. As it was night, they were directed to the shore by a fire near the sea-side, by which the fleet steering, accidentally put into the river of *Narsaree*, seven leagues south of *Surat*. When they came on shore the charitable *Indians* flocked round them. Among the *Persians* there were some who spoke the *Indian* language; these related the melancholy tale, and the circumstances which had driven them in necessity upon the *Indian* coasts. Their story was heard with humanity, and they were generously invited
- d to settle about *Surat*, at least the place where this city was afterwards founded. The hospitable *Indians* gave them lands to cultivate, and seed to sow their grounds, upon the same conditions and tenure they enjoyed their own farms. They soon multiplied, and have since greatly increased, but without the smallest alteration in their religion. As a particular account of this sect will be found in its proper place in this history, it will be unnecessary to dwell upon it here.

- e ABOUT *Surat* the fields are all plain, the ground extremely fertile towards the country, but sandy and barren along the coast. Here they have good beef, mutton, and fowls, daily exposed in their markets, reasonably cheap. Beef with the bones is sold at three farthings a pound; without them, at a penny. Mutton is dearer, but still cheap in comparison of what this country affords; and their best fowls are sold at six pence and seven pence. Fish, wild fowl, and hare, are more than proportionably cheaper. The country affords abundance of wheat, pease, and beans, but no oats or barley. Here there is a species of legumen called *Dole*, which the natives mix with rice. These they boil together, and form a dish to which they give the name of *Kitcheree*, the common food of the country. They eat it with butter and salt-fish, and it is a pleasant nourishing diet, of which the great *Aurengzeb* was particularly fond. In short, no conveniency in life is wanting in this pleasant country and city.

- f THE *Mogul* has always a governor and garrison in a large fort adjoining to the town, and that commands the river. The *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, have their factories here; but the *Moors*, *Banians*, *Armenians*, *Arabs*, and *Jews*, drive a much greater trade than the *Europeans*, although they chiefly use the shipping of the latter in long voyages. Both the *English* companies, before they were united, had houses in *Surat*, of which they are still in possession. The lower servants live in the old house, and the president and council in the new. Both the *English* and *Dutch* directors or agents make a good figure at *Surat*; this appearance of consequence and splendor being unavoidable in the eastern countries, where any degree of reputation must be kept up (F).

ALL

^c HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 14.

(F) Some years ago the order and œconomy of the store-keeper, and purser-marine formed the council. *English* factory was this. A president, accomptant, These had a secretary, who succeeded in council on a vacancy

ALL the *English* pay three and a half *per cent.* on merchandize, jewels, gold, and silver, they import or send abroad; whereas the *Dutch* pay but two and a half *per cent.* Here is no book of rates, as in *China*, every thing without distinction being charged *ad valorem*. The custom-house is the most scrupulous and strict in their searches and examinations of any in *India*. *Surat* may be looked upon as the repository of all the valuable rarities, and jewels and precious stones, of the coasts of *Africa*, *Malabar*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Indostan*. The *Bazar* is continually replete with *Cambay* stones, as agates and cornelians, from a *pice*, or *corge*, to a *rupee* each. The streets on both sides are crowded with rich shops, resembling one of our richest towns. Their artists shew great genius in many branches, particularly in turning and working in ivory, a staple commodity among them, which they polish with infinite beauty and dexterity. Vast quantities of elephants teeth are yearly imported from the coasts of *Africa* and other parts; they are manufactured chiefly at *Surat*; and one would be amazed to think what a consumption of this elegant production there is within the *Mogul's* dominions.

THE current coins of *Surat* are *rupees* and *pice*; yet in accounts they reckon by *rupees*, *anas*, and *pice*: thus, sixteen *pice* make an *ana*, four *anas* one *rupee*. *Venetians* and *gubbers* have no fixed standard of value. As to the weights used at *Surat*, they are different in buying and selling, and adapted to different sorts of goods. *Bezoar* is sold by the *tola*, almost eight penny-weights troy, which is divided into thirty-two *vols*: diamond bolt they sell by the *ruttee*, of seventeen grains and a half: musk by the *seer*: and bulky commodities by the *maund*, and *Candy Beroch*. They commonly reckon forty *seer* to a *maund*, and twenty *maund* to a *Candy Beroch*. Pepper, assa foetida, dry ginger, benjamin, tyncal, and saltpetre, have forty-two *seer* to the *maund*; some goods rise higher, having forty-four *seer* to the *maund*; so that the criterion of weight is uncertain. On this account it is common, in all bargains, to specify the number of *seers* to be allowed in a *maund*; and strangers are often imposed on, from their ignorance of this. We shall dismiss this account, with observing, that *Surat* is still a flourishing, populous, industrious, and rich town, although the *English* trade thither has greatly fallen off of late years, and since the presidency has been removed to *Fort St. George* ^d (G).

WE

^d LOCKYER, c. 2. HAMILTON in the table of coins at the end of vol. ii.

vacancy. Besides, the company had factors, writers, and apprentices, who served three or five years according to agreement, after which they were gradually promoted. They had their diet and lodging in the factory, as well as salaries, with a liberty of trading to the different ports of *India*. Those of any credit, who were in want of money, borrowed it of the *Banians* at 25 *per cent.* bottomry, which they often converted to a profit of *cent. per cent.* The company had a chaplain, who preached once and read prayers thrice on *Sundays*, and twice on week-days; took place after the second in council, was treated with great respect, having a fine horse caparisoned, or a coach and handsome retinue always to attend him. The president's salary was 300 *l. per ann.* that of the second in council 120 *l.* the chaplains 100 *l.* each of the senior factors 40 *l.* the junior 15 *l.* the writers 7 *l. per ann.* and the lower servants in proportion.

The factory was rented of the *Mogul* at 60 *l. per ann.* a price not exorbitant, considering it afforded convenient apartments for 40 persons, besides handsome lodgings for the president, having, withal, cellars, a large warehouse, a *Tanque*, and a *Hummur*. Formerly the president had the superintendency of all the company's settlements on the west side of *India*, and towards the north. The table where the whole factory eat was splendidly adorned, and sumptuously provided. He kept three cooks; and all the dainties the country supplied, with the best of liquors. Every thing was served up in silver, and still more magnificence appeared on *Sunday*. After dinner the president frequently invited the rest of the factory to a small descent in the country. Thither he was carried in his *Palanquin* on the shoulders of *Pæons*, with two union flags

before him, and some fine *Persian* or *Arabian* led horses, richly accoutred. The saddles of these, as well as of the horses the factors rode, were of embroidered velvet; the bits of the bridles, stirrups, &c. of massive silver; the captain of the *Pæons*, at the head of 50 men armed, always preceding. The council followed in open coaches, drawn, after the manner of the country, by fine white oxen, and the rest of the company, some in chaises, and some on horseback (1).

(G) The *English*, as well as the *French* and *Dutch* factories, sustain numberless inconveniencies from being so much in the power of the *Moors*. If any shipping belonging to the latter fall into the hands of pirates, they expect to be reimbursed by the *Europeans*, and when this is refused they sometimes block up the factories with a body of troops. The *Dutch*, however, have found means to procure satisfaction, by blocking up the *Mogul's* ports with their fleets. An instance of the insults sometimes put upon *Europeans* happened, *an. 1691*. This year *Abdel Goffeur*, of whom we have made mention, complained that a ship of his had been taken by *Halmen*, by which is meant *Europeans*. Satisfaction was expected of the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, and their factories were surrounded with a strong body of horse and foot. Upon this the *English* president represented to the governor, that no credit was to be given to *Abdel Goffeur*, having formerly suborned several sailors to depose that one of his ships was taken, although they afterwards acknowledged that they had been bribed to give a false testimony. But that, should the charge appear to be true, it was as unreasonable that they should be obliged to stand to all damages committed at sea, as that the *Mogul* should indemnify all robberies on shore. The pirates at sea were

(1) Lockyer, Salmon, Hamilton, *ibid.*

- a WE next come to the island of *Bombay*, the property of the *East India* company, in the latitude of nineteen degrees north, about forty miles north of *Dunda Dejapore*. The *Portuguese*, who possessed themselves of it soon after their arrival in *India*, gave it the name of *Boon Bay*, from the excellency of its harbour, which, it is affirmed, will conveniently hold a thousand ships at anchor. We have already related many particulars of this famous island. To these we shall only add, that it is about seven miles in length, and twenty in circumference. The principal town is near a mile long, but the houses are mean, low, and paltry, a few only excepted, belonging to the *Portuguese*. The fort, which stands at a little distance from the town, we have already described. The soil is sterile, and not capable of improvement; nor has the island any good water upon it. The best is what
- b they preserve in cisterns after rain, that which their wells furnish having a brackish disagreeable taste. Those who can afford to keep servants may be tolerably supplied from a spring, some miles distant from town. What the estates on the island chiefly consist in, are fine groves of cocoa-nut trees. Their gardens also produce mangoes, jacks, and other *Indian* fruits. They make salt in large quantities, by letting the sea into the pits, where the sun evaporates the watry part, while the saline is left behind.

As to the air and climate they are rather unhealthy, although the natives, and persons seasoned to the country, live easily to a good old age. Most persons on their arrival are seized with fevers, fluxes, scrophulous disorders, or a disease they call the *Barbiers*, which wholly enervates the body, and reduces it to a total state of inactivity, and a deprivation

c of all the loco-motive faculties. After rains a multitude of venomous creatures appear, which grow to an extraordinary size. Their spiders are as large as a walnut, and their toads almost equal a duck in magnitude.

THE inhabitants are a mixture of several nations, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Indians*, amounting in all to near 60,000, although some diminish this number by 10,000. Formerly the president of *Bombay* appeared with the state, magnificence, and pomp of a crowned head. He was attended, when he went abroad, with troops of *Mocrs* and *Bandarins*, colours flying, drums beating, and music playing. After the presidency was removed, the governor's splendor diminished; and, indeed, this vanity is kept up among

d no *European* nations to its former height, unless we except the *Dutch* government of *Batavia*. About two leagues from the fort is a small island belonging to the company, called *Butcher's Island*, of no other use besides grazing a few cattle, and hauling ships for careening on shore. At a league's distance from hence is another larger island, called *Elephants Island*, from the image of that animal carved out in a large black stone, seven foot high. As this little island is still the property of the *Portuguese*, we shall defer an account of it to its proper place.

THE company has a small settlement at *Baroche*, or *Baroach*, a town situated on a hill, Baroach. fifty miles north of *Surat*. This place was formerly walled round, and esteemed of considerable strength; but the fortifications have been long in ruins. However it has still a tolerable trade, carried on chiefly by the *English* and *Dutch* agents residing here. Of late, we

e are told, the *English* have withdrawn theirs.

THE next *English* settlement we meet with is *Corwar*, more considerable than the former, Corwar. though but a small fort. It stands in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, seven leagues to the south of *Cabo de Rama*, or, as the *English* call it, *Cape Ramus*. It has the advantage of a good harbour, on the south side of a bay, and a river capable of receiving ships of three hundred tons burden. It is one of the pleasantest and most healthful settlements the company hath on the *Malabar* coast. The country round is fertile and beautiful; in general, indeed, it is mountainous and woody; but the vallies abound with corn and pepper, and the woods with game of various kinds. Here are tigers, wolves, wild hogs, monkies, deer, elks, and wild cattle of a prodigious size. Mr. *Hamilton* saw a

neither authorized, within the power, or in the least known to the company.

Notwithstanding this equitable remonstrance, still the factories were closely invested, nor were they permitted free egress and regress till it was known that the *Danes* had taken *Gaffour's* ship, by way of reprisal for some injury they had received, the troops continuing four months to block up the *European* houses. On the year following the same *Abdel Gaffour*, to make up his losses, exhibited another complaint of a ship's being taken and plundered at sea. He procured the *English* factors to be confined, the suspicion falling

chiefly upon them. Happily, however, the fraud was discovered, it happening that part of the money the *Moor* pretended to have lost was brought by himself, clandestinely, on shore, and lodged in a garden by the river side. This brought infamy on the accuser, and procured liberty to the *English*, but still did not remove the inconvenience of being subjected again to the same usage. Besides, that however palpably the deceit of *Gaffour* appeared, yet great presents must be made to the viceroy, for his goodness in setting the innocent free; for here justice, truth, and every other virtue, are bought and sold (7).

(7) *Hamilton*, vol. i. *Salmon*, vol. i. p. 244.

bull killed, whose quarters, taken together, weighed a ton, besides the head, hide, and a garbage (H). A great variety of beautiful birds, as wild peacocks, pheasants, &c. are found in the woods: nor is the sea less bountiful in all manner of fish.

THE company has here a chief and council to manage the trade, principally valuable on account of the fine pepper, which is the natural product of the country. The factory is fortified with two bastions, each mounting nine or ten cannon, and the garrison consisting of thirty *Topasses*, besides *English*. The president is held in great esteem by the natives. When he hunts, all the people of condition in the vicinage attend him. They bring their vassals and servants with them, armed with fire arms, lances, and other weapons, and preceded by a number of warlike instruments, as drums, hautboys, and trumpets. When the *Mogul's* general had conquered this province, and taken possession of it for *Aurengzeb*, he burnt the *English* house, at the time the factory were at dinner with him. This obliged the company to build the fort they now possess. The architect or engineer has shewn no great judgment in the choice of the situation, which is at least a league from the sea; an error that appears strongly from the accident we have related to have happened A. 1718.

BEFORE *Aurengzeb* conquered *Visapore*, the country produced the finest *Betteelas*, or muslins, in *India*. At *Corwar* the company had a great trade, employing fifty thousand people in that branch of manufacture. When the *Mogul's* licentious army entered the province, all manner of industry was ruined. They plundered the inhabitants, cut the company's cloth from the looms, and used the weavers so rudely, that they forsook the country. Since that time trade has never recovered itself, nor risen to that flourishing height at which it then was. Their coins and weights differ in nothing from those in use at *Surat* ^c.

Tellicherry.

WE proceed to *Tellicherry*, a small settlement belonging to the *India* company on the *Malabar* coast. It stands on the frontiers of *Adda Rajah's* dominions, and is fortified with stone walls and cannon, the company keeping a constant garrison of thirty or forty foldiers in it. The place where the factory is situated was formerly possessed by the *French*. They left the mud walls of a fort they had built standing, which the factors lived in for some time after; but some years ago the company was at considerable pains and charges in building. We are at a loss to conjecture why they should be at any expence in fortifying a place which affords no protection to the shipping, or even to their warehouse. Behind the fort is the town, surrounded by a stone wall, which is indeed necessary, as the company were for a while at a kind of perpetual war with the *Nayer*. Their quarrel had its rise in the year 1703; but if it ever came to blows, the bloodshed was so little, as to deserve no notice here. The *Nayer* demands a kind of duty from every ship that unloads in his ports; but this is often paid to the *English* chief, which renews the dispute between him and the *Nayers*. The established religion of the town and country round is paganism; but there are a few black Christians, that live under the protection of the factory. The coins are five *finams* and a half to a *rupee*, three *rupees* to a *chequeen*, or *maggerbee*. *Maggerbees*, *gubbers*, and *venetians*, are all of a weight; the former, however, is of a paler, less pure gold, not above three-fourths of the fineness of the others. Their weights are twenty *pollams* to a *maund*, and twenty *maund* to a *candy*. The *maund* is about twenty-eight pounds and a half. Of this, as of the other *Malabar* settlements, the chief trade consists in pepper and cardamoms ^f.

Anjengo.

AT *Anjengo* the company have another small fort and settlement, in latitude eight degrees thirty minutes north. It is the most southerly possession they have upon the *Malabar* coast. The fort is regular, having two bastions, joined by a curtain, all of them mounted with cannon, as is likewise a platform towards the sea. On the land side it is secured by a deep and broad river, that, after winding round the greatest part of the fort, empties itself into the sea, a little to the south. This river would be useful, if the bar was not too shallow for ships of burden. A chief and three counsellors reside here, who, with a surgeon and a few servants, compose the whole factory. The gover-

^c HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 23, and the table above. LOCKYER, c. 9. as above.

^f See the cited author,

(H) So famous is the *Sandab Rajah's* country for hunting, that, in the year 1681, two gentlemen, Mr. *Limbourg* and a son of lord *Goring*, made a voyage to *Visapore* to enjoy that diversion in its utmost perfection.

They spent three years at *Corwar*, hunted perpetually, lived with great splendor, and at last set sail for *England*, Mr. *Goring* dying on the voyage (8).

(8) Captain Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 263.

a nor's lodgings are within the walls of the fort: they are thatched with palm-leaves and mats; in other respects they are neat, and even elegant. The chief intention of this settlement is for managing the pepper trade, which is here of a less grain, and not so good as more to the north towards *Corwar*. Some attribute the fault to the manner of gathering it, before it is ripe; others blame the soil and climate. Here *rupees* are the current money. They likewise have *venetians*, *gubbers*, *maggerbees*, and *pagodas*. Their weights resemble those of *Tellicherry* and *Corwar* ^g.

We come now to speak of *Fort St. David*, a settlement of more consequence to the Fort St. David company than any we have yet mentioned, *Bombay* excepted. It stands in the latitude of ^{vid.} eleven degrees forty minutes north. Formerly it had the name of *Tegapatán*, which it still retains in some of the best modern maps, particularly in the *Atlas universelle, par M. Roberts*. A. 1656 a *Maharatta* prince sold it to Mr. *Elisha Yale*, for the use and benefit of the *East India* company. The price, with its territories, was 90,000 *pagodas*, a sum which the company has had no reason to complain of. Its territory extends about eight miles along the sea-coast, and four miles up the country, which is pleasant, healthful, and fertile, watered with a variety of rivers, that add to the strength and beauty of the fort, and fertility of the adjacent soil. The fort is regular, mounted with cannon, and always well provided and garrisoned, which is the more necessary, on account of its vicinity to *Pondicherry*. Besides, ever since the time that *Aurengzeb* conquered *Visapore* and *Golkonda*, numbers of malecontents have kept possession of the mountains, who frequently made dangerous incursions into the open country. Here they ravage, plunder, and destroy every thing in their way; nor can they be repelled, or at least suppressed, by the *Mogul's* forces (I). When the *English* purchased *Fort St. David*, the *Dutch* had a little factory there, which to this day they retain. They find that security and peace under the *English* at *Fort St. David* and *Madrafs*, which they denied them at *Poleroon* and *Amboyna*. It is true, the *Dutch* can possess no open trade here, without paying a certain duty to the *English* company. This colony produces good long cloths in large quantities. They have either brown, white, blue, or other colours; also sallampores, morees, dimities, gingham, succatoons. In short, this colony is the prop of *Fort St. George*, since without it it would make but a poor figure in commerce, notwithstanding its vicinity to the diamond mines of *Golkonda*. As to the coins, weights, manners of the natives, religion, produce, and climate, they differ but little from those we have already described, and more nearly resemble those of *Madrafs*, upon which we are now going to enter ^h.

MADRASS, or *Fort St. George*, as it is usually called, from the company's fort there, is situated in thirteen degrees thirty minutes north latitude, eighty degrees longitude, tho' some geographers erroneously make it ninety-five. The natives give it the appellation of *Chinapatam*. It is distant about three miles to the north of *St. Thomas*, an antient place, famous for a number of legends and fabulous tales (K). As it is a settlement of the utmost consequence

Madrafs, the head settlement, its description

to

^g SALMON, vol. i. p. 243.

^h HAMILTON's history of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 27.

(I) In the year 1658, before *Fort St. David* was fortified in the manner it now is, they were near becoming masters of the settlement by stratagem and surprize. As the contrivance was a little extraordinary, the reader may be pleased with a relation of it. They pretended to Mr. *Frazer*, then governor, that they were sent from the viceroy of *Visapore* to take charge of the revenue collected at *Porto Novo*, which they were carrying to the treasury at *Visapore*. As they apprehended danger from the *Maharatta* freebooters, they requested leave to lodge it for a few days in *Fort St. David*, which they obtained. Accordingly they brought into the fort ten or twelve oxen loaded with stores instead of treasure, each ox having two attendants, and the whole escorted by a body of 200 men. The governor admitted the treasure, but had the circumspection to oblige the guard to remain in a grove without the gate for the night. Thus disappointed, they attempted to enter by force, but were beat back, and then the conspiracy was detected (9).

(K) *St. Thomas*, or *Meliapour*, was once the most considerable city on the coast of *Coromandel*. When the *Portuguese* settled in it, it was almost in ruins, and totally abandoned by the inhabitants. They built it again, giving it the name of *St. Thomas*, whom tradition affirms to have suffered martyrdom here. His sepulchre is said to be on a hill at a small distance

from the town, where the *Portuguese* finding some human bones, immediately enshrined them. To this day the black *Portuguese* hold this place in veneration. The cave in which the saint was supposed to have hid himself, till the storm of pagan persecution was blown over, the *Portuguese* covered with a church. Another church they built on the hill where he was killed; and here they keep the lance which put him to death; a relic which is held in pious detestation.

Few people, perhaps, will subscribe to all that tradition relates of this holy man, altho' it is beyond doubt there were Christians in this part of *India* as far back as the time of *Alfred*, as we have already mentioned. The *Portuguese*, on their arrival, found Christians in the place, who held the memory of *St. Thomas* in great esteem, but refused to submit to the pope's supremacy. The missionaries have since converted them, yet still they keep up some distinctions, and are not entirely united with the *Roman catholic* religion. *St. Thomas's* was erected into a bishopric by the *Portuguese*, having several villages under its jurisdiction. The churches, monasteries, and private buildings were magnificent beyond credit, for that part of the world. It was regularly fortified, and became a flourishing, rich, and populous town; but they were beat out of it by the *Moors*.

In the year 1666, the *French* came before it with a

(9) Hamilton, vol. i.

to the *India* company, on account of its strength, wealth, and great yearly returns in calicoes and muslins, a minute description of it may be agreeable to the reader. Within these few years, *Madras* has received great improvements, equally to the honour and advantage of the company, and satisfaction of their council and governor there.

It is seated in a plain sandy situation, so close to the sea, that its walls have sometimes been endangered by the beating of prodigious surges; for here the ocean rolls higher than on any other part of the *Coromandel* coast. Behind it is defended by a salt water river, which adds to its security, but takes away from its conveniency, by obstructing all fresh water springs. This obliges the inhabitants to send above a mile for water that is drinkable. In the rainy season the sea threatens destruction on one side, while the river is no less terrifying on the other, from the apprehension of an inundation. The sun, from *April* to *September*, is scorching hot; and without the sea breezes to moisten and cool the air the place would not be habitable. This may be better understood from a more minute account of its situation on the globe. It is near 4,800 miles to the eastward of *London*, so that the sun visits them six hours earlier than it does us, and sets about our dinner time. There is so little difference in the length of the days, that it is always reckoned to be six o'clock at sun-rising and setting.

THE reason for this bad choice of a settlement is variously related. The person intrusted by the company to build a fort on the *Coromandel* coast, in the reign of *Charles II.* pitched upon this spot as the most likely to ruin the *Portuguese* trade at *St. Thomas*. Others again assert, that Sir *William Langborne*, for he was the founder, had reasons less politic in view, having no other motive than its vicinity to a mistress he had at the *Portuguese* colony. Be that as it will, certain it is, he could not have chosen a place less commodious for a settlement, and the intentions of his employers. About the city the soil is so poor, dry, and sandy, that it produces not a blade of grass spontaneously, nor corn with culture. The roots, herbage, and other vegetables, consumed in the place, are brought from a considerable distance (L). In short, nothing can be more unhappy than the aspect, more disagreeable or less commodious than the situation; yet, under all these disadvantages, it is the company's head settlement, and, next to *Batavia*, the richest *European* port in *India*.

THE fort lies N. N. E. and S. S. W. in the middle of the *White* or *English Town*. It is a regular square, about 100 yards on each side, built with a stone they call iron-stone, honey-combed externally, and of the colour of iron. It has no moat; and the walls are arched and hollow within, which greatly diminishes their strength. It has two gates, looking east and west; the latter, towards the land, is large, and always defended by two files of musqueteers, on the right and left: the former, to the sea, is small, and guarded only by one file of soldiers. At night the keys are brought to the governor, or, in his absence, to the next in council. In the centre stands the governor's house, in which also are apartments for the company's servants. It is a handsome, lofty, square stone building; the first rooms are ascended by ten or twelve steps, from which another pair of stairs leads to the council-chamber and the governor's lodgings.

THE *White Town*, where the *Europeans* live, is about a quarter of a mile in length, and near half as much in breadth. Captain *Hamilton* calls it 400 paces long, and 150 broad. To the northward of the fort are three decent strait streets, and an equal number to the south. The houses are flat-roofed, built with brick, and covered with a plaister made of sea-shells, which no rain can penetrate. The walls are thick, and rooms lofty; but few of them exceed one floor, though some are raised a floor above ground. What seems peculiar to this country is, that the upper floors are paved with brick, instead of being laid with boards. From the dimensions of the town it may be concluded, that the number of houses is not infinite, any more than the gardens and courts large. Indeed, the former are without the town, and as

fleet of ten sail, and took it, the king of *Golkonda* being then sovereign of the city and district round it. The *Dutch* who were jealous of their getting a footing in *India*, about four years after, blocked the *French* up with a fleet of fifteen ships, while the king of *Golkonda*, with an army, besieged it by land. The town holding out beyond expectation, the *Dutch* admiral landed 700 seamen, who joining the *Moors*, took it. Upon this the fortifications were destroyed, and the place quite dismantled, in which manner it now remains. The *Europeans* do not think it worth while to have factories here, though it is still inhabited by the descendants of the *Portuguese*, *Moors*, *Jenats*, and a mixture of other nations, and is a bishop's see. The people in general are poor, the whole trade being en-

grossed by *Madras*, whither many of the *Portuguese* have likewise removed (10).

(L) One cannot help being surprized, that Sir *W. Langborne* did not make choice of *Cabelén*, about six leagues to the south-ward, where the ground is fertile, the water good, with the conveniency of a point of rocks to facilitate boats to land; whereas now they are forced to use *Mafela's*, or ill-shaped flat-bottom boats, sewed with *Coyr* twine, on account of the swelling of the sea, and surges that roll upon the shore. *Pelicat*, where the *Dutch* have settled, would also have been a good situation; here is a fine soil, navigable river, good water, and the surges broke by banks of sand that run three leagues into the sea.

(10) *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 360. *Lockyer*, c. i. *Salmon*, vol. i. p. 231.

- a to the latter they are of little use, the houses for the most part standing close to the street. Opposite to the west gate of the fort is a barrack, where the company's soldiers lodge when off guard: and adjoining to it is a very convenient hospital, whither they are conveyed and carefully attended when sick. At the other end of the barrack is a mint, where the company coin gold and silver. North of the fort stands the *Portuguese* church; and to the south the *English* church, a pretty neat building: it has an handsome altar-piece, a gallery of fine carved wood, and an organ. It is paved with white and black marble, the seats regular and convenient, and the whole light, elegant, and airy. What diminishes its beauty, but adds to its conveniency, is that the windows are not glazed, which would make it insupportably hot. At present the cooling breezes having a thorough passage, make it so cool, that persons may go through their devotions with tolerable ease. A town-house, where the magistrates assemble, and a court of justice is held, concludes the public buildings. The whole is encompassed with a strong wall, of the same stone with which the fort is built. It is defended by batteries, bastions, half-moons, and flankers; the whole mounted with near 200 pieces of cannon and three mortars, including the guns on the out-works, besides field pieces. Round it, on the west side, runs the river, by which alone, and a battery, it is defended here, having now all where the river is perfectly deep (*). South of the *White Town* is a little suburb, the residence of the black watermen, by whom it is wholly possessed. It consists of little, low, thatched cottages, hardly deserving the name of buildings. Beyond this is an out-guard of blacks, to give notice of any danger. In short, it cannot well be attacked, except on the south or north sides; for towards the sea the swell and surges of that element are a perfect security.

- c As to the *Black Town*, called *Madrafs*, and sometimes *Cbinapatam*, it is inhabited by *Jen-toos*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian* Christians, as *Armenians* and *Portuguese*; nor is it without a number of *Jews*. It was walled in to the land side, under the government of Mr. *Pitt*. Apprehending that the *Mogul's* general in *Golkonda* might one day visit them, he persuaded the inhabitants to secure themselves and their property by a small contribution towards fortifying the place. The wall is of brick, seventeen foot thick, with bastions at proper distances, after the modern rules of fortification. It has also a river on the west, and the sea on the east. To the north a canal is cut from the river to the sea, which serves for a moat on that side. This town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and might be reckoned a place of strength, if the garrison were always proportioned. Indeed, the accident that befel the company in the last *French* war, has made them more attentive to its security. The fortifications have received great improvements; a body of his majesty's troops, as well as of the company's soldiers, are generally in garrison, at least in time of war; nor are stores, provisions, or any other necessaries, wanting for its defence and security. In the *Black Town* the streets are wide, with trees planted in some of them, which give great beauty and shelter from the piercing beams of the sun. Some of the houses are of brick; the rest miserable cottages, without a window to be seen on the outsides, or furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lie on. They are built with clay, and thatched; and of the same materials are the habitations of the *Indians* of better condition, who generally preserve the same form, with a square hole at the top to admit the light. Before their doors are little shades or porches, further than which they seldom invite strangers. Here they sit morning and evening to receive their friends, and transact business.

- f THE town is, in general, very populous; one of those little mean cottages containing seven, eight, or ten in a family: yet with all this appearance of poverty few places abound more in wealth, ready specie no where circulating with greater rapidity. The *Bazar*, or market-place, is every day crowded, and exchanges of property of immense value made, which they transfer with the same facility with which it is done on the *Exchange* of *London*. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of this town have nothing poor, mean, or unclean, but the outside aspect: all within is neat, decent, and, if the furniture is not rich, at least the landlord is generally so. In the *Black Town* stands an *Armenian* church, with several little *Pagodas*, or *Indian* temples, to which belong a number of priests, and female choristers. Those girls are early devoted to religion, in which they spend one part of their time, while the remainder is given up to their gallants of any nation, complexion, or religion. They constitute part of the equipage of a great man, upon all public occasions, and when he proposes to make a figure. Formerly the governor of *Fort St. George* used to be attended with fifty of them, as well as by the country music, when he went abroad; but the attendance of the ladies has been of late years dispensed with.

- g BESIDES the town of *Madrafs*, the company have a property in several of the neighbouring villages, from which they draw a considerable annual revenue; the whole having been purchased of the king of *Golkonda*, before the *Mogul* became sovereign of his country. They have also a house and garden at *St. Thomas's Mount*. Beyond the *Black Town* are gardens that extend

(*) What improvements it may have received since it fell into the hands of the *French* in the late war we have no circumstantial intelligence: that some additions have been made is certain.

for half a mile, planted with cocoa-nuts, guavas, mangoes, oranges, and the most delicious fruits, which may be bought for a trifle, together with the liberty of walking in the gardens. a

To begin with the privileges of the governor: he has, in the first place, the filling up of vacancies in the *Romish* church in the *White Town*, and may, as Mr. *Hamilton* observes, be called the Pope's legate *a latere* in spiritualities. In conjunction with the council, he is supreme director of the company's affairs. They dispose of all places of trust and profit; inflict punishments on all *Europeans* in the service, short of life and member; and, indeed, their power may be said to extend even to life, since they can commit to the *cock-room*, a no less sure, though more slow death than a halter. A court of mayor and aldermen sit twice a week in the town-hall, where the *Asiatic* inhabitants sue for debts, and implead one another. Suits among *Europeans* are generally determined by a jury, in the judge advocate's court, to which belong attornies, sergeants, and bailiffs. There are also justices of the peace, who hold their sessions periodically in the *Black Town*, and decide criminal matters among the *Indian* inhabitants. They do not proceed to punishment in capital cases; yet there have been instances where they have ordered a criminal's ears to be cut off on the pillory. A court of admiralty there likewise is for maritime affairs; and the governor sometimes permits the head officers to hold courts martial for the trial of offenders. Persons guilty of capital offences are confined, as we observed, to the *cock-room*, dark as a dungeon, and hot as a bagnio, where their only nourishment is rice and water. They are supposed to be sent to *Europe* to take their trials; but a very little of this confinement is sufficient to render that trouble unnecessary. b

BUT what constitutes the chief power of the governor is, the dispensing privilege he assumes of annulling the decision of the court of aldermen, and even that of the judge advocate. As the town is a corporation by charter, the mayor and aldermen are chosen by the free burghers; but the governor, it is imagined, generally determines their choice. Altho' it has laws and ordinances of its own, a court in form, in which the mayor and aldermen sit in their gowns, with their maces before them; yet a few pagodas well placed, or a message from the governor, turns the scale of justice. In piracy, by an act of *George I.* the company can delegate a power over life and death to the governor and council: this is frequently attended with unhappy consequences, since other trespasses are often strained into piracy. It gives the governor an undue influence over private traders, and too many opportunities of venting his spleen and resentment, arising from interest, prejudice, and personal views. In short, the government, civil and military, of the fort and both towns, is vested first in the governor, then in the council, and by them parcelled out into the inferior courts, over which they preserve their pristine influence, power, and authority. c

THE soldiers are, for the most part, hardly used: scarce a day passes but some of them are punished by some means. Tying them to a post, and whipping them, is the punishment most in use. This makes them dislike and hate the government they should defend. Servile punishments of this nature have been found by experience to enervate the spirit, and sink the courage, of a soldier. Their being cooped up like slaves, and never permitted to go abroad, fits them, indeed, for any-thing, however servile, and renders this punishment somewhat necessary. The inconveniencies of this severity of discipline cannot be set in a stronger light, than they appeared at the last siege of *Madras*. When an enemy was without the walls, and the soldiers found themselves necessary to the protection of the place, then they set order, government, and discipline at defiance, breaking out into the most unseasonable and extravagant licentiousness. Another hardship the soldiers justly complain of: it is, that, though they have served forty years, they shall not be released. How widely does this differ from the *Roman* regulations! If they are hardy enough to petition for their discharge, a dungeon will probably be their portion. d

THE governor is not only president of *Fort St. George*, but of all the other settlements on the *Malabar* and *Coromandel* coasts, as far as the island of *Sumatra*; for the governors at *Marlborough Fort*, &c. are, in fact, but deputies, who receive their instructions from him. Some new regulations in this particular have been made, we are informed, in respect to *Calcutta*, and the settlements about the *Ganges*. The governor is also captain of the first company of soldiers, the next in council of the second. Till lately, those who bore the name of captains were, in fact, but lieutenants, and had pay as such: this the company have been forced to alter, as no man of any degree of merit would enter into their service. However, for some time, they denied the captains the advantage of paying their companies; but this likewise they have been forced to give up; so that now the pay and perquisites of a company, in time of peace, amount to 700*l.* *per annum* (M). e

ALTHOUGH

(M) A lieutenant's pay is 14 pagodas, about 6*l.* 6*s.* and a common soldier's 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* *per* month. Upon more or less, according to the rate of the pagoda, *per* this a private man lives well, provisions being exceedingly cheap. He always appears in fine clean linen, by reason of the great abundance of callico manufacture.

a ALTHOUGH the governor's salary is but small, not exceeding 300*l. per annum*, yet trade and perquisites make it an extreme lucrative employment. When he goes abroad, he has the respect paid to him of a sovereign prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he passes, and fifty or sixty blacks run before him. His *palanquin* is also escorted by a body of soldiers, armed with blunderbusses; a numerous train of servants follows; and notice of his march is given by the country music, and the harsh dissonance of their trumpets. But the greatest piece of luxury is his being fanned by persons whose sole business it is to attend him for that purpose, on his visits and excursions. Much of this pomp is now laid aside; and the governor of *Fort St. George* was ever infinitely short of the pomp seen at *Batavia*.

b THE council is composed of the six senior *European* merchants, who have salaries from 100 to 40*l. per ann.* according to their seniority. Every member has a respect shewn him proportioned to his seat in council, and all of them are greatly superior in dignity to any other inhabitant. They are summoned twice or thrice in a week, according to the urgency of affairs, or the governor's pleasure. All orders, general letters, and weekly accounts, as warehouses, sea-gate, store-keepers, &c. are examined, passed, and signed by them, or the secretary by their order.

c THERE are also two senior merchants, who have 40*l.* a year each, and two junior merchants with salaries of 30*l. per ann.* five factors at 15*l. per ann.* ten writers at 5*l. per ann.* each. These dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; succeed in course to employments and trade if they can raise a capital; yet withal no persons in the universe work harder for bread. The company allow two chaplains of the fort 100*l. per ann.* each, and a house. They are not permitted to trade publicly, yet few or none return without large fortunes. The surgeon of the fort has 40*l. per ann.* salary, but innumerable ways besides of replenishing his pockets. The judge advocate's salary is 100*l.* with which, and other emoluments, he lives with the affluence of a lord chief justice in *England*. The company have also two mint officers, called Assay Masters, to whom they allow salaries of 120*l. per ann.* each. Here they coin their bullion from *Europe* and elsewhere, into rupees, which brings a considerable profit. They also coin pagodas; and the current money of the town and country is from the company's mint (N). The rupee is stamped with *Persian* characters, with the *Mogul's* name, year of his reign, and some of his titles.

d CUSTOM on goods imported and exported, is, perhaps, one of the most considerable branches of the company's revenue. They have 5 *per cent.* on all goods brought by sea, with 3, 6, or 12 finams fee, according to the amount of the import. These fees are divided among the custom officer, the head searcher, and receiver. Run goods are fined at the discretion of the custom officer. We have heard this revenue computed at 50,000 pagodas *per ann.* All goods brought in at the west gate, or country commodities, pay 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and those very goods again exported pay 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ more at the east or sea-gate. These goods, however, paying the full duty here, are exempted at all the company's other ports in *India*. The revenue arising from land goods, we have heard from good authority called 15,000 pagodas yearly. Another branch of the company's revenue arises from anchorage duty on boats, which are e rated according to their burdens. *Dutch* ships are exempted from this duty; but for what reason we could never yet learn. Vessels under 100 tons pay from 18 finams to 5 pagodas; from 100 tons and upwards from 5 to 9 pagodas. Country ships and boats pay the same price for passes as they do for anchorage, which is a perquisite of the secretary; tho' we believe he now receives but one-third, the rest going into the company's coffers.

THE company have besides a number of other little revenues, such as the rents of *New Town*, *Egmore*, *Old Garden*, *Scavenger*, *Fishing Farm*, *Wine Licence*, *City Quit-rents*, all which they farm out for considerable profits. The duties arising from tobacco and betel are still larger. This and the arrack farm they let to the black merchants at above 20,000 pagodas

tures. He has his boy to wait on him; for the *Indians* are glad to have their children attend the *English* to learn the language (11).

(N) It must be observed, that here, as in most of the Eastern settlements, the price of gold rises and falls, according to the plenty or scarcity of silver. Thus the pagoda rises from 7*s.* 10*d.* to 9*s.* in value. This coin is of gold, about 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ matts, or 86 $\frac{1}{4}$ touch, or waters fine. It weighs 2 penny-weight, 4 gr. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ mt. Other pagodas there are, such as *Allumgeer*, *Nagapattam*, *Policot*, &c. but they are all $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* worse than the *Madras* pagoda. The *Allumgeer* indeed is the scarcest; but as it wants weight, the other is preferred. As to the finams, they are not coined by the company; 36 are current to a pagoda; but in the Bazar 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ are allowed, and often more. They are dollar matt, or fineness. The rupees coined in the com-

pany's mint are 3 or 4 *per cent.* better than others; and this is allowed in all payments, being sold at 326, when mixed rupees are 338 *per* 100 pagodas. At the same time, dollars are 15, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per* 10 pagodas. The *Madras* rupee P. z. 7 dwt. 22 gr. 13 mt. $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ standard is 1 rupee. Mixed rupees are most common; but neither sort used in payment at a fixed rate, which varies with the quantity of silver.

Their weights are, 10 pagodas 1 pollam; 40 pollam 1 viss, of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. *English*. 8 viss 1 maund; and 20 maund 1 candy of 500 lb. Liquid measure is as follows; 1 measure is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint; 8 measures 1 mercial; 400 mercials 1 garse. As to dry measure, or rather long measure, 1 coved is 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. As to the method of reckoning by aggregate numbers, it is confined. We know of no other than a corge, which is twenty, in the same manner as a score expresses that number in *England*.

(11) *Private information.*

yearly. As the tobacco, betel, and *Parian* arrack are chiefly consumed in the *Black Town*, the place must be extremely populous.

WE shall close this account of *Madras* with a short view of some useful establishments, tho' by abuse and mismanagement perverted from the original intention. At *Fort St. George* is a free school, where children are taught to read and write. To this foundation belongs a library of books, chiefly in divinity, reckoned worth 438*l.* sterling. The church has a stock of 40*l.* usually put out to interest at 10 *per cent.* which is applied to repairs of the church and charity. As the interest is seldom wholly taken up with these purposes, the remainder is applied to the capital, which, together with an annual collection, amounts to a handsome sum. Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are frequently committed to the care of the trustees for the church. Here they are reckoned more secure than in private hands, though we do not find, from experience on this side the globe, that public guardians are a whit more conscientious than private; nay, the contrary has often been imagined. The fortunes of the children are put out to interest; the price of borrowed money at present being 10 *per cent.* out of which they are maintained and educated, the capital and surplus of interest being restored them as soon as they are of a proper age. Where no will is made, the governor and council take upon them the care of the intestate's effects, which they account for to the relations of the deceased, whether in *Europe* or *Asia*. A college they have likewise; but as no art or science is studied in it, it can only be nominal. We cannot but wonder that the company have not cultivated the study of mathematics and astronomy here. Nothing would recommend their agents more to the *Asiatic* princes, and sooner procure them a proper footing in *China*, than skill in these. This the Jesuits have experienced, who have obtained valuable privileges on account of a very superficial knowledge in practical mathematics and astronomy. Nothing can be more favourable to the progress of those studies, than the leisure and peculiar circumstances which attend many of the company's agents. The length of their voyages, the changes of climate, the serenity and clearness of the sky, the necessary knowledge they must have in arithmetic, and the principles of geometry, navigation, and geography, all afford the happiest occasions for promoting science and the arts. But the acquisition of money seems to be the only view of those gentlemen, in which, indeed, they are not to be blamed, considering the value put upon it in the mother country, where it gives honour, esteem, and worth at pleasure.

ALTHOUGH we have extended this history of *Madras* to a great length, we must not close it without touching upon the trade. Their commerce is carried on to all parts eastward of the *Cape of Good Hope*. That of *China* used formerly to be the most cultivated, on account of the returns of gold and fine goods; but this the company have reduced to nothing, by sending ships directly to *China* from *England*. *Manila*, under *Armenian* colours, is a profitable voyage. *Batavia*, the coasts of *Java*, *Jancre*, *Malacca*, *Bengal*, *Quedah*, *Pegu*, and *Arracan*, together with the ports of *Achen*, *Priaman*, *Bencoolen*, *Bantall*, and *Idriapore*, are visited annually. The largest ships go to *Mocha*, *Surat*, and other ports of *Persia* and *India* (P), with *Bengal* and *China* commodities, touching at several ports on the *Malabar* coast for pepper, cocoa-kernels, corn, cardamoms, nux vomica, turmeric, &c. &c. But the distinguishing advantage to *Madras*, and what first brought a conflux of inhabitants here, was its vicinity to the diamond mines of *Golkonda*. They lie at the distance of a week's journey from the town. The custom is, when a person goes to the mines with a design to trade, he acquaints the *Mogul's* officers with his intentions, after he has made choice of a piece of ground to dig in. Having paid the money for this spot, the ground is immediately inclosed, and centinels placed round. All stones above sixty grains belong to the emperor; and frauds in this particular are punished with death. Some acquire fortunes, while others lose their money, their time, and their expectations (Q).

(P) Indeed the *Madras* trade to *Persia* must first come down the *Ganges*, at least in the shortest manner: and this is now engrossed by the *English* factories in the bay of *Bengal*. It never had any trade to *Mocha*, in the manufactures and produce of the *Coromandel* coast, before the year 1713. *Fort St. David* now supplies that port. In short, the trade is thought to be on the decline, which some attribute to the disappointments and oppression the trader is subjected to. The influence of the governor, even at public sales, is obviously pernicious. Here it is criminal to bid higher than his commission; and those who have courage to do it, generally find reason to repent their temerity (1).

(Q) The following account of the diamond mines may not be unacceptable to some of our readers. Those on the coast of *Coromandel*, in the kingdom of *Golkonda*, are generally in the vicinity of the craggy hills and

mountains. In, among, and about these hills, are the places where this precious natural product is sought for. *Golkonda* and *Visapore* are known to have mines sufficient to furnish the whole world; but the sovereign, to keep up the price, permits only certain places to be dug. In *Golkonda* are about 23 mines. That of *Quohure* was the first opened. The earth here is of a yellowish cast, abounding with smooth pebbles. The diamonds lie scattered two or three fathom deep in this earth; altho' some falsely imagined, they are found in a vein, or continued clusters. That it is not so, is evident from their sometimes digging a quarter of an acre, without having discovered one bit of the precious stone to compensate their labour. Where the surface is covered with great stones, the diamonds found here lie deep, but are valuable on account of their size, pointedness, and lively white water. The common size is about a sixth of a *Mangelin* (a *Man-*

(1) *Hamilton's voyage to the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 370.

a By the last estimate that was made, there appeared to be between 80 and 90,000 inhabitants in *Madras*, and the towns and villages in its territory, and under the jurisdiction of the company. Five hundred of these are *Europeans* living in *Madras*. The town is supplied with rice from *Ganjans* and *Orixa*, on the same coast; with wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*; and with fuel from the island of *Dise*, near *Massulipatam*. This island the viceroy of the coast offered to present to the governor of *Fort St. George*, and the inhabitants were desirous of being under the government of the company. But the president and council not immediately accepting of the proposal, both the viceroy and natives altered their sentiments, and refused to let the company erect a factory there^k.

^k SALMON, LOCKYER, *Memoires pour BOURDONNAIS*, vol. i. HAMILTON, &c.

gelin is four grains); some are found weighing from one to twenty Mangelins: but they are extremely rare. The diamonds found in *Quolure* mine, have generally a bright and transparent lustre, inclining to a greenish colour; but the inside of the stone is perfectly white. This mine is nearly, if not altogether exhausted.

The mines of *Malabar*, *Pattepalian*, and *Coda-willikall*, consist of a reddish earth, inclining to orange, which stains the cloaths of the labourers. Here they dig about four fathoms, and find stones of an excellent water, and chrystalline coat; but smaller than those of the former mine. But of all the mines in this kingdom, that of *Currure* is the most famous. The soil is reddish, a good deal resembling the last we have described. In it have been found diamonds weighing of assize weight, *i. e.* 9 ounces troy, or 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagos. In general it affords well spread stones, of a pale, greenish surface, but white within. The stones are seldom so small as those in the other mines; and they are all kept for the use of the sovereign; at least so they were of late years.

Not far from hence are the mines *Lattawaar* and *Ganjeconto*, in the same soil as *Currure*, and affording similar stones. Those of *Lattawaar*, however, are deficient in shape, being thick at one side, and thin on the other, like a gun-flint. In other respects, they are at least equal to any in size and beauty. The mine is almost now wore out, and *Ganjeconto* solely preserved for the use of the *Mogul*. *Jonagerie*, *Pirai*, *Anantabelle*, *Pagalli*, *Parawilli*, all of them consisting of red earth, and now employed, afford many large stones, frequently of a green water. They are, however, much in request, on account of the soundness, shape, size, and freeness from blemishes. But the most absolute mines, and what alone deserve that name (the others being more properly pits) are those of *Wazergerre* and *Manuemurg*. Here they sink through rocks of a great height, digging sometimes 40 or 50 fathom below the base. The superficies of the rocks is composed of a hard, firm, friable stone, into which the miners cut a pit about six feet deep, before they arrive at a crust of mineral stone, resembling iron ore. Their method is, they fill this pit with wood, which they keep three or four days burning with the utmost violence. When they think it sufficiently heated, they quench the fire, by suddenly pouring in quantities of cold water. By this means, they imagine they crack the stone, and mollify the mineral crust. When it is cold, they dig away all they can, and repeat the same operation till they come to a vein of earth, that usually runs for two or three furlongs under the rock. The earth they dig away, and if this has not satisfied expectation, they proceed deeper, till they are prevented from going farther by water. They search the earth, and break all the crust and mineral off carefully. In these the diamonds are found, most of them large, and few weighing less than six Mangelins. Connoisseurs complain of the shape of diamonds found here; but they admit the water to equal any. As the miners are entirely ignorant of the use of engines for drawing off the water, they are almost always prevented from pursuing their success.

Maddeburg far exceeds any of the other mines in diamonds of a delicate shape, elegant water, and bright pellucid skin. Many of them are, notwithstanding, veiny and cracked; yet these cannot always be discovered, un-

less by a jeweller and nice artist. This mine produces stones of various magnitudes, from 10 or 12 in a Mangelin, to 6 or 7 Mangelins each. The water round is so bad, that to all, excepting the neighbouring nations, it occasions fevers and other acute disorders, terminating in sudden death. In other respects, it is the most valuable, the vein lying near the surface of the earth, and pursued with little expence and labour. It is likewise thought, that besides the unwholesomeness of the water, the situation of the town, in a low, marshy ground, environed with hills, may contribute to the unhealthiness of the place.

Other mines there are at *Lavagamboot*, where they dig in the same manner as at *Wazergerre* and *Manuemurg*. The rock is not so hard or solid; but the earth and stones it produces, altogether similar. *Wootore*, a place near *Currure*, affords stones of a like size, shape, and water with it. This mine is employed solely to the emperor's use; and singular in this, that the diamonds are found in a black earth.

Melwillee produces stones from five or six in a Mangelin, to 15 or 16 Mangelins each. They are found in a very red earth, which adheres so closely to the diamond, that it seems to tinge, and even indent it. This circumstance would seem to prove Mr. *Tournisfort's* hypothesis of their vegetation, or rather, that they had once been in a liquid form. Most of the stones found here have a thick, dull coat, inclining to a yellowish water, less stony and lively than those of the other mines. Few or none produced at *Melwillee* have a pure chrystalline skin. Another fault they have, that they are apt to split in working, or to fly off in flaws in splitting. Some of the diamonds that flatter the most from their whiteness, no sooner pass the mill, than they discover the deceit, and present a yellow hue, to the disappointment of the proprietor. What, however, they want in quality, is made up in number; for no mine in *Golkonda* produces large quantities of diamonds.

In *Visapoure* or *Visap-re*, another province belonging to the *Great Mogul*, are fifteen or twenty diamond mines employed. These produce stones equal in size, shape, water, and every point of beauty to the mines of *Golkonda*. The large diamonds are indeed less common; and the precious stones in general found in a less quantity. The matrix, or surrounding earth, differs in different mines, as does likewise the method of working the mine, and washing the matrix. In both provinces, the miners, the employers, and the merchants, are in general *Ethnics*, not a *Musfulman* following either branch of the business. The merchants are generally the *Banians* of *Gazarate*, who, for some generations, have deserted their country, to follow an employment attended with immense profits. They correspond with their countrymen at *Madras*, *Surat*, *Goa*, and other maritime ports. The governors of the mines are also idolaters. In the province of *Golkonda*, they were rented by a *Feringa* Bramin, whose agreement with the adventurers is, that all the stones exceeding a pagoda weight, (or nine Mangelins) shall be his, for the king's use; the rest their own. In general, the severity with which frauds and concealments are punished in *Golkonda*, makes those who have possessed themselves of a large stone, fly to some other country, where they may with safety dispose of their property (1).

(1) *Salmon*, vol. i. *Hamilton*, vol. i. *Lockyer*, *passim*. *Abbé de Guyon*, tom. i.

Maffulipatam.

WE now proceed to the company's other settlements. Formerly they had a factory at *Maffulipatam*, and another at *Narsipore*, for long cloths, both which we are told are withdrawn, as indeed are most of the *European* settlements on that coast, on account of unreasonable exactions of the neighbouring Rajahs. The *English* had likewise a settlement at *Angerang*, a place situated upon a deep river, and famous for the finest long cloth in *India*. But the establishment was soon abandoned for some particular reasons.

Vizagapatam.

AT *Vizagapatam* the company had a fortified factory, taken by the *French* about two years ago, and soon after the unhappy affair at *Calcutta*. It has four bastions, and mounts twenty or thirty pieces of cannon. This settlement is upon the *Coromandel* coast, about 18 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, having the advantage of a river, the bar of which is somewhat dangerous. The surrounding country affords cotton cloths of all degrees of fineness, together with the best doreas or striped muslins in *India*. The only thing that can prevent this settlement from flourishing, is too narrow a capital; most of the inhabitants being greatly distressed to procure specie.

IN the year 1709, this factory was engaged in a petty war with the Nabob of *Chizkacul*. Mr. *Holcomb*, chief of the factory, had borrowed money from the prince on the common seal. He dying, the succeeding chief refused the Nabob payment. Upon this the *Indian* prince applied to the governor of *Fort St. George* for redress; but meeting with no satisfactory answer, he had recourse to arms. At last the company compromised the affair, and terminated the war, which had been drawn out to a great length, without hardly any bloodshed (R).

IN the country round *Vizagapatam* are many antient pagods or temples. One in particular, upon a little mountain near the factory, is remarkable. Here the natives worship monkies, who live and breed in great numbers within the temple. They are maintained by priests, whose devotions consist in boiling rice for this tribe of deities. At meal times, the little gods assemble at the pagod, eat what their votaries have prepared for them, and then retire in good order into the fields and groves. Killing a man is a crime infinitely less heinous than destroying one of those animals.

ABOUT twelve leagues north of *Cunnaca*, stands the town of *Ballasore*, situated about four miles from the sea, on a river, and placed in about 20 degrees 45 minutes north latitude. There is a dangerous bar in this river, sufficiently known to those who navigate the coast, from the many losses and wrecks occasioned by it. Between *Cunnaca* and *Ballasore* rivers there is one continued sandy bank, where vast numbers of tortoises resort to lay their eggs. A very delicious fish, called the *Pamplée*, is caught in great plenty in this bay, and sold for two-pence the hundred. Two of them are sufficient for a meal. The adjacent country is admirably fruitful, producing, almost spontaneously, rice, wheat, grain, dole, callavances, a variety of pulse, anise, cummin, coriander, and carraway seeds, tobacco, butter, oil, and bees wax. Their manufactures are chiefly of cotton, in sannis, cassas, dimities, and mulmuls: then of silk, and silk and cotton mixed, they make romals, gariahs, and lungies: and of herba, or a species of tough grass, they manufacture gingham, pinafroes, and several other sorts of cloth for exportation. The *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, had all their factories here; tho' they are at present of little consideration, since the navigation of *Hugly* river has been so much pursued.

THE town of *Ballasore* still pursues the *Maldiva* trade, supplying that island with rice and other productions of the country. In return they take cowries and cayar, or coyr, for the use of shipping. From *April* to *October*, the proper season for entering the bay of *Bengal*, this town furnishes all the shipping with pilots up *Hugly* river, who are kept in constant pay by the *Europeans*. We shall close this relation of *Ballasore* with a custom peculiar to the natives of this place. They fashion a piece of soft clay into the form of a suppository, which they harden in the sun, till it acquires the consistence of soft wax, and then introduce it into the *intestinum rectum*. This they imagine serves to cool the part; and every morning they renew the operation.

(R) The following incident deserves notice. After the war was ended, and the Nabob returned to his own dominions, he began reflecting upon the usage he had received from the settlements of *Fort St. George* and *Vizagapatam*. Finding that he was not likely to revenge himself by force, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Without giving notice, he came attended by a hundred horse to *Vizagapatam*, and was got into the factory with twenty or thirty followers, before the chief was apprized of his coming. The alarm being given, Mr. *Horden*, a resolute young fellow, in the service of the company, ran down stairs with a fusée and screwed

bayonet. Meeting the Nabob at the bottom of the stairs, he presented the gun to his breast, telling him in the *Gentoo* language, that he was welcome; but if any of his attendants should offer to advance, his (the Nabob's) life must answer for it. Disconcerted and astonished at the young gentleman's spirit and bravery, the Nabob sat down to weigh the affair, Mr. *Horden* still keeping the muzzle of his piece to the breast of the *Indian* chief, while one of the Nabob's attendants held a dagger's point close to his back, in which situation the conference held for half an hour, and at last broke up with the Nabob's resolution peaceably to depart (1).

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 380.

a THE *English* company had formerly a factory at *Piply*, seated on a river supposed to be a branch of the *Ganges*. It is now withdrawn, for the same cause as the preceding. The country differs in none of its natural productions from *Ballafore*¹.

ADVANCING eight leagues on the western bank of the river *Hugly*, you meet with the river *Ganga*, another branch of the *Ganges*. It is broader but shallower than the *Hugly*, and more incommodious, on account of sand-banks, for shipping. A great variety of villages and little cottages appear below the opening of this river; and still greater numbers on those vast plains which extend along the *Hugly*; but no town of consequence till you come to *Calcutta*, a market for corn, butter, oil, coarse cloth, and other commodities. *Calcutta* and *Juanpardas* are both seated on deep rivers: that by the former runs eastward; b by the latter, by the back of *Hugly Island*, and is in fact a branch of the *Ganges*. This river leads up to a place called *Ruduagar*, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth and silk handkerchiefs. *Bussindri* and *Trafinddi*, or *Gorgat* and *Cotrong*, are situated on this river, and well known for their furnishing the best sugars to be met with in *India*. A little higher up on the east side of *Hugly* river, is *Ponjilly*; and about a league farther up stands *Calcutta* or *Fort William*, where the company has a settlement, and that the largest of all, *Fort St. George* alone excepted. The factory removed hither, A. 1690, from *Hugly*, Mr. *Chamock* being then agent in *Bengal*. Having the liberty of settling an emporium in any part of the banks of the river below *Hugly*, he fixed upon this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy he could have chosen (S). The fort is an irregular tetragon, built with bricks, c and a kind of mortar they call *Puckah*, a composition of brick-dust, lime, melasses, and cut hemp or oakum. This, when thoroughly dry, is as hard, firm and strong, as any stone, closely adhering to the bricks. The town is not more regular than the fort; the houses seeming, by their situation, to be rather a work of chance, than of design. Every man built as he thought proper, and best suited his conveniency and taste, without regard to the disposition of the whole. Some stand on a line with the street; others separated from it by a garden; and not two houses bear any resemblance to each other in situation or architecture.

ABOUT fifty yards from the fort stands the church, erected by the pious charity of merchants residing here, and the benevolence of mariners. When a minister dies, which d frequently happens, from the unwholesomeness of the air, one of the young merchants officiates in his room, for which he is allowed fifty pounds *per ann.* added to his other salary, during his apostolical service. The governor's house in the fort is esteemed the neatest and most compleat piece of architecture in *India*. Besides, the factors, writers, and other servants have commodious apartments within the fort; together with storehouses, magazines, &c. There is also a good hospital at *Calcutta*; a necessary precaution, considering the frequent occasions there are for it. The company has also pretty gardens, which furnish the factory with all kinds of vegetables. In the garden is a pond, well stored with carp, mullets, calkops, and other kinds of fish. All the other inhabitants of *Calcutta* enjoy the same conveniencies; every sort of provision being plentiful and e good.

ON the opposite side of the river are docks for careening and refitting the shipping. Here the *Armenians* have a good garden. We cannot but admire that this spot was not chosen to build the settlement in, as it enjoys almost every advantage in a degree superior to the present situation. The garrison of *Fort William* generally consists of three or four hundred men. Not many years since, the chief use of the soldiers was to escort the fleet from *Patana*, with the company's salt-petre, piece goods, raw silk, and opium. Afterwards, as they held the colony in fee-tail of the *Mogul*, they apprehended no enemies; but dear-bought experience has lately taught the company how little stress is to be laid on this particular, on which they founded their security. Upon whatever terms they stand f with the *Mogul*, they cannot be too vigilant and circumspect in watching the designs of the neighbouring Rajahs. These petty princes, who inhabit the banks of the river, pretend to exact a certain duty on all merchandize passing by their territories, or through their dominions on the river. They have been known to levy forces to compel payment,

¹ HAMILTON, vol. i. c. 31.

(S) For three miles to the north-east is a salt-water lake, that overflows in the months of *September* and *October*. In *November* and *December*, when those floods are withdrawn, the fishes are left dry in prodigious quantities. Their putrefaction is supposed to affect the air; which, together with the foetid putrid exhalations from

the ooze and slime, is conveyed by the north-east wind to *Fort William*, causing a yearly mortality. Captain *Hamilton* relates, that one year when he was there, out of no more than 3000 inhabitants, 460 died in less than one year (1).

(1) *Hamilton*, vol. ii.

but never successfully, till the year 1757, when this unhappy colony was taken, sacked, and several gentlemen of fortune and merit miserably stifled in the *Black Hole*.

In *Calcutta* there is hardly any sort of manufacture. The government, which is pretty arbitrary, imprudently discourages industry and ingenuity in the populace, founding their security partly on the poverty of the wretched natives. By the weight of the company's authority, if a native has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the meanest *British* subject, he is liable to punishment by fine, imprisonment, or corporal suffering.

ALL religions are tolerated here, the Presbyterian excepted; for of all persons a sectarist is to them the most odious. The Pagans are permitted to carry their idols in procession; but a Presbyterian is not suffered to worship God, unless in a surplice. The company's colony is limited by a land-mark at *Governapore*, and another near *Baruagal*, about six miles distant; the salt-water lake bounding it on the land-side. It is reputed to contain about 15,000 souls. The revenues arising to the company are considerable, and well paid: they proceed from ground-rent, and consulage on all goods imported or exported by *British* subjects; for all other nations are free from all customs.

THE *English* gentlemen and ladies live splendidly and pleasantly in *Fort William*. The forenoons are dedicated to business, afternoons to rest, and evenings to recreation. They make excursions into the fields or gardens in chaises or palanquins; or by water in budgeroes, a convenient boat, that rows swiftly. Here they fish, and shoot teal, widgeon, and other wild fowl. At night they visit in a friendly manner, except where pride and ostentation, which too frequently happen, spoil society. The ladies in particular are in a perpetual state of hostilities, founded upon emulation of dress, table, and rank. In short, neither men or women are unanimous in any thing, besides oppressing the natives, enlarging their fortunes by any means, and yet maintaining the appearance of expence and grandeur^m.

The city of
Hugly.

ALTHOUGH the company has properly no factory at *Hugly*, yet being the great emporium of the trade of *Bengal*, a short account of it may not be impertinent. It is a town of large extent, but ill built, stretching for two miles along the river. It carries on a prodigious trade; all foreign goods being brought hither for import, and those of the produce of *Bengal*, and the neighbouring provinces, for exportation. Fifty or sixty rich ships take in cargoes here yearly, besides what is carried by small vessels to several adjacent countries. The vessels that bring saltpetre from *Patana* hither, are frequently fifty yards in length, five in breadth, and two and a half in depth, carrying 200 tons. They fall down in the month of *October* with the stream; but are carried back in tow, and by the strength of men, bullocks, and horses, for above 1000 miles. To enumerate all the goods exported from this port would swell into a great length. Many of them may be seen at the company's sales; but opium, pepper, piece goods, tobacco, and several other kinds of merchandize, are chiefly taken up by the *India* shipping. We shall conclude this account of the bay of *Bengal* with observing, that since the revolution in *Siam*, and the expulsion of the *English*, from their own imprudent conduct, the company's affairs have been fully reinstated; and they now enjoy the benefit of the commerce of the gulph of *Bengal*, from the mouths of the *Ganges*, to the extremity of the promontory of *Malacca*, without any disbursements for settlements, forts, or factories.

The company's
settlements in
the island of
Sumatra.

ON the island of *Sumatra* the company have two valuable settlements, viz. *Fort Marlborough* and *Sillebar*, besides factors residing in *Achen*. Their trade with this island is of early date, as may be seen by the commercial treaties between queen *Elizabeth* and the queen of *Achen*. Since then their privileges have been considerably enlarged by the judicious conduct of Mr. *Grey*, chief of the *English* settlements in the island. This gentleman obtained the following terms:

1st. THAT the *English* have free leave to buy sell, barter, tarry at, or depart from, *Achen* at their own pleasure.

2d. THAT they pay no other custom on goods imported or exported besides the ordinary duty of the *Chap*; a ceremony used on a ship's entering the river.

3d. IN case of shipwreck in the dominions of *Achen*, the subjects shall assist, and restore whatever is saved to the owners; and none of the men be enslaved, according to the laws of the country.

4. THEY shall have ground for a house, warehouse, and other conveniencies, and liberty at their departure to make the most of them.

5. IN case of death, the goods of the deceased shall be at the disposal of the chief of the factory.

6th. THE laws of the kingdom shall have no power over an *English* offender; but he shall be tried and punished at the discretion of the chief. And in case any native or

^m HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 33, 34. SALMON, p. 256.

a subject whatsoever abuse the *English*, present justice shall be inflicted on him, as he deserves.

7th. THAT their goods shall not be forced from the *English*, nor returned to them after they are sold. Present payment shall be made, and they assisted in recovering debts, by such powers as shall be requisite.

8th. THAT no seizure be made in the sovereign's name; but current money paid for every thing bought for his or her use.

9th. THAT they exercise the Christian religion without molestation; and if a subject ridicule them on that account, he shall be punished.

10th. THAT no *English* refugee be protected; and on the other hand, that the *English* give b no sanctuary to a native who flies from the law.

11th. That, according to custom, they bring their annual presents.

12th. THAT, as formerly, they shall have all the sapan wood in these dominions, at tale, i. 4 M. S. *per Baban*.

13th. THAT such merchants as bring goods in any of their ships be free from paying *Savoa*, or the fifth part of the customs, provided the number of ships exceed not three every monsoon.

14th. THAT all ships bring a letter from the chief of the place from whence they came, to the governor of the town, certifying, that they belong to the company, &c.ⁿ.

THESE articles are a confirmation and extension of the original privileges granted to the c *English*, which we believe are retained to this day.

THE city of *Achen*, metropolis of the kingdom of that name, is situated in the north-west end of *Sumatra*, in five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is by much the most considerable port in the island. The city stands in a place surrounded with woods and marshes, about the distance of half a league from the sea. It is an open town, without wall or moat; the king's palace, with a ditch drawn round, seated in the centre. There are about 8000 houses in the city, most of them built on wooden pillars, to secure them against inundations and damps. The company had formerly a factory here, but finding it did not answer, they withdrew it. The chief produce of the kingdom of *Achen*, are some gold dust, camphor, and sapan wood, which they barter for opium, of which they are exceedingly fond, rice, d saltpetre, cotton, and silk manufactures, &c. The quantity of gold dust, however, merits little consideration.

*Description of
the city of
Achen.*

ON the arrival of a ship, the *Shabander* must be applied to for liberty to trade. At the *Great Quala*, or river's mouth, the persons who go first on shore are examined by the officer of the guard, who presently gives notice of their arrival to his superiors, whose province it is to adjust the preliminaries, which consist of a formal oath, agreed upon between the company and the sovereign, under the mediation of Mr. Grey. The current price of gold at *Achen*, in June 1704, was tale 7. 2. *per Buncal*, of 1 oz. 10 dwt. 21 gr. The current exchange is 2 pagodas *per Buncal*, about 24 finams less than the gold will produce in the mint.

e IN money, 1400 to 1600 cash are a mace, or one-third sterling; 1500 is allowed in accounts; one fourth of a mace is a copang; 16 mace 1 tale, an imaginary money.

THE provisions in the *Bazar*, or market, are goats flesh, fowls, buffaloes flesh, fish, &c. The camphor sold in this country is brought from the *Sunda Islands*. It is in general good, but the best sort appears in small scales, white and transparent, worth about 4 s. 6 d. *per* ounce. The common sort resembles large sea sand, and is sold at 2 s. 6 d. an ounce.

THE bezoar found here is taken from the hog deer, as they call them. It is an animal something larger than a rabbit, the head like a dog, legs and feet resembling a deer. This bezoar is valued at ten times its weight in gold. It is of a dark brown colour, smooth on the external coat, and that taken off, the colour is still darker, with small fibres underneath.

f It will swim on water. There are said to be stones bred in the maw of the *Nicobar* pigeon, not inferior to the best bezoar. Another sort of bezoar there is, said to be taken from the porcupine, from which animal it has its name. It is of a reddish colour, full of small transparent strias or veins. It has not the bitter taste of the *Siaca* bezoar we have spoken of, nor will it like it swim in water. The monkey bezoar is of a light green tinge, and of a finer polish and lustre than the goat bezoar. Some of them weigh half an ounce, which is valued at 40 or 50 rupees, about 3 l. 12 s. 6 d. But the bezoar from *Surat*, which is commonly termed monkey bezoar, is sold for 6 or 7 rupees an ounce. Some indeed have imagined, that what comes from both places is a composition, no way meriting the high price put upon it; and this indeed seems to be the opinion of the ablest physicians, g who make no difference between it and several succedaneums now substituted in its stead.

ⁿ LOCKYER, c. 2.

THE pepper plant is a production of this island, and a great part of the company's trade arises from this commodity, which the natives cultivate with great care, though without all the success which is found in other places on the *Indian* coast. As to the gold produced in this country, it is affirmed by many writers, that, *Japan* and *China* excepted, it is nowhere found in greater quantities. The *Dutch*, by being possessed of the neighbouring island of *Java*, have had the address to fix themselves likewise on *Sumatra*, where they are said to be in possession of a gold mine. However, it turns out but of small account to the proprietors°. It is not to be doubted, but the company act with more prudence in neglecting the search after the precious metal, well knowing, that commerce is of itself the richest mine; a maxim which the empires of *Japan*, *China*, and *Spain*, sufficiently evince. The two former have neglected to dig for gold, which they can more securely draw by trade; the latter has impolitically neglected trade to dig in *Potosi*; though, of all the kingdoms in *Europe*, *Spain* retains the smallest share of that immense wealth it yearly brings from *Mexico* and *Peru*. Industry and parsimony are always the best mines; and they alone have raised to the highest pitch of affluence every nation cultivating them.

THE company know, that the mines of *Sumatra* must be worked at a prodigious expence, and the hazard of incurring the aversion of the natives. The *Dutch* have proved the justness of their reasoning. The only certain method then of acquiring the benefit of the gold trade is what they have taken; settling colonies on the island, using the inhabitants with gentleness and affability, observing the most severe justice in all dealings with them, and thus by degrees conciliating their esteem to the *European* manners. This we take to be the true method of inducing them to use or take off *European* commodities. Thus the inconvenience and danger of securing the obedience of so many barbarous nations with a handful of men, will be avoided; a correspondence will be maintained, which will draw vast quantities of gold into *Europe*, will afford bread to infinite numbers of poor at home; the real and solid wealth of a state. Navigation and naval power, the arts, the sciences, and the true knowledge of life will be promoted.

Sillebar.

Bencoolen
and Fort
Marlborough.

PROCEEDING through the *Streights of Sunda*, to the west coast of *Sumatra*, and thence northward, we meet with the *English* settlement at *Sillebar*. It lies in a bay, at the mouth of a large river of the same name. There is nothing belonging to this little factory, established chiefly for the benefit of the pepper trade, worth notice. Ten miles farther to the northward is *Bencoolen*, where was the chief *English* colony, till it was removed at a small distance to *Fort Marlborough*. *Bencoolen* is known at sea by a high slender mountain, called the *Sugar Loaf*, that rises twenty miles beyond it in the country. Before the town lies an island, within which the shipping usually ride, and with this, the point of *Sillebar* extending two or three leagues southward of it, forms a large and commodious bay. The town is almost two miles in compass, inhabited chiefly by natives, who build their houses on bamboo pillars, as at *Achen*. The *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Chinese*, had each a separate quarter. The *Chinese* build all upon a floor, after the fashion of their country. The *English* and *Portuguese* build after their own model; but they found themselves under the necessity of using timber, instead of bricks or stone, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which the country is alarmed. As the town stands upon a morass, the noxious vapours, elevated by the heat of the sun, made the air extremely sickly to *European* constitutions. Shoals perished yearly, and had not a more healthy spot been fixed upon for the factory, it must probably have been intirely abandoned. We already have given a minute account of the new fort; it will therefore be unnecessary to enlarge farther upon it.

THE last place belonging to the company is the island of *St. Helena*, so called by the *Portuguese*, who were the first discoverers of it on *St. Helen's* day, in the year 1502. This island ought, in geographical order, to be described among the *African* islands; but as it is the property of a company, and so necessary to the refreshment of our ships, exhausted with so long a stretch as that from any of their settlements on *Coast and Bay*, as it is called, we have here given it a place. It stands in sixteen degrees of south latitude, about six hundred leagues north-west of the *Cape of Good Hope*, almost half-way between the continents of *Africa* and *America*, but nearer to that of the former, from whence it is distant about twelve hundred miles; and thence is accounted one of its islands (A).

° HAMILTON, vol. ii. c. 41—43. SALMON, p. 256—275.

(A) *Mandefloe*, in his voyage to *India*, says, that *St. Helena* stands sixteen degrees twelve minutes south, and is distant from *Angola* 350 leagues, from *Brazil* 510 leagues, and from the *Cape of Good Hope* 550 leagues. *Pirard de la Val* places it in sixteen degrees, and 620 leagues from the *Cape*; whereas, on the contrary, that sensible mariner *Roggeveen* affirms, that it lies in sixteen degrees fifteen minutes south latitude, 350 leagues from *Augustin*, which is the nearest land. *William Funnel*, in

his voyage, lays it down in sixteen degrees south latitude, and twenty-two degrees longitude west from the *Cape*; whereas the famous *Candish* says, that it stands in fifteen degrees forty-eight minutes south latitude. The situation we have given is, however, not only the medium between these discordant opinions, but the degree as determined by that excellent mathematician the great *Dr. Halley*.

- a As the winds always blow a moderate gale from the south-east, there cannot be a more pleasant voyage than from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *St. Helena*, which is generally performed in less than three weeks, without shifting a sail, or giving the least apprehension or trouble to the mariners. However, it must be reckoned one of the greatest inconveniencies attending the situation of this island, that the outward-bound *Indiamen* cannot touch upon it, and are forced to proceed at one stretch from *Madeira*, or at least from the *Canary* or *Cape de Verd* islands, where they seldom put in, to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The wind blowing constantly from the south-east in these seas, there is no sailing directly from the northward hither; and a ship sent from *England* to *St. Helena*, must first sail as far southward as the *Cape*, and return from thence to the island: it is indeed to be questioned, whether *St. Helena* has ever been three times made
- b in a direct course from *Europe*, though we have been told of such accidents arising from storms, or some extraordinary causes ^a.

WHEN the *Portuguese*, those great founders of trade and navigation, first discovered *St. Helena*, they stocked it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and used to touch at it for provisions, water, and refreshments, in their return from their *India* voyages, then deemed infinitely more hazardous and long, than experience and improvement in the sciences have now rendered them: but there is no certainty whether they ever established a colony in it, though it is highly probable they did, for the conveniency of preparing all things against the arrival of their shipping. What seems to strengthen this opinion is, the observation of the celebrated commodore *Roggevin*, who affirms, that the *Portuguese* having one of their *India* ships cast

c away here, they built a chapel afterwards of the wreck, which, though now intirely decayed, has given its name to the finest valley on the island, and one of the most beautiful in the world ^b. This judicious seaman further says, that, besides quadrupeds, the *Portuguese* brought hither fowls, partridges, pheasants, &c. which now run about the mountains in prodigious numbers, and planted a variety of fruit-trees, as lemons, oranges, and pomegranates, all of which, from the excellency of the climate, have increased so amazingly, as to make many people imagine they were the indigenous and native growth of the island (B). But, whether they planted a colony in it or not, certain it is, that it was totally abandoned when the *Dutch* first took possession; and that not a *Portuguese* was found on the island, when, in the year 1600, the *English* became its masters (C).

- d AFTER the *English* had once got possession of *St. Helena*, they maintained it without disturbance till the year 1673, when the *Dutch* took it by surprize, but did not long enjoy the fruits of their conquest; for it was retaken a short time afterwards, by the brave captain *Munden*, with three *Dutch East Indiamen* in the harbour, all of which became prize, the *Dutch* wholly driven out of the island, and quiet possession kept from that time. Upon this occasion the *Hollanders* had fortified the landing-place, and erected batteries of great guns there, to prevent a descent; but the *English* having knowlege of a small creek, where only two men abreast could creep up, climbed to the top of the rock in the night, and appearing the next morning behind the batteries, the *Dutch* were so terrified that they threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. This creek has been since fortified, and a battery of large
- e cannon planted at the entrance of it; so that now the island is rendered perfectly secure against all regular approaches or sudden attacks.

THE island of *St. Helena* is about twenty-one miles in circumference (twenty according to *Lockyer*, and eight leagues in length, says captain *Funnel*), and the land so high, that it may be discerned at sea above twenty leagues distance. It consists indeed of one vast rock, perpendicular on every side, like a castle in the middle of the ocean, whose natural walls are too high to be attempted by scaling ladders; nor is there the smallest breach, except at the bay called *Chapel Valley Bay*, which is fortified with a strong battery of fifty large cannon, planted even with the water, and farther defended by the perpetual dashing of prodigious waves against the

f shore, which, without farther resistance, makes the landing difficult; and a little creek we have just mentioned, where two or three men may land from a small boat, but now rendered inaccessible by a battery. As there is no other anchorage but at *Chapel Valley*, touching here is extremely precarious; for the wind always setting from the south-east, if a ship once overshoots it, it is a matter of great difficulty again to recover the harbour.

^a PIRARD DE LA VAL, apud Harris, t. i. p. 702.

^b HARRIS, p. 312.

(B) There had formerly, says the same gentleman, been a hermit, who took up his residence here, and killed a number of goats, with the skins of which he traded with the *Portuguese* shipping; but they removed both him and some blacks that had settled in the mountains (1).

(C) *Cavendish* relates, in his curious voyage, that,

when he put in here, he found a chapel, with a handsome causeway leading to it. Within it was hung with painted cloths, having an altar, a frame with two bowls, and a free-stone cross adjoining to it. On the altar was the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, the story of the crucifixion, and some other religious paintings, not ill executed, upon a large table (2).

(1) *Roggevin*, p. 312.

(2) *Harris*, p. 20.

NOTWITHSTANDING *St. Helena* appears on every side to be a hard barren rock, yet on the top it is covered with a coat of fine rich mould, about a foot and a half deep, which produces all manner of grain, grass, fruits, herbs, roots, and every kind of vegetable, in the utmost perfection and plenty, did the industry of the people co-operate with the bounty of nature. In the year 1585, when *Cavendish* was there, it was one of the most delightful spots in the universe. The valley, says he, where the church stands, is exceedingly pleasant; so full of fine trees and useful plants, that it appears like a fine well cultivated garden, where are long walks of lemon, orange, citron, pomegranate, date, fig, and other trees, charged with fruit, green, ripe, and in blossom, all at the same time. Nothing can exceed the pleasure afforded by this delightful shade, not to be excelled by paradise itself; a chrystal spring rising at a distance, that diffuses itself into a number of small rivulets, watering the several parts of the valley, and refreshing every plant and every tree. In the whole, there is hardly a space empty: for what nature has left unoccupied, that art has supplied, by a happy imitation of her works. Such was the appearance of this admired scene, when *Cavendish* performed his voyage round the world; and such it still might be, were the *English* to bestow half the labour in cultivating it that the *Dutch* do at the *Cape of Good Hope* (D).

AFTER ascending the rock which borders it to the sea, the country is prettily diversified with rising hills and vallies, the first covered naturally with a great variety of herbs, and the latter adorned with elegant plantations of fruit-trees and gardens, among which are dispersed the houses of the natives; while herds of cattle low about the fields, some of which are fattened for the supply of shipping and of the islanders, and the rest kept for milk, butter, and cheese, and to afford a prospect equally rich and delightful. Although no country under heaven produces finer crops of wheat, yet such is the indolence and ignorance of the inhabitants (for we cannot attribute it to the quality of the climate), that amidst affluence they are starved, and their crops totally consumed by rats, which breed in incredible numbers, and destroy every thing with all the desolation occasioned by locusts in some other countries. This, however, is an evil to which certainly a remedy might be applied, as well as to the scarcity of wine, with which commodity they are now supplied by the company's ships, and also with flour and malt.

As the island is too sandy, and the soil too thin for large trees to take root, it is extremely deficient in wood; and their very houses are sent ready framed from *England*: but with regard to under-wood, they have as much as is wanted in this warm climate. There are upon the island between two and three hundred *English* families, or at least descended from *English* parents, or some way allied to them. Some *French* refugees were likewise encouraged to settle, in order to propagate vines and make wines, a point in which they have by no means been successful. Every family has its house and plantation on the higher part of the island, where they look after their cattle, hogs, goats, and poultry, fruit and kitchen gardens, without scarce ever descending to the town in *Chapel Valley*, unless it be once a week to church, or when the shipping arrives; at which time almost every house in the valley is converted to a punch-house, or lodgings for their guests, to whom they sell their hogs, poultry, and fruits, receiving in exchange flour, wine, and whatever necessaries they want; but they must first come into the company's warehouse. The merchandize usually laid in by the company are

(D) This island, next to *Tinian*, would undoubtedly be the pleasantest spot in the universe, and afford the happiest retreat for a speculative mind, wearied with the cares and hurry of the great world, were its dimensions greater, better inhabited with sociable beings, and somewhat nearer the continent, or at least more frequented by shipping. The climate is amazingly temperate, equal, and wholesome; the fresh water pure, the soil prolific, and fruits of all kinds in the utmost profusion. The land abounds with flesh and fowl, and the sea with fish; nor is any thing wanting that might not easily be procured by art, were the proper means followed. When the *Dutch* first settled on the *Cape of Good Hope*, imagination cannot paint a scene more the reverse of what it now is than what it was; but that prudent people, perceiving its importance, determined to improve it with that indefatigable industry for which they are famed, and deservedly esteemed. The difficulties they encountered were innumerable; but resolving not to be overcome, they persevered with such diligence, as, from a barren, despicable desert, they have, by force of human labour, rendered it incomparably the finest settlement on the globe; and have proved a number of maxims, then received with regard to planting, to be absolutely false. Among others it had been often declared, and indeed abandoned, as impossible, that vines should grow in

such a climate, at least in such perfection as to produce wine; but they have shewn that the *Cape* is capable of producing vines not only equal to those of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France*, but greatly superior in quality to many of their wines, and equal in the opinion of some to any. Their red and white wines are both of them rich, pleasant, and wholesome, if kept to a due age; and particularly the last, which is highly prized by the curious. The industry of this nation, and their great improvements, invite the *English* and *French* shipping to the *Cape*, which is possibly the reason that the company bestows less pains, and reaps a smaller advantage from *St. Helena*, than they probably might. It at the same time points out the different genius, and characterizes the natural dispositions, of the *English* and *Dutch*; for had the *Cape* been in the hands of our company, it is scarce probable it would have received half the improvement it has; and were *St. Helena* in the hands of the *Dutch*, they would hardly suffer the inhabitants to want bread, and depend upon the precarious supply of ships for wine, as they at present do. In a word, they would at least have put an end to those vermin that eat up all the produce, and are an equal disgrace and loss to the company; we mean rats, which are found here in such plenty, as cannot be described or hardly conceived.

a *Cape* wines, brandy, *European* or *Canary* wines, *Batavia* arrack, beer, malt, sugar, tea, coffee, china-ware, *Japan* cabinets, &c. linnen, callicoes, chints, muslins, ribbands, woollen cloths, and stuffs, with a variety of other particulars, which it would be unnecessary to recite.

THE complexions of people born in this island differ from those of all warm climates besides ; for here their faces look fresh and ruddy, with all the bloom of health and robustness of constitution, without that fallowness peculiar to those born within or near the *Tropics*, where white people look pale, sickly, and wan, without any of that mixture of red and white to be found in the natives of *St. Helena*, which may be ascribed to the following causes. Here they live on the top of a mountain, always open to the sea breezes, that blow constantly, and refresh the air. They are wholly employed in the healthful occupations of husbandry and gardening.

b Their island has no fens to annoy it, and no rivers which overflow their banks, and leave a stagnating water to be exhaled by the sun's beams, which renders the air gross, and charged with malignant vapours : besides, the atmosphere is greatly cooled by charming refreshing showers, that agreeably temper the warmth of the climate. To this may be added, the constant exercise the inhabitants undergo, from the very nature of the island ; for in going from the town in *Chapel Valley* to their plantations, the road is so steep, that they are forced to climb a great part of the way, and in one place to use a ladder, which from hence is called *Ladder Hill* ; nor can this be avoided without going two or three miles round (E).

As to the genius and disposition of the natives, most writers describe them to be the happiest, the most inoffensive, and hospitable people to be met with in any country. Upon their being

c asked if they had not a curiosity to see the world, of which they must have heard so much, and how they could confine their whole lives to a spot of earth scarce seven leagues in circumference, apart from the rest of mankind ? Their general answer was, that they enjoyed all the necessaries of life in profusion ; they were neither parched with excessive heat, or pinched with intense cold ; but enjoyed a happy medium between both ; they lived in perfect security, in no danger of enemies, robbers, wild beasts, rigorous seasons, the tumults of ambition, and were blessed with an uninterrupted flow of spirits and health : that if they had no exceeding rich men among them, they were also happy in having no poor, the oppression on the one hand, or the feelings of humanity on the other, that must necessarily attend so unequal a distribution of the gifts of fortune. There was among them scarce any planter worth more than a thousand

d dollars, and hardly any who did not possess four hundred ; and consequently not obliged to undergo more labour than was necessary to preserve his health. Such was the just manner in which this happy and primitive people reasoned. They added, that should they transport themselves into any other country, their small fortunes, which enabled them to live here with affluence, would there scarce preserve them from want ; and they should be exposed to innumerable hazards, difficulties, and hardships, of which they were now ignorant, but from the report of their countrymen. And indeed there is but one inconvenience that can be objected to their situation ; viz. the oppression of their governor, which has sometimes happened, though seldom, considering the opportunities he has, and that natural malignity of the human mind, which thinks itself exalted by debasing others, and measures its own greatness by the meanness of all around. As the inhabitants of *St. Helena* have no opportunity of making known their grievances to those who are able to redress them, it is amazing that they are not more oppressed than even they have been, under their most despotic governor. This may probably be attributed to the very causes which offered so many occasions of destroying the felicity of those beneath him ; for, cut off from all communication with the rest of mankind, he is naturally led into a train of reflections, which shew him that happiness is preferable to greatness, and the former to be acquired only by preserving the affections of those over whom he presides. As far as we are able to learn, they have been for generations back governed by an equal and impartial hand, and, while they continue to enjoy this felicity, *St. Helena* may be looked upon as the paradise of the world.

f IT is true, that the females of this island have been stigmatized by a certain diminutive writer, who would shew his ill-natured wit at the expence of candour, truth, and charity, with a looseness of morals, and turn for gallantry with the officers of the *East India* ships who put in there, which greatly obscures the picture we have above drawn : yet we will ven-

(E) Most voyagers who have touched here have soon experienced the healthfulness of the climate, and the salutary effects of the refreshing vegetables and wholesome water of this island. The most sickly and scorbutic crews have been restored to full vigour and strength, in a time incredibly short. *Francis Pirard de la Val*, who was afterwards shipwrecked on the *Maldivia* islands, touched at *St. Helena* in the year 1601,

with his crew in the most deplorable situation that imagination can picture to itself, hardly a man on board being fit to hand a sail or walk the deck, so eat up and weakened were they with the scurvy ; yet in the space of nine days they all recovered their former health, acquired an additional vigour and cheerfulness to what they possessed naturally, all owing to the climate and salubrious native vegetables of *St. Helena* (3).

(3) *Vide his voyage*, p. 52.

ture to affirm, that however true this may be of individuals, in general, female modesty, a chastity, and simplicity of manners, are no-where more strictly observed than at *St. Helena* (F). One thing, however, must be acknowledged; it is, that admitting the gallantry of the ladies, they are notwithstanding strict in all other principles of honour; nor does the latitude a female allows herself in one part of her conduct, at all influence the rest. Unlike the ladies of pleasure in *Europe*, they are here strictly honest, without that rapacious disposition that characterizes a truly fashionable prostitute. They seem to share in the joy they give, and to regard their pleasure without a view to their profit; the only circumstance that can palliate the violation of the most shining female ornament.

To conclude this account of *St. Helena*. Near *Chapel Valley* is the fort, where the governor and garrison reside, which is but inconsiderable, the situation of the island forming its chief strength. The governor has always centinels on the highest part of the island to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all shipping, upon which guns are fired, as a signal for every man to repair to his post. Thus it is impossible for a ship to come in the night, but preparations have been made the day before, when she cannot fail of having been discovered. This precaution, so well known to all nations, renders the natives secure against all attacks, and gives this satisfaction to our mariners, that as soon as they appear in the offing, they are sure to find every thing ready for their reception as friends. The reader we hope will pardon us, if we have dwelt so long upon this inconsiderable place, which we think might be improved greatly to the honour and advantage of the *East India* company. We rather expect this indulgence, as it is inhabited by one of the best colonies of our countrymen, who still retain the old *English* hospitality and sincerity, the unaffected simplicity and benevolence of our ancestors, unmixed with that narrow pride and selfish prodigality of their posterity, that squanders away princely estates in gratifying the passions and vanity of one worthless individual, without a single action useful to community, or becoming the dignity of human nature.

To conclude, the company were formerly in possession of divers settlements on the coast of the *Chinese* empire, as well as in the kingdom of *Tonquin*, all of them now withdrawn. They still trade largely to those parts; but without having any established factories. Their house was formerly in the island of *Chusan*, when the trade was carried on at *Ameyor*. From thence it was removed to *Canton*, where, for about forty years, it flourished with such vigour, that they were in expectation of wholly engrossing this beneficial branch of commerce. What defeated those expectations, were the high duties laid upon tea, and other *Chinese* commodities. This tax gave an encouragement to smuggling, which soon reduced the *China* trade far below its natural standard. As a part of this tax has been taken off, it is probable that the trade is now again upon a proper footing; though if we may judge from the late extravagant price of tea, there is still some defect, either in the commerce itself, or in the conduct of it. One thing is certain, that the government will always find it an imprudent measure to tax this commodity high; as the revenues will constantly rise in the proportion in which the price of tea falls. Whether this be a natural advantage, including all circumstances, it is not our business to enquire.

The English prohibited to trade to the Manila or Philippine Islands.

THE company are in a manner wholly excluded from the *Manila* or *Philippine Islands*, at least in a public manner. The *French*, indeed, allege that they trade there under *Irish* colours; but they best know what colours these are; or whether they would afford any protection to the shipping. Our opinion is, that any commerce carried on with those islands, is in fact done under *Morisco*, *Armenian*, or *Portuguese* flags. The custom of the *Spanish* nation in this particular is without example: the trade is laid open, and no people on earth excluded, except the *Dutch* and *English*; a precaution of little consequence, where the inhabitants find it their interest to overlook it. In *Japan* there is not the faintest trace of *English* commerce; all the commodities of that vast empire, with which our company is supplied, being furnished at second-hand by the *Chinese* and *Dutch*.

(F) "The chief town," says *Lockyer*, "is in *Chapel Valley*, where there may be forty or fifty houses contiguous, of which the punch-houses are the most remarkable, especially where there is a handsome girl or two in the family to humour the sailors. These, when they appear in their white aprons on the hills, are very agreeable objects to their *Johns*, as they come into the road. They have many of them pretty begging faces, and are dressed tolerably well while ships are there; but as soon as they are gone, the

scene is altered, and they can run up and down the country bare foot, as if they never had been shod." The same author acquaints us, "that the natives keep a number of blacks, whom they employ in all servile occupations. These, upon hard usage, run away from their masters, and hide themselves for whole months among the rocks, keeping secure by day, and roving about in the night in quest of provisions; which, though a hard life, they prefer to slavery (4).

(4) *Lockyer's account of India*, p. 306.

a We shall sum up the whole of our account of the *English East India* company with a few remarks, by way of introduction to the commercial histories of other *European* nations, as they follow in this volume. And first, it is observable, that no country was more famous and celebrated among the antients, and none less known, than the *Indies*. Nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notions of this quarter of the globe, although they were founded on the nature of a country, whose wealth and profusion of the luxuries of life, had rendered it above all others remarkable. Common report had magnified every thing into the marvellous; the land produced men that were giants, and the rivers were replenished with monsters: fables that were believed in the most enlightened ages of *Greece* and *Rome*. The antients were sensible that nature afforded not a more abundant source of
b wealth than the *Indian* commerce, having bestowed on this happy climate not only every necessary, but every luxury of life, in the most profuse manner; and this it was that drew thither the first sons of fame. *Bacchus*, in the fabulous period, is supposed to have first penetrated into *India*; *Hercules* exercised his valour on this theatre; *Sesostris* visited these countries, as far as the coasts of *Japan*; and *Arabia* acquired the name of *felix*, or *happy*, from her commerce with *India*. But there are no older monuments of an established maritime trade thither than that which the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* afford, chiefly the latter, the most antient commercial nation that exists in the annals of human affairs^c. *Solomon*, the most prudent of monarchs, esteemed this traffick the brightest gem in his diadem; and hence drew such immense treasures, as rendered his government the admiration of mankind. During
c the *Persian* empire, the *Phœnicians* sent their fleets into the eastern ocean; but when the despotism of that enslaved people had chased commerce from *Phœnicia*, then *Alexandria* became the mart of *Indian* merchandize; in founding which noble city, *Alexander* proposed laying the foundation of commerce; a project worthy of the conqueror of the world.

AFTER the reduction of *Persia*, this monarch set on foot three designs, of the utmost consequence to his empire and glory; the first was the perfect discovery of the *Hyrceanian* or *Caspian* sea, the greatest part of its shore being hitherto unknown. The second was a project no less great and useful, the establishing a powerful maritime force in the *Indian* ocean; for which purpose he ordered forty-seven large ships to be built by the *Phœnicians*. With these he proposed examining the *Indian* coast more accurately than hitherto had been done: to take
d an account where convenient ports might be made: and lastly, to procure perfect intelligence as to the nature and value of *Indian* commodities. His third design was the conquest of *Arabia*, with the motives for which we have nothing to do. To these designs of this hero and statesman, the best geographers, the most accurate historians, and the ablest philosophers of antiquity, own themselves indebted for almost all their knowledge of this part of the world. However, of all his expeditions, the voyage of *Nearchus*, his admiral, from the mouth of the river *Indus*, above the coast of *Persia*, through the gulph, and to the mouth of the *Euphrates*, was the most remarkable and useful to the purposes of commerce and navigation (G). But the conqueror did not live to reap the fruits of these extended views, which were afterwards carefully pursued by some of his successors, especially the *Ptolemies*, who raised
e *Alexandria* to the highest pitch of commercial greatness (H).

THE wealth which this commerce drew into *Egypt*, and which, by means of this city, it continued to enjoy for ages, was at once the cause of its prosperity and ruin; the *Romans* being invited by the former to share in a trade which brought with it such immense treasures, and so great an augmentation of their maritime force. We may judge of the value the antients put on this trade, by the avidity with which they guarded it against all encroachments. The *Romans*, after numberless victories, and establishing the most universal empire mankind had ever seen, were for a time deterred from entering on the *Indian* commerce, by the frightful tales related by the *Arabian* merchants, at that time the carriers of this prodigious treasure; but at length the love of gold triumphed over every other passion, and *Augustus* made

^c Vide Anc. Hist. vol. i. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. passim. HUET histoire du commerce et de la navigation des anciens, c. 55.

(G) This voyage *Nearchus* not only conducted in person, but also wrote a very accurate and distinct account of, which is in a great measure preserved by *Arrian*, in his history of *Alexander's* expedition. It is frequently quoted by *Strabo* and *Pliny*; and was indeed considered by the greatest writers of antiquity as the most authentic and curious piece of its kind then extant.

(H) Besides this, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* having considered the difficulties that attended the commerce of his subjects in *Arabia* and *India*, for want of proper ports in the *Arabian Gulph*, resolved to remove that inconvenience, by erecting a new city nearer the mouth of the

gulph, on the side of the isthmus or promontory that projects itself into the *Red Sea* (5). This turned out to be rather a fine city than a convenient port for trade; for the harbour, called *Myos Hormus*, was distant one thousand eight hundred stadia from the new city, called *Berenice*, from his mother. This wise prince directed likewise various towns to be built between *Berenice* and *Coptos*, upon the *Nile*, distant from it about 260 miles; but *Myos Hormus*, *Port of the mouse*, afterwards called the *Port of Venus*, was the staple of *Indian* merchandize, and from thence the trade was carried on to the *Indies* (6).

(5) *Ptolemy* places it in 23 degrees 50 minutes, Vide Tab.

(6) *Strabo*, lib. xvii. p. 815.

some attempts to open a communication with *India*. Neither the attempts of this prince, nor a of any of his successors, were successful, in establishing an immediate trade.

WHEN the *Romans* first became masters of *Egypt*, the navigation was prosecuted by sailing down the *Arabian Gulf* to a port near the promontory of *Siagrus*, which *Ptolemy* places in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty minutes. This, beyond controversy, is the point of the *Arabian* coast now called *Cape Fartak*, laid down by the best modern geographers in the same latitude. Hence they sailed to the mouth of the river *Indus*, that is, to the island of *Pattala*, so often mentioned by *Arrian*. Afterwards the navigation was changed, one *Hypalus* discovering a shorter route, under the reign of the emperor *Claudius*. This person, by observing when the trade wind blew, was enabled to pass at once through the straits, b and across the *Indian* ocean, directly to *Pattala*; which was deemed a navigation so extraordinary, that the south-west wind was afterwards called by his name*.

IN progress of time the *Romans* made still farther discoveries, in which, however, they met with perpetual interruptions, from the piracies of the *Arabians*, which obliged them, besides their ordinary complement of seamen, to carry a certain number of soldiers in each ship; a circumstance that greatly enhanced the charges of the voyage. At last the great profits it was observed this traffick might produce, if rightly cultivated, increasing the number of adventurers, all difficulties were surmounted, and an annual trade from *Alexandria* to the mouth of the *Indus* was established, by the following route. All merchandize intended for the *Indian* markets were shipped at the port of *Alexandria*, from whence they were carried to *Juliopolis*, two miles from thence, and so up the *Nile* to *Coptos*, in twenty-five deg. twenty c min. latitude, according to *Ptolemy's* tables, and 303 miles up the river. If the wind was fair, this voyage was commonly performed in twelve days. At *Coptos* the vessels were unloaded, and the goods transported on the backs of camels in eight days to *Berenice*, at the distance of 258 miles, where they remained in warehouses till the proper season of the year for continuing their voyages, which was about the rising of the dog-star; when the goods were embarked for the last time, the vessels steered directly for the *Arabian* coast, and in thirty days arrived at *Ocelis*, which *Ptolemy* the geographer places in twelve degrees, though probably that situation is greatly too far to the southward. Sometimes the fleet sailed to *Cana* or to *Mirza*, both of them ports on the opposite coasts of *Arabia*, though only frequented by the merchants of the country^d, who here bought frankincense, and took in exchange for this commodity arms, knives, and toys. *Ocelis* was however the principal port, because here they met with *Indian* merchants, and it lay commodiously for prosecuting their voyage to the continent of *India*, where they usually made the port of *Maziris* in forty days (I). This port being found inconvenient, from the depredations of certain pirates in its neighbourhood, they sought a better station, and with this view fixed upon the port of *Becaba*, whence with *Indian* proes they transported their goods up a navigable river, to a great trading town called *Madusa*. Having completed their affairs here, they seized the opportunity of the trade wind back, by the assistance of which they usually returned to *Alexandria* towards the end of *December* or beginning of *January*. The *Indian* commodities, thus brought into *Egypt*, were transported by land to *Coptos*, thence by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, and thence e to *Rome*, by the annual fleet from *Alexandria*, which was first appointed by *Augustus*.

THE expence, or rather the stock annually invested by the *Romans* in the commodities fit for this commerce, amounted in *Pliny's* time to fifty millions of sesterces, or about four hundred and three thousand pounds sterling money; the profit on goods being *cent. per cent.* An immense stock and profit, considering the early period, and the strange expensive tract of this traffick.

THIS short recital of the commerce of the *Romans* with *India* we imagined would not be disagreeable to many of our readers, especially as it is but slightly touched upon by modern writers, and to be found only in a confused and scattered manner in the remains of antiquity. f

AFTER *Constantine* had translated the seat of empire to *Byzantium*, the eastern trade still subsisted; *Alexandria* continued to be the principal emporium; while *Seleucia* of *Syria* was the route of the more inland commerce: and the barbarians dwelling on the bleak borders of the *Euxine* sea felt the charms of the wealth that poured into the *Greek* empire through this chanel. At length commerce shared the fate of learning, arts, and government, and the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the *Arabs*, the successors of *Mohammed*, extinguished every spark of the spirit of commerce and science. Fury, mad zeal, ignorance, and barbarity, seemed to be let loose to waste every thing, to debase the human genius, and confound mankind in a cloud of impenetrable darkness and obscurity.

* *Plin.* nat. hist. l. vi. c. 23.

^d *Ibid.* c. xxiii. l. 6. Etiam *Peris* maris *Erythræi*, p. 14.

(I) If *Ptolemy's* tables have not received some alteration, this port stood in the latitude of fourteen degrees.

- a But no sooner had the grandson of that monarch, who dismembered *Africa* from the descendants of *Mohammed*, founded *Grand Cairo*, and furnished protection to the merchants, than the rich flow of eastern wealth once more returned to its ancient channel, and with it liberty, learning, science, arts, and every thing valuable and dear to men. The new-built city became at once the chief mart of the western world, rich, populous, and the seat of a new empire, of which we shall have occasion to treat in a particular manner in the ensuing volumes. The *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Pisans*, *Florentines*, and some other free states of *Italy*, raised themselves on the ruins of the *Grecian* empire; and, profiting by the general confusion, seized part of its dismembered dominions; succeeding at the same time to the trade of the *Indies*, by the channel of *Egypt*: the commodities of which being distributed all over the north, were to them a mine of infinite wealth and power, that soon raised the *Venetians* in particular, from a mean despicable handful of refugees, to the most respectable state of all *Italy*, and the chief maritime power of *Europe*, perhaps of the whole world.

A P P E N D I X.

- T**HAT nothing in our power may be wanting to satisfy the curious reader in a point of so much consequence to every *Briton*, as the commerce of this nation to the *East Indies*, we shall here subjoin, by way of appendix to the foregoing history, some proposals of that sensible, though frequently ideal writer, Mr. *Malachy Postlethwayte* ^a.
- THIS ingenious gentleman gives it as his opinion, that, were the charter of the royal *African* company transferred to the *East India* company, that part relating to the slave trade only excepted, the traffick might, by this opulent corporation, be pushed to the very center of *Africa*, to powerful and rich countries now wholly unknown, and thence produce an afflux of wealth, and consumption of manufactures, of which at present we have no idea. It would besides increase the demand for *Indian* commodities, some of which are at present sent to our settlements on the *Gold Coast* and river *Gambia*; a circumstance that alone would induce them to cultivate this commerce to its highest pitch, and extend their discoveries as far as the manners of the people, the rights of other nations, and the nature of the country would permit. His words are, 'That whereas it is allowed, on all hands, that the inland trade to *Africa* hath hitherto been very negligently cultivated by any or all the *European* powers interested therein; and whereas the principal obstruction hereunto seems to be the great attention these powers have chose to give to that unnatural, unjust, cruel, and barbarous commerce, commonly called the slave trade, and the little regard that has been given to a just, humane, and civilized commerce with those people; and whereas the trade to *Africa*, with respect to these kingdoms, seems even yet to remain unsettled; it is humbly proposed, 1. That every branch of the trade to *Africa*, excepting that which is commonly called the slave trade, shall be given to the *East India* company by act of parliament, with an exclusive privilege for — years; with such other immunities and encouragements, as to the wisdom of the legislature shall seem meet. 2. That the forts and castles in *Africa*, and every thing thereto appertaining, which belong to the publick, be vested in the *East India* company; and the 10,000*l.* per ann. which is now allowed by parliament to the present *African* company, shall be granted to the *East India* company, in order the better to enable them to support and maintain these forts and castles, already erected in *Africa*. 3. That any one or more of these forts upon the coast of *Africa*, except *Cape Coast Castle* upon the *Gold Coast*, or *James Fort* on the river *Gambia*, be vested in the private and separate *British* traders, in order the better to accommodate them in their carrying on the slave trade; which forts shall be duly maintained and supported by the *East India* company, at the stated sum of 10,000*l.* 4. That the whole slave trade be left in the hands of the separate *British* traders; and that the *East India* company shall have no toleration whatsoever to interfere therein, with the interest of the separate *British* traders. 5. That every other branch of the *African* trade shall be solely under the controul, direction, and management, of the said *East India* company. 6. That the *East India* company, when possessed of these additional powers and privileges, shall be distinguished by the name of the *Royal East India and African company*, or by whatever other appellation the wisdom of parliament may judge the more eligible, 7. That one half of the commodities, *ad valorem*, to be vended in *Africa*, by the said royal *East India* company, shall consist of *British* produce and manufactures; and the other half of the produce and manufactures of the *East Indies*. 8. That the said royal *East India* and *African* company shall be obliged to erect — inland forts and factories at their own expence, in order to facilitate trade between the interior countries and the sea coasts.'

^a Dict. of trade and commerce, vid. *East Ind. comp.* t. i. p. 685.

To this scheme of Mr. *Possletwayte's* there can possibly be no other objections than the ^a injury the present proprietors in the *African* trade might receive from such a deprivation of their rights; the scruples which the *India* company might have to launch out in a new branch of commerce, at present incapable of supporting itself without the aid of parliament, altho' assisted by the slave trade, from which it is proposed they shall be excluded; and the clamours of the private traders, who might think themselves aggrieved by being confined to the slave trade alone. It would, however, be no difficult matter to remove all these objections, and prove the utility of the scheme, in a method both consistent with speculation and practice, were we at liberty to change the character of historians for that of projectors. At present we shall hint, that the present *African* company might be redressed, either by an ^b equivalent, or by incorporating them with the *East India* stocks, each proprietor holding a share proportioned to what he now enjoys, and receiving proportionable dividends, as we see has been done in the union of the two *English East India* companies, and as we shall have occasion to mention of the *French East* and *West India* companies. As to the scruples the *East India* company might have to accept of a coalition, or engage in a new branch of commerce, we imagine they might easily be surmounted, by shewing them, that it must necessarily open new markets for the reception of imported commodities from *India*, and likewise in a short time save the nation and them a great sum, now laid out in spices and some other commodities purchased from the *Dutch*, and by them only imported. The negroes are no less vain, fickle, and addicted to dress and fashion, than the *Europeans*. They are particularly fond of calicoes, chintzes, and other *Indian* cloths, which are indeed admirably adapted ^c to the climate, and might soon be brought universally to wear them, at least the women of kings, nobles, and other persons of distinction, which alone would occasion a prodigious consumption. Besides it is obvious, from the relations of voyagers, that pepper, nutmegs, and other spices, will grow in many latitudes of *Africa*; and, if such testimonies were wanting, reason dictates the probability of it, from the analogy between the soil and climate of these parts, and the countries where they are now produced. As to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, it may admit of some debate how far it might be pursued here, without injury to our *West India* colonies. Could the use of sugar and tea be introduced among the negroes, it is not possible to say how great the demand might be for both commodities, or what returns of gold, ivory, gums, &c. they might produce. Nay, it is even ^d probable, that the key to those gold mines, of which voyagers speak so much, and which the natives conceal so carefully, is the palate, for the sake of which a negro will sell his father, wife, or son. In a word, the greatest success might be expected from the influence of a wealthy body, strenuous in the pursuit of enlarging their sphere of commerce, capable of supporting their authority with dignity, of cajoling, soothing, and wheedling, the appetites of those barbarians, or, where necessity required it, of constraining them into obedience and submission. Lastly, to the grievances of the private merchant, confined solely to the slave trade, it may be a sufficient answer, that they gain more by the company's being excluded from this trade, than they lose by the restriction laid upon them. If this were insufficient, we might urge the old proverb, that of two evils the least is to be chosen; better the profits of the private trader should be diminished, than that the whole trade be lost, the government saddled with an unnecessary burden, and the *India* company deprived of a branch of commerce, which would soon render them the most powerful, wealthy, and respectable body of merchants in the universe. These arguments, which we have subjoined to Mr. *Possletwayte's* project for enlarging the *East India* commerce, the reader is at liberty to admit or reject: our endeavour is to improve his understanding, without laying any constraint on his judgment; but no one ought to entertain a prejudice against them, merely because they are new. If they are false, they will soon follow the ideal schemes of all the other projectors of the age. ^e

In vicum vendentem thus & odores.

C H A P. VII.

The conquests, settlements, and discoveries, of the Dutch in the East Indies, comprehending the history of the rise, progress, and successful establishment, of their East India company, the nature of their constitution, the extent of their dominions, the importance of their commerce, the form of rule established in their colonies, as also the domestic oeconomy of the company, and how they are subject to the states of the United Provinces.

S E C T. I.

The motives which induced the merchants in Holland to think of opening a trade to the East Indies. The project of discovering a new passage, by passing round the north-east of Europe and Asia. Three attempts made with this view, which prove all of them unsuccessful.

THE commerce, which the subjects of the States General of the United Provinces have carried on for about a century and a half in the *East Indies*, hath been so highly beneficial to them in every respect, hath brought such immense treasures into their country, has supplied such prodigious sums to their government, and hath contributed so much to that mighty naval power, to which this republic owes as well her domestic freedom, as the figure she has made in *Europe*, that a more noble or a more useful subject ^a can be hardly found, than to explain the rise, to trace the progress, and to set in a clear light, the present situation of that important trade of which they are in possession, and which it is both expedient and necessary, especially to the subjects of every maritime power, should be thoroughly understood ^b. A clear and candid representation of these points is what we shall endeavour in this chapter; and though it be true, that to handle them in their utmost extent would require a very large volume ^c, yet, by comprising matters of fact within as narrow a compass as possible, and interspersing our narrative with a few just and well-grounded observations, we hope to place this matter, and all its principal circumstances, in such a point of view, as that they may be thoroughly comprehended, and afford the reader all reasonable satisfaction.

The great importance of the Dutch commerce in the East Indies, and the scope of this chapter.

As the tyranny, which the *Spaniards* exercised over the inhabitants of the seven provinces while under their dominion, gave being to that republic; so the same arbitrary measures with regard to the inhabitants of the remaining part of the *Low Countries*, which still continued in subjection to the crown of *Spain*, was the real source of that wealth and power to which this new commonwealth rose in a manner so sudden, and so surprising to such as had not an opportunity of knowing, or a capacity of conceiving, how this extraordinary change was brought about ^d. Amongst other advantages, they furnished them with this of trading to the *East Indies* ^e. It is true, they meant nothing less; yet the methods they took were such as actually produced it; and tho' much may be attributed to the wisdom and spirit with which those intrusted with the administration in *Holland*, cherished, conducted, and protected this traffick in its infancy, yet still it must be allowed, that the foundation was laid by the mismanagements and mistakes of the *Spaniards*, without which the industry of the *Dutch* would have had nothing to work upon. So much of what is generally ascribed to human policy being in reality produced by the dispositions of Divine Providence ^f, which sometimes counteracts the best concerted projects, and crowns them at other times with more extensive success than those who formed them could either expect or foresee.

The true original of this trade.

The *Portuguese* had been near an hundred years in possession of the only direct correspondence with the east, which, together with the dominion of their country, was now transferred to the catholic king *Philip* the second ^g; and as his subjects of *Spain* and *Portugal* enjoyed the

Most of the rich merchants driven out of the Spanish

^a *Traité general du commerce*, par SAMUEL RICARD, p. 6. addressed to the Marquis of Normanby.

^b DAVENANT's essay on the East India trade, There is actually a Dutch history in eight volumes in folio.

^d *Mémoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, ch. ii. p. 60.

^e *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, par A. H. DE SALLENGRE,

^f Remarks on the rise and progress of the Dutch naval power. epitome de las historias Portuguesas, lib. v. c. 3.

^g MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA

Low Countries by severities.

exclusive trade of both the *Indies*, so his subjects in the *Low Countries* reaped the greatest part a of the profit, that arose from the disposition of their produce through the more distant parts of *Europe*^b. This had rendered *Bruges* and *Ghent* rich and populous; this had made *Antwerp* the great mart of *Europe*, had lodged her citizens in palaces, and filled her port with such incredible quantities of shipping, that it is reported four hundred vessels have come to an anchor there at one time^c. But as property begets the love of freedom, and furnishes also the means of resisting what may induce slavery, so the ministers of that great monarch very wisely informed him, that, to render these people obedient, their wealth must be diminished. These counsels, once received, were soon carried into execution; and, after *Antwerp* was reduced by force of arms, the inhabitants were so treated, that they chose rather to retire with what little they had left, than to remain in a place where they had no security of keeping it^d. The same b kind of usage had the very same effect upon the rich merchants and industrious manufacturers in the neighbouring cities; and, to avoid slavery and persecution, they fled wherever they had a reasonable prospect of living in peace, and worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences (A). Such were the effects of *Spanish* policy in the first instance!

Retire into the dominions of the states-general, and are there received, protected, and encouraged.

THE vicinity of the *United Provinces*, joined to the mildness of the government, freedom from impositions, and a general toleration, drew numbers of them thither, and of these many of the wealthiest and most experienced traders settled at *Amsterdam*, where the states gave them all imaginable encouragement, and shewed the greatest willingness to further any designs they might form for augmenting their fortunes^e. These knowing and industrious persons, well acquainted with each other, and having correspondence in most of the trading parts of *Europe*, c began to fit out ships, and to revive, as well as they were able, that general traffick which they had formerly carried on; but, as they found this impracticable without dealing in the commodities of *India*, they soon fell upon a method which answered that end tolerably well, by sending vessels, under neutral colours, to purchase those commodities in the port of *Lisbon*^f. It was not long before the *Spanish* ministers were made acquainted with this correspondence; and, persisting still in their former resolution of propagating poverty to the utmost extent of their power, they immediately resolved to put an end to what they called an illicit trade, without considering either the present consequence of depriving their master's subjects the *Portuguese* of a market for their goods; or, that which was more remote, the forcing those, that were now content to purchase them at *Lisbon*, to find a way of coming at them from the first d hand^g. Confiscating their ships, and imprisoning their flamen, quickly cured the merchants of *Amsterdam*, and thereby answered the end of the *Spanish* politicians, which was, preventing their acquisition of *Indian* commodities by that channel; which very naturally put them upon considering if they might not be obtained some other way, since, without them, experience had shewn their general assortments would be incomplete (B).

ONE would have imagined, that the shortest and most natural resolution, in this case, would have been fitting out ships for the *Indies*; and so, very probably, it was: but, upon a little

^b DE WITT's Maxims of Holland, P. i. ch. 12. cap. 1.

^c EMANUEL METEREN Histoire de Pays Bas, l. xii.

^d MARTINI SHOCKII Belgium Fœderatum, lib. vi.

Belgicis, l. v.

^e GROTII Annal. & Historiæ de rebus

^f Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval tracts, in the third volume of Churchill's voyages ^g Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement & aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(A) We have this point very clearly stated by one of the ablest writers, as well as one of the greatest statesmen, that nation ever produced. He shews the reasons which induced the principal merchants of *Antwerp*, when they found themselves constrained to abandon their own country, rather to make choice of *Holland* than of *England*, *France*, or *Zeland*, for the place of their retreat; and rather of *Amsterdam* than of any other place in *Holland*, because there they might enjoy intire liberty of conscience, pay no higher duties than the natives, and be very conveniently situated both for receiving and distributing merchandize of all sorts from and to the most distant parts of *Europe* (1).

(B) The scheme of those great merchants, who had fixed themselves at *Amsterdam*, was, to revive there that very commerce which had rendered *Antwerp* so rich and so famous. The *Dutch* writers unanimously allow, that, in doing this, the *Spaniards* concurred, without designing it, to the very utmost of their abilities; which is no great wonder, since they had the same views with

the *Dutch*, tho' directed to different ends. They were afraid the trade of *Antwerp* should recover, and the citizens become insolent through prosperity; and, to prevent this, they never attempted to re-establish the navigation of the *Schelde*, which was precisely what the *Dutch* wanted. They were also desirous of humbling the *Portuguese*, which was one reason for their laying so many restraints on the port of *Lisbon*; and this was also favourable to the *Dutch* designs. With great reason, therefore, one of their own writers remarks, in reference to the pains taken to prevent the *Dutch* from trading to *Portugal*, that, if the *Spaniards* had not seized their ships, and exposed their persons to the rigour of the inquisition, probably they had never extended their navigation beyond the *Baltic Sea*, the northern countries, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and its dependencies, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Levant* (2). But, finding this commerce not to be maintained without the commodities of the *Indies*, they were compelled to search out some way of obtaining them.

(1) De Witt's Maxims of Holland, P. i. ch. 12.

(2) Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

a consideration, it appeared to the warmest, as well as the wariest of those able merchants, a very dangerous, if not impracticable scheme. In the first place, it was objected, that the passage was long, dangerous, and difficult, and they had no seamen that were acquainted with the coasts, or factor that understood the method of carrying on the trade: next, that their enemies had a vast naval force, which would be infallibly employed to intercept their ships; and that, if they were fortunate enough to reach the *Indies*, they would find the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* stronger there than in *Europe*, and more capable of distressing and destroying them. Upon mature deliberation therefore, the setting out a few ships, at the expence of private men, to sail to the *Indies*, without any cover, commission, or protection, against those who were already possessed of a vast empire there, and were known to spare no pains to maintain and support it, was rejected as a thing well designed, but obstructed in its execution by insurmountable difficulties. This being admitted, the next point to be considered was, whether some other route might not be found, which might serve as effectually for supplanting the *Portuguese*, as that by the *Cape of Good Hope* had availed them in carrying away this lucrative trade from the *Venetians*; which, being a project free^o from those difficulties that embarrassed the former, appeared, in their judgment, to be infinitely more eligible, provided, upon experiment, it should be found practicable (C).

Desirous of opening a trade to the East Indies thro' the north-east passage.

c THE seamen and mathematicians, being called into this consultation, proposed attempting something, without delay, towards the discovery of a passage to *China* and *Japan* by the north-east; which appeared to them both probable and practicable, notwithstanding the disappointments the *English* had met with in their voyages on that side. The advantages that might be expected from this discovery were very obvious, as well as very great; it would shorten the time in going and returning to the *Indies* one half; the navigation would be much whollomer, and much easier for the seamen; they would by this means avoid all enemies in their passage; they would arrive first on those coasts which, to the *Portuguese*, were the most remote in the *Indies*, where they had the least strength, and from which, notwithstanding, they might bring the most valuable returns^p. All these particulars being considered, the expence of the trial not being very great, and the expedition requiring but a small space of time, it was agreed that no delay should be made in an undertaking of such importance. To say the truth, there is much more reason to wonder that they were so soon discouraged by their want of success in a very few attempts on that side, than that, all circumstances considered, they should venture upon an expedition which promised so fair, and the prevailing in which seemed to depend intirely upon the skill and courage of the persons employed, and this at a time when they wanted not for as able seamen as that age produced, as well foreigners as their own subjects^q.

Reasons which induced the merchants in Holland to look on the discovery as advantageous.

d A SUFFICIENT stock being raised by a small number of traders, *Balthazar Moucheron*, a *Zealander*, who was at the head of the company, petitioned prince *Maurice* and the states for leave to discover a passage to *China* by the north-east; which was readily granted him^r. Four vessels were immediately fitted out; and the chief direction was given to *William Barentz*, a very able pilot, a man of good sense, and great courage. He sailed with his small squadron e June the 5th, 1595, and proceeded to the latitude of seventy-eight degrees north; and then, not being able to prevail upon his company to continue any longer in those parts, returned to *Amsterdam* on the sixteenth of September^s. Though this voyage was unsuccessful, yet, upon the report of *Barentz*, and of others who accompanied him, the probability of discovering a passage through the *Streights of Wygatz* appeared so great, that the prince and the states ordered a fleet of six sail to be fitted out the succeeding year, with a bark to bring advice of their having

Three fruitless expeditions for the finding this passage by the north-east.

^o History of the voyages made for the discovery of a north-east passage to China, p. 3. ^p Discours sur le passage par le nord-est de l'Europe dans les mers des Indes.

^q GROT. ANNAL. LE CLERC. BASNAGE.

^r Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 57.

^s Discours preliminaire au recueil de voyages au nord, p. 23.

(C) It may not be amiss to observe here, that though the *Dutch* were driven to think of finding a passage by the north-east to the *Indies*, from the distress they were under, and the desire they had of sailing thither by such a way as to avoid meeting with the *Portuguese* or *Spaniards*, yet they were far from being the inventors of this design; since, so early as the reign of *Henry* the eighth, the *English* had in view the discovering a passage into the *South Sea* by the north-west, the sailing into the *Indian Ocean* from the north-east, or passing into either at their pleasure, through the open sea lying under the pole, as manifestly appears from Mr. *Thorn's* address (3)

to that monarch upon that subject. Besides, the famous *Sebastian Cabot* had, thirty years before the *Dutch* attempt, published his instructions for the discovery of the north east passage, which were delivered to Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who perished in attempting to find it (4); which, however, did not hinder many other voyages for the same purpose (5), and from these the *Dutch* received their best, and indeed their only, lights. The single difference, in respect to the two nations, was this, that what the *English* did was from choice; and that the *Dutch* were driven to make this trial by necessity.

(3) Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 250. of Stephen Borroughs, and of Pett and Jackman in Hackluyt and Purchas.

(4) Voyage au nord, vol. i. p. 20.

(5) See particularly those

passed the streights; which fleet, commanded by *James Heemskerck* and *William Barentz*, sailed ^a June the second, 1595; but this fleet, of which there were so great expectations, performed little or nothing, returning to *Holland* in less than five months, with an account that the savages had informed them, that there was a great sea to the eastward of *Tartary*, into which they might enter¹. This discouraged the States from attempting any thing farther at the public expence, and therefore they contented themselves with offering a reward of twenty-five thousand florins to any private persons that should attempt and make the discovery. Upon this the city of *Amsterdam* fitted out two vessels, in which *Heemskerck* and *Barentz* went, the former for the second, the latter for the third time, which sailed on the eighteenth of May, 1596. These were more unfortunate than the former, the biggest of the two ships being lost upon the coast of *Nova Zembla*, where the crew were obliged to winter, and consequently to endure prodigious hardships, by which many of them perished, and *Barentz* among the rest, who died, notwithstanding, in a full opinion that there was a passage. *Heemskerck* and the rest returned, in two shallops they had fitted up out of the wreck of their ship, in the month of October, 1597; and this put a stop for a time to all thoughts of prosecuting discoveries on this side² (D).

¹ Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 85.
Provinces Unies, p. 63.

² SALLENGRE essai d'une histoire des

(D) The most extraordinary passage that happened in this unfortunate voyage was an astronomical discovery, which, being in itself very curious, and at the same time perfectly consistent with the modern accounts of the true form of the earth, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to find it as recorded in their journal, written while they wintered in *Nova Zembla*. It runs thus (6):
 “ The 24th of January, 1597, was fine and clear; *Heemskerck*, *De Veer*, and another, took a walk along the shore, on the south side of *Nova Zembla*. *De Veer* perceiving one side of the globe of the sun, returned full of joy to bring these glad tidings to *Barentz* and the rest. *Barentz*, who was a skilful pilot, would not believe it, for, according to all computations, the sun could not be seen till a fortnight after. The rest assured him they saw it; and that dispute made them lay a wager they were right. On the 25th and 26th there was so great a fog that they could not see one another, so that those that laid the negative wager thought they had won; but the 27th, the weather being clear, the whole ship's company saw the intire circle of the sun upon the horizon; from whence it was concluded that they had seen a part of it the 24th of the same month. However, that discovery being contrary to the opinion of both ancient and modern writers, and, as some pretend, to the course of nature, and being inconsistent with the rotundity of the world, they thought many would be of the opinion that they were mistaken; alleging, that, since they had been so long without seeing day-light, they had not kept an exact account of the number of days, but had skipped over some in bed, or in their sleep; and, in fine, that by some accident or other there was absolutely an error in their calculation. But, being certain of what they had seen, to convince the world of it, they set down every thing in writing. They saw then the first time the sun in *Aquarius* in five degrees twenty-five minutes; and, according to their former computation, it should have been in sixteen degrees twenty-seven minutes, before it could appear

“ in the latitude of seventy-six degrees, where they were. However they studied to reconcile what appeared so contrary, and to discover the truth about the computation of time. They examined the ephemerides, or astronomical tables, of *Joseph Scala*, printed at *Venice*, which began in 1589, and continued to 1600, wherein they found, that, on the 24th of January, the same day they saw the sun, the moon and *Jupiter* were in conjunction at one of the clock in the morning at *Venice*. Upon this remark they were curious in observing what hour of the night these two planets should be in conjunction at the place where they then were; and found they were in conjunction five hours later than at *Venice*, that is to say, about six in the morning; and then were in conjunction, the one being directly above the other, in the sign *Taurus*. This conjunction was exactly, according to the compass, north-east, and the meridian of the compass was south-south-west, the moon being then eight days old: by which it appeared, that the sun and moon were eight rhumbs distant from one another. The difference, then, between the place where they were, and *Venice*, was five hours in longitude; and, supposing that, one may easily reckon how much further they were to the east than *Venice*, viz. five hours, every hour being fifteen degrees, which makes seventy-five degrees; whence it appeared they were not mistaken in their calculation; for, by these two planets, they found the true longitude, *Venice* lying in thirty-seven degrees twenty-one minutes longitude; and the declination being forty-six degrees five minutes, it followed that the hut in *Nova Zembla* was in one hundred and twelve degrees twenty-five minutes of longitude, and seventy-six degrees of latitude. All which circumstances were put down to convince the world there was no error in their calculation.” It appears from hence, that the difference between the computed and real difference of seeing the sun was a fortnight.

(6) Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company, p. 38.

S E C T. II.

The accident by which they were first introduced into the Indies; the consequences of this introduction, and the vigour with which their merchants prosecuted this new trade.

- a** **W**HILE they were thus employed in *Holland* in concerting means to open a passage to the *East Indies*, which Providence did not favour, a new and unexpected accident fell out, which turned their thoughts quite another way. Amongst the *Dutch* seamen who were seized, as we have shewn, at *Lisbon*, in 1594, there was one *Cornelius Houtman*, who, with a sound head and stout heart, had a bold enterprising genius, which both inclined him to undertake great things, and enabled him to execute them. This man, having some liberty allowed him, employed it in conversing with the *Portuguese* seamen, making the best inquiry he could into the course they held in their *East India* voyages, the places to which they traded, and the manner of their dealing with the natives; in all which, by dint of his liberality, and that admiration which he expressed at all he heard, he procured much information before the government had any notion of what he was about; which they no sooner received, than they committed him to prison, and laid a heavy fine upon him for his pains ^{*}. *Houtman*, in these melancholy circumstances, applied himself to a company of merchants at *Amsterdam*, to whom he proposed, that, if they would pay his fine, and enable him to return home, he would communicate to them all that he had discovered. This offer, coming after the first disappointment in their endeavour to find a passage by the north-east, was very well received; and, after being thoroughly canvassed, they determined to close with him; and accordingly remitted a sum sufficient to pay his fine, and to bring him home ^{*}. It may be justly wondered, unless some indirect method was practised, that those, who were so quick in entertaining suspicions when they heard of *Houtman's* conversations with the seamen, and had recourse to precautions so proper upon that occasion, should yet entertain no jealousy upon his paying a large fine, but set him at liberty, as they did, and suffer him to return home, where he punctually discharged his promise ^{*}.

Cornelius Houtman, in the mean time, discovers the Portuguese route by the Cape of Good Hope.

- b** **A**FTER sufficiently considering what he had offered, they resolved to erect another company, called *the Company for remote Countries*; the directors of which were *Henry Hudden, Reiner Pauw, Peter Hasselaer*. &c. who, after mature deliberation, came to a resolution, *Anno Domini* 1595, to send four vessels to the *Indies* by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Houtman*, and some others, who had the command of the vessels in this expedition, were ordered to observe the coast they steered very exactly, and to settle with the *Indians* a commerce for spices, and other goods, especially in those countries where the *Portuguese* had no settlements ^{*}. These ships returned to *Holland* in two years and four months; and though they had made no great profit of the voyage, yet their success animated their owners, and several other merchants; to carry on the design with all imaginable vigour (E); and, a member of that company

A new company erected for carrying on this trade, with whom the merchants of Amsterdam likewise associate themselves.

^{*} Avertissement à la tête de recueil de voyages de la compagnie, &c. p. 27.
d'une histoire des Provinces Unies.

^{*} SALLENGRE essai

^{*} Succinct Account of the Dutch Commerce in the East Indies, p. 35.

^{*} Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 265.

(E) The person chiefly intrusted in the management of this voyage was *Cornelius Houtman*, to whom they were under great obligations for the lights he had procured them, as well in respect to the course the vessels were to steer, as the manner in which their trade was to be managed in the *Indies* (7). In the execution, however, of this enterprise, his conduct was not altogether so laudable or so fortunate as might have been expected; for, by his rash discourse at *Bantam*, in the island of *Java*, he brought himself into confinement, and the whole squadron into great danger (8); and, in their return home, he was strongly suspected of poisoning the master of the ship on board which he sailed, and for which he was confined, but at length acquitted and released, though still held in great suspicion (9). If it had not been for these mistakes, and certain acts of extravagance committed by the seamen, that squadron might

have returned intire in less time, and with a better cargo. As it was, they sailed *April* the 2d, 1595, from the *Texel*, and returned *August* the 12th, 1597, having lost the *Amsterdam*, which they burnt, being leaky, and they not having men enough to navigate all the four vessels (10). It was the loss of this vessel that abated the value of the goods which they brought home, the most considerable of which were cloves, nutmegs, mace, and pepper. The last of these spices they purchased at *Bantam* from the natives, the rest they took from the *Portuguese* at the same place. The report they made was to this purpose: that the natives were every-where ready enough to trade; that the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* were hated; and that there was no danger at all in going with a competent force to the *Moluccas*; which news, with the sight of the spices, raised the hopes of their countrymen prodigiously (11).

(7) Sallengre essai d'une histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 63.

(8) Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques,

tom. iii. p. 190.

(9) Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102, 103.

(10) Grot.

Anal. lib. vi. Le Clerc histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 191.

(11) Avertissement à la tête de recueil

des voyages de la compagnie, &c. p. 29.

being dead, they presently put into his place *Gerard Bicker*, a very considerable merchant^a. Then they had advice that some other merchants of *Amsterdam* designed to set out ships for *India*; upon which, to avoid animosities, they thought it necessary to unite with those merchants; and accordingly the two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, joined under the command of *James Van Neck*, their admiral, and sailed from the *Texel* A. D. 1596^b.

The success of
their expedi-
tions encourage
other mer-
chants to form
new societies.

A DESIGN of the same nature was likewise set on foot in *Zealand*, where *Balthazar Moncheron*, before-mentioned, *Adrian Hendrickzen Haaf*, with some other partners, fitted out ships for the *Indies*. The inhabitants of *Rotterdam*, excited by such examples, formed a company also, and fitted out five ships, under the command of *James Mabv*, with orders to sail to the *Molucca Islands* by the *Streights of Magellan* and the *South Seas*^c. In the mean time the *Amsterdam* merchants grew more and more languine; and the company before-mentioned, without staying for the return of the fleet it had sent already, fitted out three ships more, which put to sea *May* the fourth, 1599, under the command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*^d. On the 8th of *July*, the same year, four of the eight ships that went out first arrived in the *Texel*; and, after they were unloaded, were immediately sent back again under the command of *James Willekens*^e. About this time also the merchants, who had retired from *Brabant* to *Amsterdam*, formed a new company upon the same design, and fitted out four vessels, which put to sea *December* 1599, together with four of the old company's ships^f. Two years after all these ships came home with rich cargoes. But, before their arrival, this new company had sent out two ships more, which were joined by six of the old company's, putting to sea A. D. 1600, under the command of *James Van Neck*; and in process of time all of them returned to their respective ports. Upon this happy success, more ships were fitted out from *Amsterdam*, *Zealand*, and elsewhere; among others, thirteen from *Amsterdam*, viz. four belonging to the old, and four to the new company, under the command of *James Heemskerck* and *James Grenier*; and five more of the old company, bound for the *Moluccas*, under the command of *Wolpbart Harmanfz*; all the thirteen sailed from the *Texel* *April* 1601^g.

Reason which
led the Dutch
merchants to
promote this
new trade
with such ve-
hement.

AN ardor like this could not fail of producing prodigious effects, and of diffusing itself daily amongst all the traders that had taken shelter in the dominions of the States, and even of attracting others to come and settle there likewise. They foresaw that all the commerce which enriched *Antwerp* must necessarily retire by degrees, and that no places bid so fair to engage it as *Amsterdam*, and the rest of the *Dutch* cities, more especially now they had gained the great point, and opened themselves a direct passage to the *Indies*. They comprehended also how much further this important trade might be improved in a free country, and under a mild government, than hitherto it had been under arbitrary monarchs, who valued it chiefly as furnishing the means of carrying their ambitious projects into execution, and grudged their subjects those little emoluments, which, with infinite toil and hazard, they procured by their own labour and industry. But what impelled them more than any other consideration, was, their desire of having an early share in the *Indian* commerce, before the value of it was universally understood; and such numbers interested therein, as greatly to diminish their profits. Some or all these motives operated on not a few; and their example with still greater force on many more, which increased the adventurers continually. The *Spaniards*, on receiving this news, were enraged with anger, partly from the affront in seeing such petty merchants as they stiled the *Dutch* compass their ends in spite of their power, and partly upon account of the loss they had already sustained, and were likely to sustain hereafter^h. To prevent which, they saw no better method than to employ a superior force to intercept their outward-bound fleets; with this view they fitted out a strong squadron, to surprise the next *Dutch* ships that should be sent to the *Indies*. This squadron, consisting of thirty men of war well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* ships in the month of *May*, in the latitude of fourteen degrees. The *Dutch* perceived the inequality of their number and forces, notwithstanding that they had some soldiers aboard: however, they fought bravely; and the *Spanish* admiral was so warmly received, that he found it expedient to let them passⁱ (F).

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^a Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, &c. p. 29.
Register of this Voyage, London, 1601, 4^{to}.

^b Journal or daily

de la compagnie, p. 29.

^c Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91.

^d Voyages de la compagnie, &c. p. 30.

^e Ibid ubi sup.

^f Avertissement à la tête de recueil de voyages, &c. p. 30.

^g EMANUEL

METEREN histoire de Pay Bas, fo. 495.

^h Le CLERC histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 2.6.

ⁱ Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 31.

(F) There is little reason to doubt that the wonderful activity and surprising success of the *Dutch* filled the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, at this time under the dominion of the same crown, with the strongest apprehensions, and put them upon contriving every method to free themselves from these new and dangerous rivals, who, in the

space of five years, had sent near forty ships into the *Indies*, and, of these, one squadron had passed by the *Streights of Magellan*, through the *South Seas*, had insulted the *Philippines*, and sunk a galleon that carried the king of *Spain's* flag as admiral, as the rest did by the *Cape of Good Hope*, but sooner and better equipped than the ships from *Portugal*

- a In the next year, which was 1602, three ships came from the *Indies* richly laden. They brought advice that the king of *Achen* had attempted to seize two of *Moucheron's* ships that sailed from *Holland* in 1599; and that *Cornelius Houtman*, the commander, had lost his life in the adventure; in which, however, the ships escaped, though some of the *Dutch* continued prisoners in the hands of that monarch^a. But, before this news arrived in *Holland*, *Paul Van Caerden*, having sailed for the *Indies* that same year, arrived at the port of *Achen*, without knowing what had passed, and was exposed to the like danger; for that king, being urged thereto by a *Franciscan* monk, who resided there in quality of the *Portuguese* envoy, and had come from the *Moluccas* on purpose to cajole him, set all instruments at work to seize *Caerden's* ship^b. But his attempts proved abortive; and the king, being reconciled, owned afterwards that he was seduced by the *Portuguese*, promising better usage for the future; and accordingly he gave a very good reception to the fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had been fitted out from *Zealand* in 1601; and when that fleet had taken in its loading, which was very considerable, he sent some ambassadors on board it. This fleet, putting into *St. Helen's* to take in fresh water, happened to meet with a *Portuguese* carrack richly laden, which they took, and brought home with them. This same year also *George Spilbergen*, and the ships he commanded, coming to *Achen*, were by the same king as favourably treated^c (G).

- THE *Spaniards*, now finding themselves inferior in strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of stratagems. They sent emissaries to all the *Indian* kings, to decry the new adventurers, and to represent them as pirates, and men of no faith, whom therefore they ought to distrust and destroy. The States General and Prince *Maurice*, having received advice of all this, resolved for the future to give commissions to the captains of all ships that sailed to the *Indies* (and indeed the commanders of those ships stood in very great need of them) to refute the many calumnies of their enemies^d. By these commissions they were empowered not only to defend themselves, but to attack all who should disturb their commerce. The valiant *James Heemskerk*, being vested with this authority, sailed with two ships from *Bantam*, in order to load at *Jabor*; and, falling in with a rich carrack, upon her return from *Macao*, with above seven hundred men on board, attacked, and forced the *Portuguese*, after a slender defence, to strike, and ask quarter, which was granted^e. This was a thing of great importance in itself, and rendered of still greater consequence by the skill and address of the *Dutch* admiral, who not only treated his prisoners well, but sent most of them, except the captain and the chaplain, without ransom, to the *Portuguese* governor in the *Indies*, foreseeing that this would naturally produce a letter of thanks and acknowledgements, to facilitate the deliverance of those two prisoners of rank. This had its effect; admiral *Heemskerk* received a couple of letters filled with compliments, which he produced in every port where-ever he came; and thereby wiped of the aspersions of pirates, and men without humanity or honour, for ever. Besides this, the cargo was immensely rich, consisting of the most valuable commodities from different parts of the *Indies*; and the papers on board gave them likewise more light into the nature of this commerce, than they had hitherto received^f.

^a GROT. Annal. l. xi.^b Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 194.^c GROT.

Annal. l. xi. Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 32.

^d SALLÉMORE

essai d'une histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 67,

^e Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la

compagnie, p. 33.

^f GROT. Annal. l. xi.

Portugal (12). It is true, the first *Dutch* fleets made no establishment, neither did they concert their measures well together to prevent the natives from raising their prices upon them. However, their eagerness in trading enabled them to carry large cargoes home, which raised the credit of this new trade exceedingly; and their being very expert in the sea-service rendered them capable of making such resistance, as cured their enemies of the vain hope they had conceived of oppressing them at once by numbers; as the zeal and courage they expressed against the common enemy endeared them to the inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, and many other *Indian* nations (13).

(G) These facts are precisely set down from the *Dutch* historians; but, however, it is necessary to remark, that as the *Portuguese*, by their money and intrigues, prevailed upon the king of *Achen*, at *Sumatra*, to attempt seizing

the *Lion* and *Lioness*, two ships belonging to the *Zealand* company, and to detain *Cornelius Houtman*, who commanded them, prisoner; so it was very unbecoming in another *Dutch* officer, who came thither with a superior force, from the hopes of entertaining trade with the subjects of that perfidious prince, to put that unfortunate person again into his hands, when he had once made his escape, and by whom, after the departure of those *Dutch* ships, he was, with several others, basely murdered (14). It must be allowed that admiral *Spilberg* demanded ample satisfaction for this, but it is no less true that he was satisfied with fair words; and thus *Cornelius Houtman* lost his life unprotected and unrevenge, who first conducted the *Dutch* into the *Indies*, and whose last misfortune was intirely owing to an overforward diligence in the service of his country (15).

(12) Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 41.

(13) Grot. Annal. lib. xi.

(14) Voyages

(15) Grot. Annal. lib. xi.

S E C T. III.

The causes which led the States to erect the present East India Company, the terms of their charter, the methods taken by them to establish themselves in the Indies, and their disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese, who laboured their expulsion.

Occasion on which the present East India company was erected by the States General.

BUT, while they met with all this success in the *Indies*, their affairs at home were in great danger of taking a wrong turn, to which this success of theirs did not a little contribute. In short, the spirit of sending ships to the *Indies* grew so strong, and prevailed so generally, that new companies were formed every day. This at the beginning had a very good effect, both in *Holland* and in the *Indies*, as it occasioned the building a great many large ships, employing a vast number of industrious people, raising and hiring great numbers of seamen, and keeping such a force in that part of the world as prevented the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* from oppressing this trade in its infancy, as they would otherwise have done. In process of time, however, these new companies, having no right understanding, fitted out many ships for the same port, which sunk the value of their goods, and produced other inconveniences ^a (H). The States General, being informed of this, exhorted these companies to unite, and promised them a charter, or, as it is stiled in *Holland*, an octroy. This was an affair of very great consequence, as well to the public as to the persons interested in the several companies; and therefore it took some time to settle matters, and bring them under a just regulation; which however was at length adjusted, to the general satisfaction of all concerned; and a charter granted for twenty-one years, to commence from the twentieth of *March* 1602; the capital to consist of six millions six hundred thousand florins, divided proportionably amongst the several chambers; which was a provision invented to satisfy those interested in the private companies that were now dissolved ^b. The rest of the subjects of the *United Provinces* were forbidden to send ships to the *Indies*, either by the route of the *Cape of Good Hope*, or the *Streights of Magellan*. The States had, by way of gratuity for this charter, twenty-five thousand florins in the new capital, and a duty of three *per cent.* upon all goods exported, bullion excepted; the number of directors, the method of managing, the times and places when and where general assemblies were to be held, the manner of making sales, and of stating general accounts, were all fixed in such methods as might best provide against frauds, and for the emolument of the proprietors; so that the capital was very soon full, and the spirit of adventuring rather increased than abated by this salutary establishment; which could not but give great pleasure to the States, more especially as they found that it attracted large sums of money, and brought many eminent merchants from the neighbouring countries to settle in their dominions ^c.

The first grand fleet fitted out by the new company, under admiral Wybrandt van Waerwyk.

UPON this bottom, the proprietors promised themselves still greater things than had been hitherto achieved; and fitted out a fleet of fourteen large ships, which put to sea in *June* 1602, under the command of admiral *Wybrandt van Waerwyk*. The next year, in the month of *February*, the yacht *Wachter* returned, with advice, that five of the other ships would very speedily arrive ^d. By this yacht an account was brought of what had passed before *Bantam*, between *Wolpbert Harmanfz.* and his vice-admiral *Boutwer*, on one side, and *Don Andreas Furtada de Mondoza* on the other, who had formed a design of no less consequence

^a SALLENORE *essai d'une histoire des Provinces Unies*, p. 69.
Placet. Bock, tom. i. p. 529.

^b GROOT. *Annal.* l. xi. Groot
tissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 37.

^c Aver-

(H) There is no doubt that the starting up of so many companies was attended with various inconveniences, as well in *Europe* as in the *Indies*; and that there was great prudence and sagacity in the measure taken by the States to provide an effectual remedy for these mischiefs, by granting a charter to a single company. But, after all, one cannot help perceiving, that to this event, which some ascribe to chance, wiser people to that thirst of gain which success in every new commerce naturally excites, and the wisest of all to the secret workings of Providence, that the *Dutch* stand indebted for all that they possess in the *Indies*; since, if squadron after squadron had not followed in this manner, but the return of one waited for, before another was sent, the *Spania.* &c. had unquestionably crushed this trade at its very beginning; and, by destroy-

ing a few ships, and a small number of men, frightened private merchants, or it may be disabled them, from pursuing it any further (16). This is the more probable, since a great historian tells us, that the first ships were for the most part manned with vagabonds, malefactors, and desperate persons; for this plain reason, that none but such could be brought to run the hazard (17); which shews that nothing but the great success, owing, as we have said, to this accident, that, by bringing numbers of ships into different parts of the *Indies*, distracted the *Portuguese*; could have animated the *Dutch* merchants to subscribe, in the manner they did, to the first incorporated company; which enabled the directors to carry on their trade with a high hand and a great naval force, as well as with much prudence and dexterity.

(16) *Sallengre essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies*, p. 67, 68.

(17) *Grot. Annal. lib. xi.*

a than to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies* *. In effect, Don *Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* vessels pursuing their course for the *Moluccas*, arrived there at several times, one after the other. The same yacht brought the news of an engagement at the *Moluccas* between admiral *Van Neck* and three *Portuguese* ships, not at all to his advantage; for, after the loss of eight or nine men, and having some of the fingers of his own right-hand shot away, he was obliged to sheer off. Upon the arrival of this news, another fleet of thirteen ships was diligently fitted out, which sailed *December* the 18th, under the command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*, to prevent this profitable correspondence from being interrupted or lost †.

b In the year 1605, the king of *Spain* issued another vigorous declaration; in which, he prohibited the inhabitants of the *United Provinces* to trade to the dominions of *Spain*, or to the *East* and *West Indies*, under pain of corporal punishment. But the company was so far from being dejected by this edict, that it rather inspired them with fresh courage, and animated them to pursue their design with more spirit and diligence. They presently fitted out, as a proof of this, a fleet of eleven vessels, which were not only equipped for traffick, but for war, and gave the command of them to *Cornelius Matelief* ‡. This fleet had scarce put to sea, when the directors gave orders for preparing another squadron, of eight ships, which were manned not only with their full compliment of seamen, but with soldiers, that were engaged to stay, and keep garrison in the *Indies*, if occasion required. This third squadron was commanded by *Paul van Careden*. Soon after, two ships, of the first of these three squadrons, came home, with a rich cargo of cloves, and other spices. They brought advice that admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow very quickly; and accordingly he arrived in *July*, after taking several *Spanish* and *Portuguese* vessels, possessing himself of the fort of *Amboyna*, demolishing that of *Tidore*, and, in a great measure, dislodging those two nations out of the *Molucca* islands †. This expedition gave rise to a dispute between the *Dutch* and the *English*, upon account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and, by supplying them with powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October*, three other vessels arrived in *Holland*, with intelligence, that *Wybrandt van Waerwyk*, being homeward-bound, was obliged to put in at the island of *Maurice*, because his ship was leaky, and that he had taken a carrack at *Patana*. This admiral arrived in the spring of 1607; but, in the preceding winter, the company had sent two ships more, under the command of *John Jansz Moldie*, who soon reduced the fort of *Tidore*; the news of which gave the company, and indeed the whole *Dutch* nation, very high satisfaction; the monopoly of spices being a thing they had long had in view, and which they have at length compassed, by all sorts of means * (1).

At this time, a negotiation was set on foot for concluding a peace between the Republic and *Spain*, or, at least, a truce for a considerable number of years; which was become a thing equally necessary to both nations. Upon this occasion the *East India* company took a wise and vigorous step, equipping a fleet of thirteen large ships, at once, under the command of admiral *Verboeven*; that the world might take notice, the States did not mean to give up

* Histoire de la conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 49, 50.
des Provinces Unies, p. 69.
Orientales, tom. v. p. 103.

† GROT. Annal. l. xiv.

‡ SALLENGRE essai d'une histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 71.

¶ SALLENGRE essai d'une histoire

¶ Voyages de la compagnie des Indes

(1) It was at this juncture that their affairs in the *Indies* were brought into a very critical situation, so that it seemed to depend upon a single action, whether they should be able to maintain themselves in the *Indies*, or not. This arose from *Cornelius Matelief's* being directed to besiege *Malacca*, which while he performed to no purpose, Don *Pedro d'Acuna*, in 1606, with a *Spanish* fleet from the *Philippines*, recovered the *Moluccas*. Which conquest, though it scarce lasted a year, gave occasion to *Argensola's* history; so much was that action esteemed and admired at *Madrid* (18). On the other hand, to so great a degree are the eyes of all mankind dazzled by success, that the *Dutch* affairs declining, the natives almost everywhere declared in favour of their old masters, and would have concurred very heartily in driving these new-comers as suddenly out as they came in, if victory had not once more declared on their side, and thereby occasioned an alteration in the sentiments of the *Indians* in their favour. Here, once for all, let us observe, that the ablest historians of all nations agree, that these sudden and singular revolutions were not so much brought about by the courage and conduct of any of the competitors, as by the

mistakes and bad management of them all. The *Portuguese* abhorring their subjection to the *Spaniards*, and, persuaded of their intention to deprive them of the *Moluccas*, under colour of protecting them, never concurred with them sincerely in their endeavours to preserve them (19). On the other hand, the *Spaniards*, in the *Philippines*, in *America*, and even in *Europe*, grudging the enormous expence to which they were put, for the defence of those islands from whence little or no profit resulted to them, slackened their endeavours precisely at the time they should have redoubled them; by which all the advantages Don *Pedro d'Acuna* had gained were speedily lost (20). Lastly, the *Dutch*, carried away by their too high sense of the good fortune they met with at the beginning, thought of nothing but extending their conquests and looking upon the *Moluccas* as their own, turned their views to the reduction of *Malacca*; but, being roused from this dream, by seeing themselves dispossessed of all they had acquired, they soon corrected their error, and in proportion as they subdued these islands, erected fortresses, introduced garrisons, and stationed ships, for their protection (21).

(18) Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. x.

(19) La Clede histoire generale de Portugal, tom. vi. p. 386.

(20) See this subject largely treated in the preceding chapter, concerning the *Spanish* dominions in the *East Indies*.

(21) Histoire de la conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 159.

interests in the this trade. The *Spanish* ministers were, however, very warm upon this head; and sometimes a negotiation for went so far, as to declare, that they could yield to nothing in this particular^a. On the other hand, the company presented several memorials to the States General; setting forth what numbers of persons of both sexes they employed, and maintained; what immense sums had been brought in by their sales; and how far a prospect they had of extending their commerce, and augmenting their profits: all which made such an impression on their High Mightinesses, that they promised never to abandon them. When therefore the negotiation was in danger of breaking upon this single point, the States proposed, that one of these three expedients might be accepted: first, to allow of a free trade, in general terms, under which this should be comprehended; secondly, to permit it for a stated number of years certain; and, lastly, to regulate things in *Europe*, and to leave matters beyond the tropic of *Cancer* to the decision of arms^b. The *Spaniards*, finding from hence that nothing was to be done, consented to a truce; and agreed not to disturb the *Dutch* trade in the *Indies* with other nations; excluding them, however, from all the ports in their possession^c.

A new attempt for the discovery of the north-east passage not at all more successful than the former.

In the mean time, the company went on, sending every year fresh squadrons to the *Indies*; and, before the news of a truce, which was sent by a bark, with a passport of the archduke's, reached that part of the world, they had made themselves masters of the island of *Macbaian*, and had dispossessed the *Spaniards* of all the *Molucca Islands*, except *Ternate*; yet, feeling some inconveniences from the great length of the voyage, they were still very desirous of finding some shorter passage to the *Indies*; in order to which, they contracted, in the year 1609, with a famous *English* pilot, *Henry Hudson*, who promised them great things in that respect; but performed nothing more than attempting a passage, first by the north-east, and then by the north-west, in one voyage, without success in either^d. This was the same person that, the year following, in the service of his own country, discovered that famous bay, which still bears his name, and in which, by the malice of some of his crew, he was exposed in an open boat, and was either swallowed by the waves, or perished by hunger. After which, it was a long time before the *Dutch* resumed the thoughts of attempting the search of any new passage; and at length came to change their sentiments as to its expediency^e (K).

Some alteration in the company's conduct in the management of their affairs in the *Indies*.

THE victories which had been obtained by the *Dutch* fleets in the *Indies*, had already altered their dispositions, and taught them to exchange that modesty and moderation, which had so highly recommended them to the potentates of the east, for that haughty air, and arbitrary temper, which had rendered the *Portuguese* insupportable. They had at this time fifty ships of the burden of eight hundred tons, or upwards, in this service, and were so secure of carrying all before them, that they gave out, that the war would be carried on in that part of the world, whatever might be stipulated in *Europe*. But things suddenly changed their face: Don *Juan de Sylva*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippines*, being informed that a *Dutch* squadron, after having sunk a rich ship upon the coast of *Cbina*, was cruising at some distance from *Manila*, in hopes of intercepting the homeward-bound fleet from *Japan*, fitted out immediately what vessels were in his port; and, having embarked the few regular troops under his command, sailed in quest of the *Dutch* squadron, which he attacked, and beat; admiral *Wittert*, who commanded it, having his head shot off in the beginning of the action, in which three ships out of four were taken, with a considerable number of prisoners, and plunder to the value of two hundred thousand crowns^f.

Don Juan de Sylva recovers the *Moluccas* from the *Dutch*.

DON *Juan* resolved to push his success to the utmost, and immediately attacked the *Moluccas*, where he met likewise with the same good fortune. And now the *Spaniards*, in their turns, pretended, that the peace was not to be observed on the other side the line. However, when a *Dutch* squadron of thirteen sail, commanded by admiral *Peter Borth*, arrived in those seas, things once more altered their aspect. The *English* also in *Ternate*, who had hitherto favoured the *Spaniards*, finding them very insolent upon this favourable turn of their fortune,

^a Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 39. ^b GROT. Annal. l. xvii. ^c Negotiations de President Jeannin, p. 135.

^d Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 40. ^e HARRIS'S Voyages, vol. ii. p. 391.

^f ARGENSOLA conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. xii.

(K) The conduct of the directors of the *Dutch East India* company, after it was once established by charter, was so prudent, and so well considered, that we may rest satisfied they undertook nothing but upon just and well-grounded motives. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that, in fitting out *Hudson* for the discovery of a northern passage to the *East Indies*, they had chiefly in view the sending forces thither sooner, with greater safety, and in larger proportions, than their enemies; and if we consider, that they made their efforts at the very extremity of the *Indies*, and visibly aimed at the conquest of the *Philippines*, as well as the *Moluccas*, one

cannot help seeing, that the scheme was very well laid; for as their fleets, if they had found this passage, would have traversed the sea of *Japan*, and fallen upon the *Philippines* from that side, at the same time that they were pushed by what strength the *Dutch* had in the *Moluccas*, they must have been in great danger of being subdued; but when, in process of time, the *Dutch* began to extend their conquests, by rooting the *Portuguese* out of their settlements, the finding any such passage became less necessary, and, in the end, repugnant to their interests, as we have hinted elsewhere.

a quitted their party, and reconciled themselves to the *Dutch* ^s (L). An embassy was also sent, in the name of the prince of *Orange* and the states, to the emperor of *Japan*, where, through the folly of the *Spanish* management, rather than any great wisdom in their own, they procured all their requests to be granted; when the *Spanish* ambassador was allowed an audience only to affront him, and was sent away without any answer given to the proposals made by him, as they were, to speak impartially, equally impertinent and unreasonable ^b. Both parties being in this disposition, the reader will easily apprehend, that the truce was but ill observed on either side; the *Dutch* complaining of breach of faith in the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* echoing the same complaint against the *Dutch*, with an equal degree of reason on both sides ^c. But it is now requisite to speak of their disputes with a third nation in the *Indies*.

^s SALLENGRE essai d'une histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 73.
vol. ii. p. 108. 119, 120.

^b P. CHARLEVOIX histoire du Japon,
^c Hist. de la conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 152, 153.

(L) There is no great wonder that the *Spanish* historians are very loud in the praises of Don Juan de Sylva, since, if we except these political equivocations and intrigues, too frequently regarded by men of his rank as matters so to be treated, he was certainly an active and able officer (22); one who gained great reputation at the expence of the *Dutch*, by killing one of their admirals, and taking *Paul Caerden*, another of them, twice prisoner; but, for all this, he found it impracticable to perform the great things he had designed, in which he

was chiefly hindered by the *Portuguese*, who neglected those supplies they had promised; which had such an effect upon this great officer's temper, that he fell sick, and soon after died at *Malacca*; an accident not at all displeasing to the *Dutch*, to whom he was become very formidable, as well from the secrecy with which he projected his designs, as for the diligence with which he provided every thing that was requisite to carry them into execution (23).

(22) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*.
Cornel., &c.

(23) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas*, por Hernan de los Rios

S E C T. IV.

Project of establishing a South-Sea company by Isaac le Maire, and his associates; and how they came to fail. Disputes with the natives, and with the English, in the island of Java. The Dutch expelled from that island.

b THE directors of the *Dutch East India* company having still very much at heart the making an effectual voyage through the *Streights of Magellan* to the *East Indies*, they, in the spring of the year 1614, granted a commission for this purpose to *George Spilbergen*, a man of established reputation for his knowledge in maritime affairs, and ordered six ships to be equipped for that purpose; viz. the *Great Sun*, the *Full Moon*, the *Huntsman*, a yacht called the *Sea Mew*, all four from *Amsterdam*; the *Æolus*, of *Zealand*; and the *Morning Star*, of *Rotterdam*. They were all equipped in the best manner possible; and the admiral had, in a great measure, the choice of his own officers, which, in long voyages, is a thing of the utmost consequence, in order to prevent unnecessary disputes ^a. The ships were ready a little after *Midsummer*; but the admiral having declared his opinion, that they should, in case they sailed then, arrive at an improper season in the *Streights of Magellan*, the directors thought proper to postpone the voyage till the month of *August*; and on the 8th the fleet sailed out of the *Texel*, with a strong gale at south-east ^c. It was believed, that the states-general were also concerned in this expedition; the true design of which was, to examine, and, if a fair opportunity offered, to weaken, the strength of the *Spaniards* in the *South-Seas*, and to make some trial of the advantages, which many speculative people thought might result from taking this route to the *East Indies*. The fleet very happily passed the streights, engaged, defeated, and destroyed, the *Spanish* navy in the *South-Seas*; and, after a short and prosperous navigation, arrived on the coasts of *Java*, after visiting and supplying the *Dutch* settlements in the *Moluccas* ^d.

d A VERY little time after this fleet put to sea, a new project was formed in *Holland*, for sup-planting, in some measure, the *East India* company, at least so that company would have it understood, though the parties concerned affirmed the direct contrary. *Isaac le Maire*, a rich merchant, was the author of the project, and *William Cornelison Schouten*, an able and experienced seamen, who had made three voyages to the *Indies*, the person who undertook to carry it into execution ^a. Their true design was, to discover the unknown southern continents and islands by some other passage than that of the *Streights of Magellan*; believing, that as those streights were named in the *East India* company's charter, so, if they could find

^a SALLENGRE essai d'une hist. des Provinces Unies, p. 73.
tales, tom. viii. p. 1.
compagnie, p. 43.

^b Ibid. p. 109.

^c Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales.
^d Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la

another passage into, and out of, the *South-Seas*, they should do an acceptable service to their country, without incurring any of the penalties threatened to such as should interfere with the trade granted to that company^o. Several rich merchants joined with them in this enterprize; and two ships being fitted out, the command was given to *Schouten*, and the direction of the trade to *James le Maire*, son to *Isaac*, who was a young man of great courage and capacity. They sailed from the *Texel* June the 24th 1615, passed through those streights between *Cape Horn* and *States Island*, which have since borne the name of *Le Maire*; and, after making many important discoveries, agreeable to their own project, found themselves under a necessity of returning by the *East Indies*; where, putting into a port of the island of *Java*, their vessel was confiscated by the *Dutch East India* company, and both *Schouten* and *Le Maire* sent home prisoners on board of the fleet of *George Spilbergen*; in which passage *James le Maire* died^p.

Strange infatuation in suffering the company to ruin and suppress this commerce.

It has been truly and justly observed upon this subject, that the treatment given to these adventurers has, in all probability, been sufficiently punished by its consequences; since all that rich trade that might have been derived from the discoveries, and the pursuit of the discoveries, of *Le Maire*, has been totally lost by neglect; which, perhaps, has done as much damage to the *Dutch*, as their *East India* company has done them good^q. Of this *John de Witt* was aware, and has very wisely remarked, that though the pursuit of such a commerce might have been beyond the strength and power of the *East India* company at that time, yet there was no good reason why the states should have abandoned it, or should not have encouraged the setting up a new company, in order to have made a trial of what this new trade would have produced; for, if new trades do not prosper, they occasion only a temporary loss to private persons, and none at all to the state; whereas if they thrive, and turn to good account, they not only produce immense riches to such as are concerned in them, but also prove a mighty advantage to the public^r; for new trades, especially under such a government as that of *Holland*, bring new people, and increase the subjects of the state that encourages them; for wealth is a powerful attractive, and where men are sure to be rich and free, there will never be any want of people (M).

Different success attending the company's affairs, and signal favours granted them by the states.

ABOUT this time the company sustained great losses, and their trade was much impaired, by means of some powders that were imported, and mixed with the spices, by the retail merchants, which lessened their consumption and value. This the company represented to the states; and thereupon a placard was issued forth, for preventing the like abuses for the future^s. The states also having perceived, that some neighbouring potentates, alarmed at the company's prosperity, did their utmost to oppose it, particularly by inveighing their best and most experienced seamen, and drawing them off from their service, published an edict, by which the desertion of seamen was prohibited under severe penalties^t. In the years 1618 and 1619 the company had very good fortune; for they received from the *Indies*, at several times, no fewer than ten ships, with rich cargoes, valued at six or seven millions. This new and extraordinary success inspired them with fresh courage, not only in resisting the attempts of the *Spaniards*, but in concerting their ruin, by way of reprisal; which was carried a great way by the diligence and resolution of *Laurence Reael*, a very knowing and prudent man, who served nine years in the *Indies*, where the company honoured him with the most considerable post, and then he returned to *Holland*^u. By this time, the abuses and unwarrantable practices relating to the sale of the company's stock began to revive; upon which the states found them-

^o Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. viii. p. 115. ^p SALLENGRE essai d'une hist. des Provinces Unies, p. 74.

^q HARRIS'S voyages, vol. i. p. 62.

^r GRONDEN en maximen van de republieck van Holland, 1 deel. cap. 19.

^s Idem, p. 44.

^t Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 43.

^u SALLENGRE essai d'une hist. des Provinces Unies, p. 75.

(M) In a history of this kind, we do little or nothing, if we barely set down facts, without discovering to the reader their motives, and the consequences with which they were attended. In the histories of great monarchies this is frequently difficult, and almost always uncertain, which makes it in many cases excusable, and in some necessary, to omit them. In the history of commerce it is otherwise; because there a little industry will supply the materials, and the very design of such histories makes reflections requisite. It has been observed, that the very best reason in favour of an exclusive company, is also an unanswerable motive, in a trading country, for giving all possible encouragement to such as are willing to attempt new discoveries; for if it be a good ground to establish an exclusive trade, to prevent private merchants from overstocking distant countries with the commodities and manufactures of their own, it is still a stronger reason that new discoveries should be promoted, that those commodities and manufactures may be

taken off, which the exclusive grant would otherwise keep upon the nation's hands. It was therefore a sufficient favour that the *East India* company obtained, by its exclusive charter; and that company had no reason to expect, that the navigation through the *Streights of Magellan* to countries short of the *Indies*, should be prevented; because, at the same time it did their country great hurt, it did the company no good. This was justly observed then, and the observation retains the same propriety still: neither is the force of it restrained to *Holland*, but extends to every government that derives its whole, or its chief support, from commerce, in which the interests of companies are to be regarded only so far as they are consistent with those of the nation; and consequently those of the nation are never to be sacrificed to the interests, and much less to the whim, the humour, or the pride, of any company, how potent or how beneficial soever; which lesson, until it be sufficiently regarded, can never be too often repeated.

a selves obliged to renew the placard of 1610, with a few amendments, suitable to the circumstances of the time, and the artifices which, to elude former provisions, had been newly invented ^w.

It is easy to perceive from these particulars, which are all taken from *Dutch* authors, as indeed we have none but theirs to take them from, that the company had all the favour and countenance shewn them by the states-general that could be desired; so that whatever they asked was granted, whatever they called a grievance removed, and whatever narratives they published of their transactions in the *Indies* was received, and insisted upon as authentic; yet, from the time they became powerful in that part of the world, they had been continually picking quarrels with the *English*, notwithstanding the many obligations they owed them, and that the first pilots they carried out in these long voyages were *English* ^x. The captains, and other servants of the *English* company, employed their time chiefly in trade, and in procuring as quick loadings as might be for the ships of their masters; but the *Dutch*, following the example of the *Portuguese*, and, to speak the truth, being compelled thereto from their knowledge, that, if they did not fortify, their enemies would soon drive them out of the *Indies*, took pains to erect, in the most convenient places, strong fortresses, well furnished with cannon, military stores, and competent garrisons ^y. As their power increased, their pride augmented, and they could not bear to see the *English* beloved by the natives, and trading with them without making use of force; so that, prompted partly by avarice, partly by ambition, they often hindered, and sometimes oppressed them. The *English* company, as we have shewn in its proper place, applied to king *James* for redress; upon which, two treaties were set on foot in *Holland*, for compromising these differences; but without success: and tho' at length, in the year 1619, a treaty was concluded, by which the concerns both of the *English* and *Dutch* company were regulated, and certain measures agreed upon for preventing new disputes, yet this had very little effect ^z; the *Dutch* soon after making them sensible of their superiority, treating their complaints with contempt, and aggravating the sufferings of the company's servants, by telling them, they had better interest than they at the *English* court; and that, while they had plenty of money in *Holland*, they knew very well how to make or purchase friends in *England* ^a. What truth there was in this cannot, at so great a distance of time, be, with any degree of certainty, determined; but, from circumstances and succeeding events, it should seem, that these suggestions were not altogether void of foundation ^b. But, without dwelling longer upon so invidious a topic, let us proceed to shew, from the *Dutch* writers, how they became masters of one of the principal places in the large and fruitful island of *Java*; and how they laid there the basis of that great empire, which they at present enjoy, by founding that vast and famous city, which speedily became, and has ever since continued, the capital of their conquests and settlements in the *East Indies*; which if we relate more fully than any transaction we have hitherto mentioned, the nature and importance of the subject will justify us to the reader.

WHEN the *Dutch* first visited the coasts of *Java*, they found, on the north side, a commodious port, with a town adjacent, then called *Kalappa*; but, about the year 1607, the inhabitants changed that name for *Jacatra*. It was built, according to the manner of that country, with a pretty good wall, composed of rough, red, and durable stones, but indifferently put together; the houses were built with a sort of reeds, each surrounded with wooden pales. Though it was far from being large, and as far from being populous, yet it had a king, as well as the rest of the towns upon the coast. The palace of this monarch, none of the most splendid, and yet, the soil and climate considered, convenient enough, and not contemptible, was built of canes. His power was small, and his wealth not great; notwithstanding which, he endeavoured to make a figure in war, as well as trade. His maritime force consisted in four large galleys, in the bottom of which sat the rowers, and on the decks stood the soldiers: and as for his commerce, it consisted intirely in the sale of the little pepper his small territory produced ^c. The *East India* company contracted with him for the whole; but, either finding him guilty, or suspecting him of breach of faith, they thought proper to build a fort, to keep him in awe. This enterprize gave some umbrage to the *English*, who corresponded likewise with the people of *Jacatra*; and this jealousy between the two nations broke out, before it was long, into an open war ^d. Their fleets, to end the dispute, engaged at a small distance from the port, and fought gallantly for several hours, till at length the *Dutch*, who, as they say, were much inferior in force, were thoroughly beaten, retired to *Amboyna* in order to refit, and procure a reinforcement. Moved by this event, *Vidark Rama*, king of *Jacatra*, immediately renounced his treaty with the vanquished, and entered into a close and solemn alliance

Their jar: to the Indies with the servants of the English company, and consequences of these disputes.

A succinct account of that city, on the ruins of which Batavia was afterwards founded.

^w Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 45.

P. 37.

^y Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 193.

^z PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 665.

^a NEUVILLE hist. van. Holl. 1 deel. p. 201.

^x HARRIS's voyages, vol. i.

^z RYMER's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 170.

^b Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 225.

^d Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 195.

with the *English*: but our writers affirm, that he made a treaty with them long before that a with the *Dutch* ^c.

Upon the defeat of the Dutch by the English, the former retired to Amboyna.

At this time the *Dutch* had two fortresses in the neighbourhood of the town, one on the south side, called the *Lodge of Nassau*; the other on the north, which they called *Fort Maurice*, newly built, but not intirely finished. These were neither of them very strong; and the latter had but seven pieces of cannon, with a garrison of two hundred and forty men, fourscore of whom were negroes. On the other hand, the town of *Jacatra* was well provided; and, upon an eminence in the middle of it, the *English* had a magazine, tolerably well fortified, and with a considerable number of heavy cannon. These they employed to fire upon the *Dutch* forts; and the natives followed their example ^f. The *Dutch*, looking upon this as a declaration of war, made a vigorous sally, burnt the *Chinese* quarter, made themselves masters of the *English* post, and blew up their magazine. The *English* fleet, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, coming at this juncture before *Jacatra*, John Peter Koen, the *Dutch* commodore, found it requisite to put to sea with seven sail of ships, which were all he had; whereas the *English* squadron was composed of eleven. They fired upon each other on *New-year's-day* 1619; but the *Dutch*, finding the dispute a little unequal, retired to *Amboyna*, leaving the *English* in the port of *Jacatra*; where they were joined by seven ships more, and by a body of four thousand auxiliaries from *Bantam*, which is but fifteen leagues distant ^g (N).

The Dutch governor of Fort Maurice trepanned by the king of Jacatra, and made prisoner.

By this time the *Dutch* fort *Maurice* was in a manner complete, with four good bastions, well supplied with artillery; so that Peter Vanden Broecke, who commanded in the absence of commodore Koen, though besieged by land and sea, thought himself in a condition to make a good resistance. He began with thundering upon the town of *Jacatra*; which had so good an effect, that the king immediately desired to treat, and at length agreed to pay eight thousand patacons, in order to purchase his peace; and this being concluded, he prevailed upon the *Dutch* governor to pay him a visit ^h. After a short conference, he seized, and threw him into prison, where he threatened him with death, if he did not order the fort to surrender. He went still farther: he carried him, with a cord about his neck, under the walls of the *Dutch* fort, and bid him give his orders; which he did to those who were within hearing, to defend themselves to the last man; upon which the king carried him back to prison. Sir Thomas Dale then entered into a treaty with the people of the fort; and they, being almost without powder, agreed upon a capitulation, by which the place, with the artillery and ammunition, was to be given up to the *English*, and all the merchandizes and effects therein to the king of *Jacatra* ⁱ. But, at the very instant that this should have been carried into execution, a new and very unexpected scene opened, which intirely changed the face of affairs.

A Javanese general from Bantam comes to Jacatra, and deposes the king, who flies.

The *Dutch* governor found means to send a messenger to *Bantam*; and representing to the governor of that place how advantageous it might be to him, if he became his, instead of remaining prisoner to the king of *Jacatra*, or the *English*, that proposition was accepted as soon as made, and an officer, with two thousand men, detached, to take Vanden Broecke out of the hands of king Rama. That officer coming to *Jacatra*, demanded audience of the king, when, without ceremony, he clapped a dagger to his throat, and bid him divest himself of all

^c PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 676.

^g NEUVILLE hist. van Holl. 1 deel. p. 201.

p. 541.

ⁱ PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 656.

^f Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 509.

^h Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii.

(N) The *Dutch* have been much more careful, and, at the same time, much more successful, in preserving the memorials of their first expeditions into the *Indies*, and in their digesting them into proper order, than we, who, except a few rough relations, and some very succinct passages in our general histories, have scarce any thing remaining that relates to the original of our *East India* trade. The *Dutch* historians, if we could intirely rely upon them, have, in some measure, supplied this defect; but there is this one great misfortune attends their accounts, that they have not only a visible air of prejudice and partiality, but are also inconsistent in their substance. In the first place, they represent the *English* as acting towards the *Indian* nations with great haughtiness and arrogance, prescribing to them what laws they thought fit; chastising them for whatever wrongs they received with unrelenting severity; and behaving towards them, upon all occasions, rather as imperious masters, than as merchants who meant to treat with them in a friendly manner (24): yet they acknowledge, that the *English* made few or no settlements, contented them-

selves with slight factories, and never aimed, by erecting forts, to secure to themselves an exclusive trade (25). It is easy to discern, that these circumstances cannot agree; but, when they come to relate what they style the war of *Jacatra*, our nation is represented under a new character; they are said to have had the same design with the *Spaniards*, that is, of thrusting the *Dutch* intirely out of the *Moluccas*, and to have carried on this project with much greater address and abilities, drawing the emperor of *Java*, the king of *Jacatra*, and the governor of *Bantam*, all into their interest; by which they brought the *Dutch* within a finger's breadth of ruin (26). How can this be reconciled to their former accounts? The truth seems to be, that the *Dutch* first projected an exclusive trade in *Java*, which produced this war, to defeat that design; and there can be nothing more evident, even from their own account of the matter, than that the natives in general were much more inclined to the *English* than the *Dutch*, who, by a superior force, expelled the one, and subdued the other.

(24) Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vi. cop. 1.

(26) Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 195.

(25) Neuville hist. van Holl. 1 deel. lib. iv.

^a ensigns of royalty, if he desired to escape with life. The poor prince did as he was bid, fled, with his family, into the heart of the country, and getting from thence on the other side of the island, earned his bread as well as he could, for many years after, in the humble condition of a fisherman*. The *Bantamese* immediately quartered themselves about *Fort Maurice*, to which *Peter Vanden Broecke* returned, and the war broke out afresh; but, with the assistance of their new allies, the *Dutch* found they were in a condition to defend themselves till they could be relieved. *Vanden Broecke*, before he went to *Bantam*, which he was obliged to do in virtue of his promise, changed the name of the fortress to *Batavia*, which he inscribed over the gate¹.

* Voyages de la compagnie, tom. vii. p. 548.

¹ Ibid. p. 548.

S E C T. V.

Their affairs restored in Java. Foundation of the city of Batavia, which becomes the capital of their settlements. Cruel usage of the English at Amboyna. Batavia twice besieged, and gallantly defended; speedily repaired, vastly augmented, and rendered the fairest and strongest city in the Indies.

^b **O**N the twenty-fifth day of *March*, commodore *Koen* arrived in the road, with a fleet of seventeen sail, and a considerable body of troops on board. The next day he landed twelve hundred men, took, ravaged, and intirely destroyed, the town of *Jacatra*; and, at the same time, either disliking the liberty that *Vanden Broecke* had taken, or having already laid the plan of what he afterwards executed, he caused the word *Batavia* to be defaced. He next marched with all his forces to *Bantam*; and as soon as he came before the place, signified to the governor, that he expected that *Peter Vanden Broecke*, and seventy other prisoners, should be immediately set at liberty, which might induce him to forget some things that were past. The governor being in no condition to resist, thought it best to comply; and the *Dutch* commander, having done what he proposed, marched back again to *Fort Maurice*^m.

The Dutch affairs restored by John Peterfon Koen; and Jacatra subverted and destroyed.

^c The *English* had, by this time, reembarked their artillery, and were sailed away; and peace being concluded between the two companies, was proclaimed on the ninth of *June*.

^d THE very next day *Koen* ordered a new city to be laid out, much larger in extent than the old one, as comprehending within its bounds both the forts *Nassau* and *Maurice*. The streets were drawn strait, and very spacious, with commodious canals of running water, planted with trees, the shade of which might be enjoyed by those who passed backwards and forwards in boats; which advantage was derived from two fine rivers, one running through the city, and the other encompassing its walls. A strong citadel, being a square regularly fortified, was erected on the east, and a fifth bastion added, to cover the bridge that leads into the city. The place itself also was quickly put into a state of security, and, by degrees, environed with a thick brick wall, defended by eighteen bastions at proper distances. To this noble and commodious place *John Peterfon Koen*, by whose direction the foundations were laid, gave the name of *Batavia*, and declared it the capital of the *Dutch* settlements, though then very inconsiderable, in point of strength and beauty, to what it now is, as those settlements were in a manner nothing in comparison of what they now areⁿ. But his choice in this respect was so just, his plan so well contrived, and every thing throve so fast under his care, that future governors have only executed his project, and carried as well the city of *Batavia*, as the *Dutch* empire in the *Indies*, to that magnificence and extent, of which he seemed to have a previous conception when he disposed things as he did, since they could not be altered for the better. And thus, within the first term granted to the *East India* company, she saw the outlines drawn of that greatness, which has since astonished both *Asia* and *Europe*^o.

Immediately after which, the governor-general Koen lays out the new city of Batavia.

^e THE news of this establishment was very welcome to those who had the direction of the company's affairs in *Holland*, who were very desirous that some acquisitions might be made in the *Indies*, where they might raise magazines, keep up a constant military force, and the face of a regular civil government, without which they knew it was impossible they should supplant the *Portuguese* in those parts, since they were well assured, that the lustre of the viceroy's court, and the luxuries of the city of *Goa*, enchanted the oriental nations, and kept them in a constant state of dependence. They resolved, therefore, to improve this circumstance, and to raise *Batavia* to as high a degree of splendor as it was possible; but it was not only the

Policy of the East India company in Europe, as well as the Indies.

^m NEUVILLE hist. van. Holl. 1 deel. p. 205.

ⁿ FRANC. VALENTYN oud en nieuw Oostind, 1 deel.

1 deend, fol. 210. Relation de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAFE. NIEUHOFF, TAVERNIER, LE BRUN, &c.

^o Hist. metalique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VANICOM, tom. ii. p. 204.

Chinese, the *Japoneſe*, and the *Indians*, they judged it neceſſary to amuſe; on the contrary, a they found playing off the ſame ſcheme very requiſite at home. They had before cauſed an ambaffador from the king of *Siam* to be introduced to the prince of *Orange* with great pomp and ceremony; and now they brought over five young princes, as they were ſtyled, to be educated in *Holland*. Of theſe Don *Andreas de Coſtano* was the ſon of the king of *Soyan*, and Don *Marcus* of the king of *Kielan*, both in the iſland of *Amboyna*; tho' ſome writers, either through ignorance, or, which is much more probable, with a deſign of magnifying the power of the company at this juncture, thought fit to ſtyle theſe the ſons of the kings of *Siam* and *Ceylon*. The other three were perſons of leſs conſideration^a. The two young princes brought each of them a letter from his father to prince *Maurice*; who received them very graciously, and ordered due care to be taken of their education. This artful management had a double effect; for as it recommended the intereſts of the company very ſtrongly to the prince, who, with many great virtues, had a tincture of vanity, ſo it ſerved to confirm in the *Indies* the notion they had ſpread of a king of *Holland*; which was very requiſite amongſt nations who had very high ſentiments of monarchy, and ſcarce any idea that there could be another ſort of government. By theſe methods they obtained from the States General edict after edict in their favour, and all the advantages and aſſiſtance they could deſire; which none knew better how to uſe than theſe directors, or how to deliver themſelves from the future neceſſity of ſo much as deſiring them^a.

By which they procure their charter to be renewed by the States General.

In the ſpring of the year 1622, there returned to *Holland* two ſhips richly laden, with news that the war was ſtill carried on in *Java*, as well as againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas* and in the *Manillas*; and that the iſland of *Banda* was again recovered, which had been taken from them by the laſt-mentioned nation; as alſo that the laſt fleet from *Holland* arrived there ſafely in four months and three days^c. This favourable intelligence came very ſeaſonably, as the company was now ſolliciting for a new charter. In this they met with ſome oppoſition; for, in the firſt place, the proprietors were diſſatisfied, as apprehending they had not a full ſhare of the profits; and, to ſtill this clamour, the directors were obliged to make a dividend in cloves of twenty-five *per cent*^d. On the other hand, there wanted not ſome who ſuggeſted, that the excluſive privilege they enjoyed was detrimental to the ſubjects of the republic in general; and that the commerce of the *Indies* would bring far more money into the *United Provinces* if it was laid open. In answer to this, the friends of the company alleged, that it was not only a very imprudent, but a very dangerous thing, to put conjectures in balance with facts; that the company, in the ſpace of twenty-one years, had divided four hundred and fifty *per cent*. upon their capital, which amounted to near thirty millions of florins, beſides the ſeamen and ſoldiers pay, merchandize which they exported, and other things almoſt beyond the reach of calculation^e; to which if they had added a clear account of the company's ſtock, it would have done much credit to their management: but this, for many reaſons, it was thought prudent to conceal. However, upon theſe allegations, in conſequence of their great credit with prince *Maurice* and the States, and reſpect being had to the war's breaking out again with *Spain*, their demand was complied with; and a new charter, dated *December* the twenty-second, 1622, was granted them for the further term of twenty-one years, to commence from the firſt day of the ſucceeding year^e (O).

By

^a BAUDART, lib. xiii. p. 40. ^c Avertisſement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 45.
^d EMANUEL METEREN hiſt. de Pays Bas, lib. xxviii. ^e Avertisſement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 46. ^f SALENGRE eſſai d'une hiſt. des Provinces Unies, p. 75, 76. ^g LEO VAN AITZEMA ſaken van ſtaet enoorlogh, tom. i. p. 159.

(O) The arguments in favour of the company ſeem to be ſo very ſtrong, that it is requiſite the reader ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons which induced one of the ſoundeſt ſtateſmen, and ſincereſt patriots, that republic has ever produced, to diſapprove this meaſure. His words are theſe (27): "It is certain that the firſt and chief reaſon of thoſe grants to them, was the war with the king of *Spain*; which ceaſing, and, in caſe of any new war againſt that people, they would no longer be formidable to us, but we to them, no conſequence for renewing their grants can be drawn from thence. Secondly, As it is well known that it was neceſſary at firſt to make ſome conqueſts amongſt the ſpice iſlands on the enemy, becauſe the more lands they conquered, the more right and greater capacity they would acquire to trade in thoſe parts; ſo it can-

" not be denied, that when thoſe neceſſary conqueſts are made, the grounds and maxims of the proſperity of the ſaid company begin to oppugn the general good of this country, which is manifeſtly known to conſiſt in a continual increaſe of manufactures, traffick, and freight-ſhips: whereas the intereſt of ſuch companies conſiſts in ſeeking the benefit of their own members only, and this even by dealing with ſtrangers, and in foreign as well as our own manufactures, and to the great prejudice of other inhabitants, by importing manufactures, and other mechanic works, into this country, and ſending them through *Europe*; and, in ſhort, by making the greateſt profit with the leaſt traffick and navigation. As it is acknowledged, that if the *East India* company can gain more by importing *Japan* wrought ſilks, *Indian* quilts and carpets, &c. than

- a By the next ships from the *Indies* they had a full account of what had been done at *Amboyna*; where, under pretence of a conspiracy against the *Dutch* government by Mr. *Gabriel Toverfon*, and others, they seized, tortured, and put them to death; which rigorous and extraordinary proceeding was not at first openly divulged in *Holland*, where it was only said, that there had been some commotions in *Amboyna*, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished*. But when the whole affair began to take air, and make a noise in the world, they were forced to publish defences of their own conduct, in which they allege, that, the conspiracy being deep and dangerous, the governor of *Amboyna* was obliged to take the most expeditious and effectual methods, and after examining and convicting the criminals, as well by their own confession as by witnesses, to proceed to execution*.
- b But it was impossible to justify this fact to impartial inquirers, or even to palliate it, since it was self-evident, that the *Dutch* were very powerful in those parts, and the *English* very weak; so that there was no necessity for proceeding so hastily to the last extremities, and yet necessity was their only plea. It was inconsistent with the treaty concluded between the two companies, by which a joint council of defence was erected at *Batavia*, that ought to have had cognizance of this matter'. The same kind of arguments had been urged in support of former acts of violence; and yet, by the late treaty, they consented to pay a very large sum of money, which they never would have done in their own wrong; and, after doing this, in so short a space as four years, to commit a new act of violence, far exceeding all that was past, and to avail themselves of that act to dispossess the *English* intirely of their trade in the spice islands, to which they had as good a title as the *Dutch*, and for their own enjoyment of which the *Dutch* stood indebted to them for their assistance, was contrary to the rules of natural equity, and to the law of nations*. But, notwithstanding all this, what between the interest of the prince of *Orange* at the *English* court, the friends made there by the *Dutch East India* company, and the influence the States General had over some, who, at that juncture, took upon themselves the title of patriots*, this affair was for the present stifled, to the great dishonour of both nations, to the irreparable loss of the *English East India* company, and to the fatal overthrow of that sincere and cordial correspondence which had so long subsisted between the protestant and maritime powers (P).
- c

- d AFTER long and mature deliberation, the states-general determined to attempt another expedition into the *South-Seas* by the *Streights of Le Maire*, with an intention to make a settlement in *Chili* or *Peru*, or to strike such a blow, as should spread terror and confusion through the whole extent of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*; after which, their fleet might sail to the *East Indies*, and give such assistance to the company as the state of her affairs should demand. In order to execute their great views, the admiralties of *Amsterdam*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *West Friesland*, equipped a fleet of eleven sail of large ships, having upwards of one thousand mariners on board, besides six hundred regular troops, and carrying in the whole three hundred

The Nassau fleet sail first to the West, and then to the East Indies.

* Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 225.

* HARRIS'S voyages, vol. i. p. 884.

† See the Reply of the East India Company to the Dutch account of the affair at Amboyna.

* HARRIS'S

voyages, vol. i. p. 895.

* Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 238.

" than raw silk; or if the company, by causing a scarcity
 " of nutmegs, mace, cloves, cinnamon, &c. could so raise
 " the price, that they might gain as much by one hundred
 " last as by a thousand; we cannot certainly expect
 " that they should import those raw silks, and thereby
 " incur unnecessary and great disbursements; or, in
 " short, that, in their management, they should cause a
 " greater trade and navigation than those hundred last
 " would require; but that they would rather, to shun
 " greater traffick and navigation, destroy all the superfluity
 " that is beyond those hundred last which they have in the
 " *Indies*: and it can be as little denied of such companies, that the more
 " lands they conquer, the more of their stock they must necessarily
 " spend for the preservation and defence of such lands; and the more
 " dominion they have, the less are they able to mind and augment
 " their commerce: whereas, on the contrary, if these fortresses, cities,
 " and lands, were possessed by our subjects, they would have so much
 " the more conveniency and security to trade in the *Indies*."

(P) We are certainly much indebted to the *Dutch* historians for preserving to us many particulars in relation to the melancholy affair at *Amboyna*, which are intirely neglected and omitted by our own. Thus, they very

fairly acknowledge, that, admitting the truth of the conspiracy, for which they put Mr. *Toverfon*, and the rest of the *English*, to death, it was a fact, in which the *East India* company had not the least concern, and of which none of their superior officers had the slightest notice; so that there could be no foundation, even according to their own way of reasoning, for stripping the company of their trade and factories in that island, or of depriving them of *Poleeren*, one of the islands of *Banda*, the sovereignty of which had been yielded by the inhabitants, in the most solemn manner, to the crown of Great Britain (28). They likewise admit, that the *British* court, tho' they did not proceed to extremities, never quitted their pursuit of this affair, but pressed it continually for twenty years together; and that they were withheld from having recourse to arms by the assistance they expected from the *Dutch* in the affair of the palatinate. And they further confess, that at length, upon the motion of the *Dutch* themselves, the compromising this business was left at last to the two *East India* companies; in consequence of which, a much greater sum was stipulated to be paid to the *English* company, by way of satisfaction, than was afterwards obtained by *Cromwell*; but that the execution of this agreement was prevented by the breaking out of the civil war (29).

(28) Le Clerc hist. des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 266.

(29) Hist. de la conquête des Isles Moluques,

pieces of cannon^b. To the large expences which such an armament demanded, the company liberally contributed, as did prince *Maurice*, who was the great patron of the expedition, in honour of whom this is generally titled the *Nassau fleet*^c. April the twenty-ninth, 1623, this great force sailed under the command of *James Le Hermite*, entered the *Streights of Le Maire* on the second of February following; and, on the tenth of May, came before the port of *Lima*, which they attacked, and did incredible mischief to the *Spaniards*, tho' without any advantage to themselves; and much the same fate attended the rest of their attempts in the *South Seas*, where their admiral died; and these disappointments sharpened their resentments to such a degree, that, upon the *Spanish* viceroy's refusing to ransom their prisoners, they made no scruple of hanging them up at the yard-arm^d; an action deservedly condemned by all who mention it (Q). They proceeded next to *Acapulco*; from whence, towards the close of the year, they sailed for the *East Indies*; where, upon their arrival, the fleet separated, and did the company considerable service; tho' taking it all together, this business was very far from answering the great expectations which it had raised. By the help of so strong a reinforcement the company's affairs were very much mended, the *Portuguese* every-where distressed, and the communication between their colonies much interrupted; all which had a strong effect upon the minds of the *Indian* nations, and, as it was natural, taught them to slight the declining, and to court the rising power^e. To this they were the more inclined from the assurances given them, by the *Dutch*, of assistance and protection, from the most disinterested motives; but they quickly found these were but words of course, and that the whole of this revolution consisted not in the recovery of freedom, but barely in a change of masters, by which they were no great gainers.

Surprising success of the company, and immense profits accruing from thence.

By these wise and prudent measures, and by the perpetual attention of their directors to whatever might conduce to the company's advantage, their commerce at this time flourished so much, that they were obliged to enlarge the number of their ships every year; and the company, being sensible their prosperity was chiefly owing to the good conduct of their admirals and commanders in chief, solicited *John Peterfon Koen* to make a second voyage to the *Indies* in quality of governor-general; which he did, and put to sea in April 1627, soon after the *Rotterdam* came home; and was followed by four other vessels under the command of *John William Verschoer*. The rich cargo of these ships was scarce unloaded, when *Adrian Block Marten* was ready to sail with a squadron of eleven ships^f. He put to sea in October, and lost two of his ships in a storm, but saved the men and the cargoes. In the same month of October, *John Karstenz* of *Emden* brought with him safe into the *Texel* three ships laden at *Surat*; and, in his passage, had been obliged to put in at *Portsmouth*, where an embargo was laid upon his ships for some time. In June 1628 five other ships came home under the *Sieur Carpenter*, who had been the company's general in the *Indies*; and the cargoes of these ships were as valuable

^b NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 1 deel. 1. v.

p. 1.

p. 48.

^c NEUVILLE histoire van Holl. 1 deel. 1. v.

^e LE CLERC histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 97.

^d Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix.

^f Avertissement des voyages de la compagnie,

(Q) It seems to be but a point of justice, after mentioning an action of this nature, to give the reader an account of what is advanced in excuse of it in the journal of that voyage, which runs thus (30): "On the 13th of June 1624 the *Spanish* prisoners, having represented that the viceroy would be willing to treat for their ransom, it was resolved that a proposal of that sort should be made; and accordingly an officer was sent in a small vessel into the harbour with a flag of truce. As soon as the viceroy had notice of it, he sent directions that the seamen should have their hands tied, and their eyes covered, while they remained in the shallop, and that the officer who had the letter should be brought on shore. In the evening, however, the seamen were set at liberty; and the *Spaniards* took all imaginable pains to persuade them to remain where they were, and to enter into the service of the king of *Spain*; but this being found ineffectual, and not so much as a single man having listened to their proposals, an answer was given to the letter in these words: That the viceroy had nothing but powder and ball at the service of the *Dutch*; that he would not enter into any negotiation or treaty with them whatever for the ransom of prisoners; and that, if any presumed to enter the port of *Calao* again with a flag of peace, he would

"order them to be hanged up with the flag about their necks. On the 14th, when this answer was reported to the *Dutch*, they resolved in a council of war, to hang up all their prisoners. The reasons which induced them to so cruel a proceeding were these: They were themselves much streighted for provisions, and had scarce any water left; it was therefore impossible for them to maintain these people, if they meant to keep them; and at the same time they had no reason to keep them, since they were to expect no ransom. On the other hand, to set them at liberty was against the maxims of prudence, as well as the laws of war, since it could only serve to expose their weakness to the *Spaniards*, and thereby render them the scorn of their enemies. On the 15th in the morning they put this severe resolve of theirs in execution, and actually hanged twenty-one *Spaniards* at the yard-arm of the mizen-mast of their admiral, in the sight of an infinite number of people who were standing on the shore. Three old men they sent in a bark to *Calao*, with orders to tell the viceroy, that, since they had no quarter to expect from him, they were resolved to give none to such as fell into their hands, and that he ought to look upon this as the just effect of his own brutal message."

(30) Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. 73. 74.

as the former. Notwithstanding these unlucky adventures, the company were perplexed by some cross accidents, which were very detrimental to their affairs, occasioned by several political disputes in which the republic was engaged ^a.

THE *English* stopped their ships as often as they thought proper, and the *Dunkirk* privateers ^{Measures pursued to protect the homeward-bound squadrons.} never failed to give them chase. This obliged them to resolve upon fitting out a strong squadron every year, which was employed in the *German* ocean, to cruise for their homeward-bound ships, and conduct them safe to their ports. The first squadron thus stationed was commanded by *John Dierksz Lam*; and, upon his approach, the *Dunkirk* privateers retired ^b. Soon after a squadron of eleven ships sailed for *India* in *October*, under the command of *James Specks*, accompanied by *John Valbeck*, a famous mathematician. On the other hand, the company had, by the *Viana*, the unwelcome news that they sailed from *Batavia* the foregoing *January*, in hopes to pass the *Streights of Baby* in time; but, being disappointed, they ran ashore, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees, upon the south side of the *Terra Australis*, and were obliged to throw over-board a great quantity of their rich effects; and so got afloat again, yet not without great difficulty and danger (R). In their passage they fell in with *Block's* squadron, which had likewise met with very stormy weather. By this ship they had notice that the people of *Java* had formed a conspiracy to assassinate *John Peterson Koen*; which was discovered by a poor *Chinese* boy, and thereby the execution of that detestable design was intirely defeated, to which they owed the preservation of *Batavia* at that juncture ^c.

IT was within this period that most of those great discoveries were made by the *Dutch* officers on the southern continent, which are depicted in the stadthouse of *Amsterdam*. The large country of *Carpentaria*, now better known by the name of *New Holland*, was so called from general *Carpenter*, who discovered it in 1628. The western part of the same country, which lies to the south of *Java*, was discovered the same year, and, from the name of the commodore, was called *De Wit's Land*. But all the southern coasts, lying towards that sea which separates this continent from that close to the south pole, was discovered, in *January* 1627, by *Peter de Nuyts*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at large, and who had thereby an opportunity of bestowing his name on one of the finest countries in the world ^d. All these discoveries, together with a just report of their affairs, the company received from general *Carpenter*; and upon his return it was that the directors resolved to send a squadron of eleven sail into those parts, under the command of commodore *Francis Pelsart* ^e (S). It may not be amiss to observe, that, while the company was doing all these great things, their own country was torn with civil dissensions; so that if the trade of the *Indies* had not been under a direction distinct from that of the civil government, it is simply impossible that they should have suc-

^a Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 50. ^b LE CLERC histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 110. ^c Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 50. ^d NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 1. vi. ^e HARRIS's voyages, vol. i. p. 320.

(R) It is very remarkable, that at this time all accidents that regarded discoveries were carefully recorded; whereas of late years, indeed for almost-a century past, we hear little or nothing of this kind. One cannot help, however, supposing, that the *Dutch East-India* company, who were so inquisitive then, are not altogether negligent now; but, on the contrary, have taken pains to inform themselves thoroughly of the nature of this great southern continent, of which the rest of the world has heard so much, and yet knows so little, while the true value, as well as the means of entering into it, remain only known to themselves. We have in the text endeavoured to give a succinct description of this southern continent, so far as we are able, from the voyages and maps that have been published, to judge of its situation; and, in the next note, we shall lay down the reasons from which it is concluded that their discoveries have been very important, notwithstanding they have been so industriously concealed.

(S) There is a fragment extant of this voyage of captain *Francis Pelsart*, in a very curious collection; from which it appears, that the ship called the *Batavia*, which he commanded, was wrecked, on the 4th of *June* 1629, upon the coast of *New Holland*, in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees south, of which he was able to make no farther discovery than that it was inhabited (31). But twelve years after, the company sent captain *Abel Jansen*

Tasman to take a survey of all the countries that are mentioned in the text; and it is from the extract of his journal (32), that we learn this southern country is a very large island, extending from the latitude of forty-three degrees south to the equator, and from the longitude of 123° to 190°. We may therefore with truth affirm it lies precisely in the richest climates of the world. If the islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Borneo*, abound in precious stones and other valuable commodities, and the *Moluccas* in spices; *New Guiney*, and the regions behind it, must, by a parity of reason, be as plentifully endowed by nature. If the island of *Madagascar* is so noble and plentiful a country as all authors speak it; and gold, ivory, and other commodities, are common in the southern part of *Africa*, from *Melinda* down to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and so up again to *Cape Gonfalon*, here are the same latitudes in *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, and *New Zealand*; if *Pern* overflows with silver, if all the mountains of *Chili* are filled with gold, and this precious metal, and stones much more precious, are the product of *Brazil*, this continent enjoys the benefit of the same position, and therefore whoever perfectly discovers and settles it will become infallibly possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful, and as capable of improvement, as any that have been hitherto found out either in the *East Indies* or in the *West*.

(31) This voyage is printed in the first volume of *Thevenot's* collection of travels, and from thence taken into *Harris's* collection. (32) This voyage is in the second volume of *Thevenot's* collection, and was published in English by Dr. *Hook*; it is also in *Harris's* collection.

ceeded as they did, or brought such advantage to the *Dutch* nation, at least so their directors ^a insinuated when a renewal of their charter came to be solicited.

Batavia twice
besieged by the
emperor of
Java, and gal-
lantly defended
by general
Koen.

YET we are now advanced to a point of time, when, if there had been a force sufficient in the island of *Java*, the *Dutch* power had met with a severe shock. This was owing to the envy and resentment of the emperor of that island, who with indefatigable pains drew together an army of two hundred thousand men, which under the command of one of the principal lords of his court, he sent to invest *Batavia*. This siege, or rather blockade, continued some months; and, though the *Javaneſe* actually discovered great resolution, and exposed themselves as much as their officers could desire, yet it was to no purpose, for the *Dutch* works were too strong for them to make any impression upon; so that, after the loss of a vast number of men, they were obliged to retire ^m. The prince of *Madura*, which is a small island at a very little distance from *Java*, suggested to the emperor, that this disappointment must be owing to the bad behaviour of his general, who with a third less force might have easily reduced that place, if he had been a man of capacity. Upon this the emperor, resolving to put that to a trial, raised a fresh army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which he gave the prince of *Madura* the command, notwithstanding he went in person to the siege. They came before the citadel of *Batavia*, August the twenty-second 1629, and in the space of a month made several assaults, that served only to diminish their own forces; of which they lost so many, that their bodies choaked up and corrupted the river, and the stench spread an epidemic disease through the camp, and in the place. At length, finding his army almost dwindled to nothing in comparison of what it was, the emperor, having first massacred the prince of *Madura*, and about eight hundred of his men, raised the siege, on the second of October, with much greater loss, both in respect of honour and of his troops, than he had sustained in the former ⁿ. It was towards this close of the siege that the governor-general *John Pieterſon Koen*, who with great courage and conduct had defended the place, ended his life, and was interred with the greatest solemnity. *James Specks* was appointed provisionally governor, who caused the river and canals to be cleansed, and in a surprising short space of time restored every thing to its original condition; by which he did the company good service, and highly raised his own reputation ^o.

^m NEUVILLE hist. van. Hollande, 1 deel. 1. vii. p. 139.

^o NEUVILLE van Hollande, 1 deel. 1. vii.

ⁿ Voyage de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix.

S E C T. VI.

The intercourse and disputes of the Dutch with the Japonese, to whom they are constrained to deliver up Peter Nuyts, their governor at Formosa. Unexpected good consequences of this act of submission, which enabled them to fix their commerce with that nation.

Some account
of the state of
their trade in
the Red Sea,
and the empire
of Japan.

IN the year 1630 *Peter Vander Broecke*, who had been long in *India*, and was the first who ^d carried the *Dutch* vessels into the *Red Sea*, and the adjacent countries, returned home; he sailed with seven ships, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions, yet he brought home but six; one being lost by fire under the *Azores Islands*, and the other straggled from the fleet; however the last went round by *Ireland*, and at length came home safe. *Broecke* acquainted the company, that general *Koen* died suddenly two days before the arrival of *James Specks*, who acted as general by way of provision. *Anthony Van Diemen* returned in the year 1631, with seven vessels, which brought the company incredible treasures ^p. These mighty advantages enabled them to prosecute their designs to their utmost extent, to enlarge their commerce in the *Indies* by every method possible, sometimes making use of force, and sometimes of fair means, to compass their ends, and to secure to themselves the largest share of a trade, which, by experience, they found of such wonderful concern. They began likewise to entertain some hopes of engrossing intirely the lucrative trade of *Japan*; a notion which they had conceived from their first entrance into that empire, and with a view to which they had, from time to time, taken several steps to ingratiate themselves at the court of the emperor, and to persuade his ministers that they were an humble, peaceable, well-disposed people, who had nothing in view but disposing of their goods and manufactures, and who thought themselves obliged in gratitude, to promote the welfare and prosperity of a country, where they had been so kindly received and so well entertained; and for the government of which, on that account, they had the highest veneration and esteem. Professions which were so well received, that,

^p Avertissement à la tête de recueil des voyages de la compagnie, p. 53.

when

a when the *Portuguese* were shut up in that little island which the *Dutch* now inhabit, this last nation had the port of *Firando* given them, and were treated with very particular marks of confidence and favour; which induced them to have a good opinion of their own negotiations^a (*).

BEFORE we leave this place, it is necessary to give the reader an account of a very extraordinary transaction which happened at this time between the *Japonefe* and the *Dutch*; which, from its importance, from the extraordinary circumstances that attend it, and more especially as it affords us the best picture possible of both nations, claims a part in this history. Mr. *Peter Nuyts*, who came to *Batavia* from *Holland* in 1627, was appointed the same year, by the governor and council of *Batavia*, ambassador to the emperor of *Japan*^b. He arrived in that empire in 1628; and, being a man of a haughty disposition, and extremely vain, he believed it practicable to pass upon the natives for an ambassador from the king of *Holland*. Upon his assuming this title he was much more honourably received, caressed, and respected, than former ministers had been; which pleased him highly. But this did not last long; for he was soon detected, reprimanded and reproached in the severest manner, sent back to the port, and ordered to return to *Batavia* with all the circumstances of disgrace imaginable^c; notwithstanding which, his interest was so great, that, instead of being punished as he deserved, he was immediately afterwards promoted to the government of the island of *Formosa*; of which he took possession the year following^d (A).

He entered upon the administration of affairs in that island with the same disposition that he had shewn while ambassador, and with the most implacable resentment against the *Japonefe*; neither was it long before an opportunity offered, as he thought, of revenging himself to the full. Two large *Japonefe* ships, with upwards of five hundred men on board, came into the port; upon which he took it into his head to disarm and dismantle them, in the same manner that the *Dutch* vessels are treated at *Japan*. The *Japonefe* did all they could to defend themselves from this ill usage; but at last, for want of water, they were forced to submit; and their vessels, pursuant to the governor's order, were disarmed and dismantled with the utmost rigour, notwithstanding that they made a solemn protest against this ill treatment^e. Gover-

^a P. CHARLEVOIX *histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 326.

^b P. CHARLEVOIX *histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 361.

^c Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 229.

^d Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 229.

^e Recueil de voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 224.

(*) The *Portuguese*, and indeed all the popish writers in general, labour to ascribe the exclusion of *Europeans*, and the extirpation of Christianity, in *Japan*, as intirely the effects of the *Dutch* intrigues; but they do not represent this matter fairly by any means. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who were established there, were beyond all doubt more solicitous to propagate Christianity than the *Dutch*; but they were not so very attentive to their spiritual concerns, but that they had their temporal views also as well as other people. With this design they presented a memorial to the emperor so early as the year 1613, in which they painted the *Dutch* in the blackest colours possible, in hopes of getting them excluded the empire. The answer they received was very remarkable; viz. that if the *Dutch* were as black as the devils that came out of hell, while they behaved honestly in their trade, and minded nothing but trade, they should be treated in *Japan* like angels come from paradise; for that the emperor was attentive only to the good of his own subjects, and did not trouble himself to inquire into the politics, disputes, good or bad qualities, of other nations, whose behaviour he would endeavour to regulate while they were in his dominions, and leave it to their own conduct elsewhere (33). This attempt provoked the *Dutch* to compose memorials against the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* with better success; so that, in 1625, a resolution was taken to lay them under certain restrictions; and about the same time the *Chinese* and the *Coreans* were excluded from all commerce in *Japan* (34). After all, the principal motive that excited a general persecution against the Christians was the change that happened in the constitution of the empire; for, as there were always two great sovereigns, the one spiritual and the other temporal, in the island, so neither of these could be called absolute: for, tho' the former was treated with infinite

respect, yet his authority was not much felt or feared; and, tho' the latter received the homage of lesser princes, yet were they truly sovereigns within their own dominions. But the cubo-sama, or temporal emperor, then reigning, formed a scheme of making himself absolute (35); and the opposition he received therein from the the Christians induced him and his successors to consider our religion as a crime of state.

(A) It is highly probable that *Peter Nuyts* was tempted to lay aside his real character, and pretend to be an ambassador royal, from the accounts he received of the contemptible notions which the government in this island entertain of traders, in consequence of their being acquainted only with the shopkeepers of *Japan*; and that he might hope to impose on the *Japonefe*, as others had done on several eastern nations, by giving the title of king of *Holland* to the prince of *Orange*. At first this succeeded, because, tho' the *Japonefe* had often received ambassadors from the *Dutch East-India* company, yet they knew very well that they had sovereigns in *Europe*, and might therefore very well suppose that this ambassador came directly from *Holland*, which made them examine his credentials more strictly; and, as this happened before the *Portuguese* were excluded, they very quickly discovered the imposition, and sent him away as a cheat. It was inexcusable, after this, to put him at the head of any of the *Dutch* colonies, and still more so in an island which was the only one of those colonies where it was possible to have any dispute with the *Japonefe*. As this was intirely the fault of Mr. *Koen*, and the council of the *Indies*, so they smarted severely for it afterwards; and it afforded them, and other nations, a lesson that ought never to be forgot, that a man who once forfeits his character in a public employment ought never to be trusted with such an employment again (36).

(33) P. Charlevoix *hist. du Japon*, vol. ii. p. 133.
Charlevoix *histoire du Japon*, vol. ii. p. 215.

(34) *Memoire touchant le commerce du Japon*.
(36) Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 229.

(35) P.

nor *Nayts* went still farther; and, when they had finished their affairs at *Formosa*, and were a desirous of proceeding, according to their instructions, to *Cbina*, he put them off with fair words and fine promises till the monsoon was over. They began then to be very impatient, and desired to have their cannon and sails restored, that they might return home; but the governor had recourse to new artifices, and, by a series of false promises, endeavoured to hinder them from making use of the season proper for that voyage; and, though they had the assistance of friends, and offered large presents, it proved all in vain * (B).

The Japanese, at length borrowing courage from despair, resolved to lay hands on the governor in his palace.

At length, perceiving plainly his purpose, and more exasperated at the affront offered their country than the injury done to themselves, they resolved to risque all, and, by one bold attempt, either break through their captivity, or perish with honour. As no nation in the world possesses either a more active or a more determined courage than the *Japonefe*, so they concerted this enterprize as coolly as they executed it with spirit. They sent nine of the most considerable amongst them, with a reasonable number of attendants, to expostulate with the governor at his palace; and, having agreed upon the proper signals they were to make, divided the rest of their crew into several detachments, which moved at a certain distance, so as to come up in due time. Those who went to the palace made use of fair means at first; but, finding these utterly ineffectual, they seized the person of the governor, that of his son, and one of his counsellors, and then, making their signals, their several parties stormed the house, and massacred every creature that was in it. The garrison in the citadel, as soon as they were informed of what had happened, brought their artillery to bear upon the palace; which they might have easily beat to the ground, if the *Japonefe* had not compelled the governor to give his orders to desist from firing, which, out of respect to his danger, were obeyed * (C).

Force him, and one of his council, to sign a treaty, which afterwards is ratified by the whole council.

THIS transaction happened in the month of *July* 1630. The *Dutch* were very pressing to have ended the thing the same day, but the *Japonefe* were in no such haste. They fortified themselves in the palace; and the next morning produced a treaty to the governor, and the counsellor, consisting of a few articles for securing their liberty, free departure, and indemnity; which they told them they must sign if they expected to live; an argument of so much weight, that they subscribed without loss of time. They told the *Japonefe*, however, that

* P. CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 362.

* Recueil des voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 231, 232.

(B) The capital trade which the *Japonefe* carried on was with *Cbina*; and the principal business of these ships was to obtain refreshments for pursuing their voyage, which they had been accustomed to receive at *Formosa*, where they were always well received by the *Dutch*, and never subjected to any such restrictions as this governor insisted upon. He was so conscious of the iniquity of his own proceeding, that he endeavoured to cover it by the most specious pretences. He told them, that it was a very dangerous voyage (tho' they made it every year); that he expected ships from *Batavia*, and orders by them to send those in the harbour to *Cbina*, and then they should sail under a strong escort. When the monsoon was passed, and they pressed to return home, he counterfeited the greatest concern: "What," said he, "would you go back to *Japan* without executing your orders, without disposing of your cargo, without gaining any thing by all your trouble and pains? By no means! Our ships will certainly come, or, if they should not, we will think of some method of making you an ample amends." The *Japonefe*, who were far from being the dupes of his fallacious harangues, told him roundly, that the season for going to *Cbina* was lost; that they were in danger of losing that in which they might return home; that they came for refreshments, and not to trade; that they had instructions which they were bound to pursue, and that therefore they desired to have their cannon, rudders, and sails, restored to them, that they might make the best of the little time they had left. He replied, in the same strain of dissimulation, that they must have a little patience; that he could not by any means grant their request, for fear any accident might befall them, and that this should be imputed to him, who had already been so unfortunate (which gave him the greatest concern) to offend the government of *Japan* (37).

(C) The method they concerted for their deliverance was this: Their nine chiefs had each a sword and dagger; they were followed by twenty-four of the bravest men

belonging to both crews, in the dress of servants, who were also privately armed. A party of fifty men, divided into five bands, followed half an hour after, and dropped by degrees into the court of the palace. Another detachment of one hundred men marched by two different routes, so as to come to the palace an hour after these. The nine deputies told the governor plainly, but with much submission, that they were content to forget all that was past; that, whatever his intentions were, they inclined to put the best construction upon them; that they had contracted the year before for five and twenty thousand pounds weight of silk at *Cbina*, for which they had already paid their owners, having taken up the money at interest; that their families must be grievously distressed during their absence; and that, in short, it was necessary for them to return, which they were resolved to do. The governor had recourse once more to his old dissembling stile; with which finding they could be no longer amused, he told them plainly it was his pleasure they should stay, and stay they must. They told him they had staid above a year already, which was long enough; then, looking upon one another, the chief gave the signal, and, with the assistance of two others, instantly seized the governor, and tied his hands behind his neck; three more did the same by the counsellor, a third took the child, and wrapped him up in his robe; while the other two, going out, gave the signal to their attendants, who were waiting for it; and, immediately drawing their swords, cried out, *Kill! Kill!* massacring in an instant the guards, several workmen, merchants, and domestics belonging to the company; after which they barricaded themselves in the palace as well as they could. Their whole number was one hundred eighty-three; the rest, between three and four hundred, were on board their ships, which they had provided with some old sails, and put into the best condition they could, that they might endeavour to get away if the people on shore perished in the attempt (38).

(37) P. Charlevoix *histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 362.

(38) Recueil des voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 227, 228.

- a this treaty would be of no use if it was not approved by the whole council, which, at his request, they permitted the governor to summon; and the members, considering that this affair might possibly prove the loss of that lucrative commerce which the company enjoyed with *Japan*, ratified the treaty, abject and scandalous as it was, when they found it impossible to engage the *Japoneſe* to vary ſo much as a ſingle letter ⁷ (D). Yet they wanted not ſtrength to have cut off theſe people to a ſingle man, as they had ſix hundred regular troops in the citadel and forts, and ſeven ſhips in the harbour, with as many men more on board them, which the *Japoneſe* very well knew, and from thence had taken their meaſures, from which they would not depart in the leaſt ⁸.

- b ACCORDING to the terms ſtipulated, five of the principal inhabitants of the iſland were delivered to the *Japoneſe* for hoſtages, with five thouſand pound weight of ſilk, the rudders and ſails of the *Dutch* ſhips brought on ſhore, the *Japoneſe* veſſels put into a condition of ſailing, victualled, and ſupplied with all neceſſaries; after which, having ſet the governor, the counſellor, and the boy, at liberty, the *Japoneſe* marched out of the palace, embarked, weighed anchor, and proſecuted their voyage happily to *Japan* ⁹. Immediately after their arrival they gave notice to the court of all that had happened; upon which all the *Dutch* effects were immediately ſeized, and the guards about their factory doubled, but without giving them the leaſt notice of the cauſe, or doing the ſmalleſt injury to their perſons. On the contrary, they were furniſhed more plentifully, uſed with more civility, and treated with greater reſpect, than ever. The *Dutch* chief and factory were notwithstanding in the utmoſt conſternation, preſenting c memorial after memorial, to know their offence; to which they were ſometimes answered, that the council had affairs of great importance upon their hands; at others, that the emperor was ill, and they muſt have patience ¹⁰ (E).

- By the help of the *Portugueſe* and *Cbineſe* ſhips they ſent advice to *Batavia* of their ſtrange ſituation, which alarmed the governor-general *Spex* and his council exceedingly, who at firſt knew not what to do, nor how to proceed. At length they reſolved to ſend a ſhip, in the name of a merchant of *Batavia*, with a cargo, in order to ſee what this would produce. The ſhip arrived, and petitioned, in the merchant's name, for leave to ſell their goods; which they were allowed to do, with all the kindneſs imaginable, permitted to embark the produce of their goods, and to return, but not a jot wiſer than they came ¹¹. The governor-general in the mean time d had been informed of what paſſed at *Formoſa*, and had ſent for *Peter Nuyts* priſoner, which hitherto had been all his puniſhment. Three years ran on in this manner, when *Anthony Van Diemen*, becoming governor-general, aſſembled the council; and prevailed upon them to take the only ſtep that was left, which was to deliver up *Peter Nuyts* to the *Japoneſe*, to do with him what they pleaſed. This ſentence being notified to the priſoner, he behaved like a man diſtracted; he proteſted againſt this judgment, he appealed to the people, he deſired to be tried there, and to ſuffer any kind of death. But it was all in vain; the council were deaf, the people ſaid it was his own fault; in ſhort, a new fleet was equipped in 1634, and *Peter Nuyts* ſent aboard it, with inſtructions to the chief to deliver him up as ſoon as he came ¹².

⁷ CHARDIN voyages tom. iii. p. 231. ⁸ P. CHARLEVOIX hiſtoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 365. ⁹ Recueil de voyage au nord, tom. iii. p. 253. ¹⁰ Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 233. ¹¹ P. CHARLEVOIX hiſt. du Japon, tom. ii. p. 367. ¹² Recueil de voyage au nord, tom. iii. p. 239.

(D) This treaty, which they obliged the governor and council to ſign, was to the following effect: I. They acknowledged the whole enterprize to be juſt, lawful, and neceſſary, for the preſervation of thoſe concerned, and for vindicating the honour of the *Japoneſe*. II. That they ſhould be at liberty to return to *Japan* when they thought fit; and that every thing ſhould be reſtored that had been taken out of their ſhips. III. That, to prevent the *Dutch* ſhips from following, inſulting, or bringing them back, they ſhould bring on ſhore their rudders and ſails the evening before their departure, which they fixed for the firſt of *Auguſt*. IV. That, for their farther ſecurity, and that they might with ſafety reſcure their priſoners, they ſhould receive as hoſtages five of the principal *Dutch* inhabitants in the iſland. V. That as the uſage they had met with was unjuſtifiable and inexcusable, and by which they had loſt the opportunity of receiving twenty-five thouſand pounds weight of ſilk, which they had bought and paid for, they ſhould receive the like quantity out of the company's warehouse, of whatever kind they thought fit to chuſe. By this laſt article they indemnified themſelves for the

expences of the voyage; but at the ſame time they delivered the company's officers the *Cbineſe* merchants receipts, that they might be able to recover the like quantity the next year from their correſpondents (39).

(E) The five hoſtages from *Formoſa* were kept in priſon at the capital, ſo that the *Dutch* knew nothing of them till long afterwards. Amongſt other memorials preſented by the factory, one ſet forth, that they were in the utmoſt danger of being undone by the prohibition of trade, as a great part of the commodities in their magazines were perishable. Upon receiving this, the emperor ſent commiſſioners to inſpect a general ſale of all their commodities, to regiſter the ſums received, to ſee them ſecured in the reſpective warehouses out of which the goods were taken, and then to lock them up, and ſeal them as before. The *Dutch* had no reaſon to complain that they were prejudiced by this proceeding, ſince the whole amounted to above a million of crowns, all depoſited in their own magazines, without their having any trouble or expence in the diſpoſal of their goods (40).

(39) Voyages de Chardin, tom. iii. p. 231.

(40) Charlevoix hiſtoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 367.

Proceedings of
the court of
Japon, after
the delivering
up of Peter
Nuyts.

On the arrival of the vessel at *Firando*, the chief and his council, who had by this time procured from the court the cause of the interruption of their commerce, presented a fresh memorial; setting forth, that the person who had offended his imperial majesty was put into the hands of his officers; and therefore desired that they might be restored to his favour, and to their privileges of course. Upon the receiving of this memorial, commissaries were speedily dispatched to *Firando*, carrying with them some of the persons who were in the ship detained at *Formosa*, that they might see whether this man was the governor *Peter Nuyts*, or not. These people having certified that it was the governor, the commissaries received fresh instructions, by which they were directed to require from the *Dutch* factory an answer to the following questions: First, whether the governor came of his own accord, or whether he was sent by the governor-general at *Batavia*? Secondly, if *Peter Nuyts* came of his own accord, whether he intended to justify his own conduct, to charge the *Japoneſe* with any misbehaviour, and to bring the affair to a clear and open trial; or simply to confess his fault, to testify his repentance, and to implore the emperor's pardon? Lastly, if the chief and his council were content that the criminal should be broiled alive upon the coals, or nailed to a cross, if such should prove the sentence of the emperor and his council? To these questions they were to answer plainly and without reserve, and within the compass of three days. The *Japoneſe* commissaries left them, during that space, free liberty to confer amongst themselves, to send whom they pleased to *Peter Nuyts*; and to take any other steps that they thought convenient, in order to give that satisfaction upon which the government insisted.

Manner in
which the
Dutch chief
delivered up
Peter Nuyts
to the Japon-
eſe.

THE chief and his factory, after mature deliberation, resolved to stick precisely to the form prescribed by the governor-general and council at *Batavia*, notwithstanding they had received permission to make whatever alterations they should think necessary at the time of their delivering him up; but, as they saw no alteration of circumstances that required any such changes, and as the prescribed form seemed more suitable than any they could devise, they stuck to it closely. The substance of this form was, that the person now delivered up, *Peter Nuyts*, was the very person, who, five years before, being governor of *Formosa*, had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, to whom the general sent him to suffer whatever punishment he thought fit; that however the *Dutch* were fully persuaded of the equity of his imperial majesty, even in the exercise of justice; that he was far from adjudging people to sufferings without a thorough inquiry into the cause; so far from it, that, out of his natural clemency, he pardoned faults in his own subjects, whence they presumed to hope his indulgence towards a stranger, whose crime was in some measure qualified through ignorance, and who had no intention to give the least offence to his imperial majesty; that in this disposition they delivered the prisoner, desiring that, whatever became of the guilty, the innocent might no longer suffer; but that such as had been already detained five years might have leave to depart, together with the company's vessels and effects. The commissaries, having received the prisoner, and this answer, set out for the court. (F).

The court of
Japon, satis-
fied with this
submission, re-
move all the
restrictions
laid upon the
Dutch.

THE leaving *Peter Nuyts* to the emperor's discretion put an end to this affair, and gave the *Japoneſe* court intire satisfaction. The factory was immediately set at liberty, the emperor's seal upon their effects was removed, the guard upon their ships withdrawn, and the prohibition of commerce recalled. As for *Peter Nuyts*, after remaining a few days in prison, he was put under what the *Japoneſe* call a free custody; that is, he had a few guards, with whom he might go where he pleased, visit whom he pleased, and do what he pleased, provided he re-

* Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 236.
recueil de voyage au nord, tom. iii. p. 242, 243.

† P. CHARLEVOIX histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 369. § Re-

(F) This history alone is sufficient to give us a true notion of the genius of the *Japoneſe* nation, the spirit of their court, and the situation of the *Dutch* in their country. It is impossible to conceive any thing better framed, or more exactly calculated, to justify their own behaviour, or to vindicate the honour of their country, than the treaty which the *Japoneſe* prescribed to the governor of *Formosa*. The same turn of mind is very conspicuous in the behaviour of the emperor and his ministers, upon their being informed of this insult; an exact retaliation of the ill usage, without any mixture of contumely or passion; a strict regard to justice, notwithstanding the dispute between the two nations; an imperial silence, more emphatic than the most laboured manifesto: it is impossible to consider all this without allowing the *Japoneſe* to be a great people, and their rulers a wise go-

vernment (41). The submission of the *Dutch* was founded in equity and justice, and their proceeding exactly agreeable to the law of nations. *Peter Nuyts* might consider it as a hardship; but he was no better a judge in his own cause than in that of other people. He was the sole author of all this mischief, and it was very fit he should be the sole sufferer by it. But, after all, it is not impossible, tho' hitherto it has not been remarked by any writer we have met with, that this transaction might be a strong inducement to the *Japoneſe* government to restrain their subjects from the exercise of foreign commerce, as being unwilling to hazard that point of honour, of which they are so jealous as a nation, for the sake of profit, which the *Japoneſe* government hath ever held in contempt.

(41) Chardin, Charlevoix, &c.

a maintained in their presence ; and this without being put to any expence, farther than he might be inclined to from their civility. He was therefore from this time secure from the fear of broiling or crucifixion, and had nothing farther to apprehend than passing the remainder of his days in *Japan*, in no very uneasy situation, being every-where very well received, and upon the whole very kindly treated. He bore this very patiently, as being infinitely better than he could expect, and looked on himself as a prisoner for life ^a.

b THE governor-general and council at *Batavia* were inexpressibly pleased at seeing their nine ships arrive safe from *Japan* with all their people on board, even the five hostages from *Formosa*, and an immense cargo ; which, from being so long detained, came to a much better market ; and, what was still more grateful, bringing also advice that the *Japanese* government was thoroughly pacified with respect to the company, the nation, and even the author of all this disturbance. As the company send annually presents to the emperor of *Japan*, so they very prudently resolved that those sent the next year should be richer than ordinary, the better to express the sense the company had of this favour. But however it is very certain, that this was their general intention, and that they had not at all in view that favourable circumstance which afterwards happened, and towards which indeed it was impossible, in the nature of things, they could have any foresight ^b.

c AMONGST these presents there was a chandelier of brass, of thirty branches, fourteen feet high, and exquisitely wrought ; it so fell out that this came just as they were about to solemnize at court the funeral of the emperor's father, for which prodigious preparations had been made ; notwithstanding which, the lustre of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the happy effect which this chandelier had when hung over the funeral trophy. His imperial majesty was prodigiously struck with it ; he declared he had never seen any thing like it ; asked from whence it came, and for what purpose it was intended ? A minister of his, who had taken the *Dutch* under his protection, answered of his own accord, and without the least instruction from them, " that it was sent by the *Dutch* on purpose to add to the magnificence of this ceremony, for which they were informed his imperial majesty was preparing." The emperor immediately added, Have they any request ? Is there any thing they want ? Can I do any thing to oblige them ? " Nothing," replied the minister, " unless your majesty would have the goodness to set at liberty a *Dutch* governor who is imprisoned here, not for any offence against your majesty's laws, but for an involuntary breach of the customs of *Japan*, with which he was not well acquainted." The emperor caused him to be set at liberty that moment ; and gave the company besides a very considerable sum in silver, as a mark of that kindness with which he received their present ; and farther permitted some valuable indulgences in sending abroad commodities for that year ^c (G).

d WHEN, after his release, *Peter Nuyts* came down to the factory, in order to prepare for his return to *Batavia*, the *Dutch* who were there could not help expressing their amazement ; and the rather, because they knew, that, according to the laws of *Japan*, a prisoner of state must be at least nine years in custody before any of the ministers dare intercede for him ; and therefore they had not so much as flattered themselves with the hopes of procuring this gentleman's release, who had not been in *Japan* above two. His arrival was no less welcome at *Batavia*, where having in a great measure forgot his offence, and the troubles which it had occasioned, they long before began to regret his misfortune ; and the rather, because they looked upon him as a man cut off from his country and relations, and who ought to esteem it a favour that he was suffered to wear out the remainder of his life in exile and imprisonment. The company, however, from this tedious transaction, which took up seven years in the whole, acquired two maxims with respect to their conduct towards the *Japanese*, which no doubt has gone a great way in protecting them from accidents of the like kind ever since. The first is, that it is a

^a Voyages de CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 235. ^b P. CHARLEVOIX histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 396. ^c Recueil voyage au nord, tom. iii. p. 245.

(G) The name of the *Japanese* emperor, who governed at the time that *Peter Nuyts* seized the two ships in the island of *Formosa*, was *Fide Tadda*, who, if the *Japanese* chronicles that we have be right, died *Anno Lemini* 1630 ; and as this solemnity, in honour of his memory, was in 1636, a *French* writer has conjectured, not without a great shew of probability, that this was not his funeral, but his apotheosis (42) ; for it is usual in *Japan* to deify the deceased emperors, and to worship them as inferior divinities, or saints. It is one of the great

prerogatives of the *dairo*, who is the spiritual emperor or pope of *Japan*, to grant this posthumous honour, if he so pleases, to the deceased *cubo-sama*, or temporary emperor ; and, at the same time that he grants this favour, he gives the deity a new name ; which in this case was *Taito Komi*. As for the emperor to whom *Peter Nuyts* was sent, his name was *Jermitsko*, the very same who raised the last great persecution against the Christians (43).

(42) P. Charlevoix histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 370. tom. x. p. 179.

(43) Voyage de la compagnie des Indes Orientales,

good thing to have a friend at court, and therefore they never fail to have at least one of the *Japoneſe* a miniſters intirely in their intereſt, which they accompliſh by an affiduous application, by a ſtudious compliance with his deſires, and a conſtant intercourſe of preſents, by which however they are no loſers; for, excluſive of the benefits they receive from his intereſt, they ſeldom fail of meeting with ſuch returns, in things little regarded by him, and yet highly valuable to them, that more than compenſate the value of their preſents. The other is, to proceed roundly with the court upon any diſpute, and to give immediately ſuch ſatisfaction as is required; for the *Japoneſe* are a people of ſuch addreſs, of ſo lofty a temper, and ſo jealous in point of honour, that there is no way of overcoming their diſtaſte but by a quick and profound ſubmiſſion; a doctrine, which as they have firſt learned, ſo has it been confirmed to them by long experience, neither is it very probable that they will ever venture to deviate from it again ^b.

The true ſources of that ſubmiſſion which is ſtill paid by the Dutch company to the government of Japan.

We ſee from hence the true ſource of that ſuperiority with which the *Japoneſe* act towards this nation upon all occaſions. They are perfectly ſenſible of the advantages drawn from that limited commerce which is ſtill permitted, and which therefore they keep intirely in their own power. They have a juſt conception of the dangers to which their conſtitution muſt be inevitably expoſed by a conflux of ſtrangers to the ports of *Japan*; and therefore they admit none but ſuch as they can intirely controul, or ſuch as they abſolutely deſpiſe, keeping their own ſubjects at the ſame time under ſo ſtrict a diſcipline, as ſcarce leaves them the ſhadow of an apprehenſion of any new revolution ^c. It is from this exerciſe of abſolute authority that all thoſe machinations and intrigues, which diſtract and diſturb other nations in the eaſt, are here nipt in the bud, and ſtified in the birth; and conſequently no room is left for the *Dutch* factory to interfere, or to offer the countenance or aſſiſtance of the company, in ſupport either of one ſide or the other. If there was the leaſt room or opening for ſuch practices, there is little doubt that ſome attempts had been long ago made; but the reſtraints they are under in their converſations with the natives, the ſtrict eye that is kept upon them in their journeys to and from court, the quick penetration and inflexible ſteadineſs of the *Japoneſe*, the prodigious annual advantage even of their confined trade; and, above all, the example of the *Portugueſe*, expelled without mercy, and from whom no intreaties ſince could prevail; as well as that of the *Engliſh*, upon doubts which did not riſe quite ſo high as ſuſpicions; deter them from any thing of this kind ^d. Beſides, they are kept in ſuch ignorance of the domeſtic affairs of the empire, that if there be any jealousies, or factious cabals, amongſt the nobility, they ſeldom come to their notice; and the ſituation they are in is ſuch, that it would never incline the malecontents in that empire to dream of having recourſe to them for aſſiſtance; which excludes all hopes of the company's carrying things higher than their preſent ſtate, otherwiſe than by the help of a clandestine commerce, which, with that permitted, by any raſh procedure of this kind, they might eaſily loſe ^e (H).

^a P. CHARLEVOIX *hiſtoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 371.
tom. x. p. 29. ^b *Hiſtoire de l'expédition de trois vaiſſeaux*, vol. ii. p. 203.

^c *Voyage de la compagnie de Indes Orientales*,
^d Abbé DE CHOISY *Journal du voyage de Siam*, p. 79, 80.

(H) The *Dutch* chiefs and embaſſadors had before this time been a little inclined to teach the *Japoneſe* ſtateſmen politics, who with great prudence heard all they had to ſay, and made uſe of it, as occaſion ſerved, againſt themſelves; but from this time they kept a little more upon the reſerve, and ſeldom or never entered upon any diſcourſes relative to the affairs of *Europe*, unleſs they were called upon, and in ſome meaſure obliged to do it; for it was now become a thing pretty evident, that the *Japoneſe* underſtood the ſituation of *Europe* well enough to form a ſcheme for their own preſervation, in which theſe tutors of theirs were no more conſidered than was con-

venient. They had likewiſe ſhewn ſome diſadvantages that aroſe from tolerating an open trade with *China*; which ſuggeſtions were kindly received, but in proceſs of time were remembered to the prejudice of the *Dutch* themſelves; but this ſtroke opened their eyes ſufficiently as to the abilities of the *Japoneſe*, and the little need they had that others ſhould ſtrain their inventions for their ſervice, when at the bottom they underſtood their own intereſts to the full as well as any other nation, and were able to conduct them with ſuch ſecreſy, and ſuperiority of underſtanding, as deſerved to be admired, and could hardly be imitated (44).

(44) *Chardin, Charlevoix, Carrou*:

S E C T. VII.

The company, on paying a large fine, are indulged in a third charter; act with great address in the Indies, terminate their quarrels with the English by a treaty with the commonwealth, and apply themselves to overturn the Portuguese in all their settlements.

- a **I**F we may believe what most writers say, and indeed what some of the *Dutch* writers themselves confess, there was a great deal of this kind of policy practised in the management of their affairs throughout the *Indies*; for, by interfering in all their little quarrels, whether foreign or domestic, and furnishing them with assistance sometimes against their more potent neighbours, and at others against their subjects, when they had driven them into rebellion by oppression and ill usage, they screwed themselves into the favour of *Indian* princes; obtained liberties, first to establish factories, and then forts; after which they seldom made any more requests, but on the contrary gave laws; and those monarchs, whom they had before honoured with high titles, and much of that servile submission which is the common language in all oriental courts, found to their cost that their old friends were become their new masters^p.
- b This indeed was sometimes resented, and no endeavours spared to shake off the yoke; which however was very seldom to any purpose, for the company had such a superiority of power in respect to any of these princes, taken singly, and were so well skilled in the arts of dissolving and breaking alliances to pieces, that in the end they were always gainers by such disputes, though for a time their trade perhaps was interrupted, and they were put to the expence and trouble of a war^q. In excuse of these proceedings the company would sometimes plead, that it was only deceiving the deceivers; and that without the help of these arts it was simply impossible to manage their concerns, or to maintain their power, most of the *Indian* kings being equally cunning and faithless, and never letting slip any opportunity of gratifying their ambition or their avarice, tho' at the expence of treaties which they had themselves proposed,
- c and of the most solemn alliances; which in some cases, it is probable, might be true, but was certainly false in others (V).

As the company's charter drew towards an end, they did not fail to represent to the States General such arguments as they thought most likely to procure them another; and, as the directors of the company had a great interest, and some points of real merit to allege, such as assisting the public with money in its greatest exigencies, and supplying large quantities of salt-petre *gratis* for making gunpowder during the course of the war, their propositions met with attention and approbation^r. At the same time, however, they were given to understand, that the States were very sensible of the value of what they asked, and that therefore they were not

^p TAVERNIER voyages des Indes, P. ii. l. iii. c. 20. tom. iii. p. 349.

^q Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

(V) The truth of what is asserted in the text cannot be more fully proved, or better illustrated, than by citing a passage from that work, which we have so often quoted, of the pensionary *De Witt*; who, after observing that the islanders of *Banda* lived under a democratic form of government before the *Europeans* came into the *Indies*, proceeds in these words (45): "But when the *Portuguese* first navigated those seas, and attacked the people of *Banda*, the inhabitants were so terrified by these new people, and their unheard-of military art, that, conceiving themselves unable to withstand that formidable power, they rashly agreed to elect governors out of the most considerable persons for their better defence; and thereby immediately lost much of their freedom; and afterward they were, partly by the jealousy they had of each other, *viz.* of the free inhabitants against their respective heads, and of such superiors among themselves, and being in part likewise overcome by the *Portuguese*, they were at length forced to submit to that foreign yoke. And, lastly, there was some freedom still remaining in those islands when the *Netherlanders*, who were enemies to the *Portuguese*, began to frequent them; and these people of *Banda*, who greatly affect liberty, looked upon the

"*Dutch* as angels sent from heaven to defend them, and to deliver the other islands from the slavery of the *Portuguese*. For which end the natives entered into alliances with us for common defence, covenanting that we might not only build houses and warehouses, and dwell there, to trade in their spices, but expressly agreeing that they of *Banda* and *Amboyna* should sell their spices to no other people. Whence proceeded all that usually happens when weak states call in too powerful assistants; *viz.* that not only the *Portuguese* lost their power over these islands, but the natives lost their free government and trade, and are now under the dominion of the *Dutch East India* company. It is also very observable that the spices of those islands, when brought into *Europe* by way of *Portugal*, produced yearly to the king above two hundred thousand ducats. But these islands, being ruined by the forces of the *Portuguese* and those of the *Dutch East India* company, and the said company destroying their spices, which produced too great a quantity for them to vend, their plenty by degrees decayed, and their commerce is now mightily diminished, as we may understand by the histories of *India*, and from those that have been lately there."

(45) *Gronzen en maximen van de republiek van Hollandse*, 3 deel. cap. 3.

to expect the lease of their exclusive commerce for a new term without advancing a considerable sum by way of fine ; which, after mature deliberation, was fixed at one million six hundred thousand florins ; in consideration of which present their charter was renewed for twenty-one years, in 1644 *. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the dividends to the proprietors during this term, whilst their second charter lasted, were not so considerable as under their first, notwithstanding the prodigious returns that had been made from the *Indies*, and that apparent alteration there was in the power and grandeur of the company, as well as in the strength of their outward and homeward-bound squadrons †. The true reason of this, without doubt, was the vast augmentation of their expences, occasioned by their building fortresses, raising forces, and giving a great and splendid court to their governor-general at *Batavia*. Yet how much soever this might lessen the profit of the proprietors, it may admit of some doubt whether the public was injured by it or not ; that is to say, whether the *Dutch* nation might not derive at least as great advantage from the increase of the sums laid out by the company for the support of their settlements in the *Indies*, as if a larger sum had been paid in dividends ; since, if we consider that the increase of their trade was the plain effect of their extending their power and influence in those parts, it must follow, that how large soever their additional expences might be, they were defrayed from the consequences of those measures, in the execution of which they were employed ; and as this must on one hand have occasioned a quick circulation of money at home, so, on the other, as the company's officers grew rich abroad, they returned with or remitted their effects to *Holland* ‡. These, we need not question, were among the arguments urged in favour of the new term ; but as most of those, who have handled this subject, have, perhaps, out of a prejudice to monopolies, omitted them, it seemed the more requisite to give them a place here (X).

Advantages which, from the situation of things, they had over the Portuguese.

It might have been expected that the defection of *Portugal* from *Spain*, and the setting up the duke of *Bragança* for king, by the name of *John* the fourth, would have given a check to the *Dutch* conquests in the *East Indies*, inasmuch as they had no quarrel with the *Portuguese*, independent of their being subjects of his catholic majesty ; and, on the contrary, had great reason to acknowledge and assist the new king of *Portugal*, as the situation of his *European* dominions rendered him a natural and necessary ally. Yet it happened otherwise ; for though, soon after his succession, he sent *Don Tristan de Mendoza Hurtado* to the *Hague*, where he was owned by, and treated with, the States ; who, after a pretty long negociation, at length concluded with him a truce for ten years, during which both parties were to keep what they possessed in the *East Indies* and in the *West*, this had very little effect * : for, under pretence that in *Brazil* this truce was not over well kept by the *Portuguese*, and that in the island of *Ceylon* the spirit of it was not strictly complied with, the *Dutch East India* company went on in augmenting their dominions, without considering any thing so much as the favourable opportunity they had of doing it. This, it must be owned, was very inviting ; for as, under the *Spanish* government, the *Portuguese* settlements were but very ill provided, so, upon returning to the duty they owed to their natural prince, they not only lost the assistance which sometimes they received from the *Spaniards*, but had them also for their enemies, and this without acquiring so much as one friend. In so distressed a situation they could have little hopes of relief from home, where the king was obliged to employ his whole force in the defence of that crown which he had assumed ; no wonder therefore if the *Dutch East India* company, who knew all this perfectly well, and their own great superiority also, made use of it to aggrandize themselves, taking

* *Le Clerc* histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 231.
 † *Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 315.
 ‡ *generale de Portugal*, tom. vii. p. 137.

* *JANISON* etat present de la republique des
 † *Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF*, p. 313.
 ‡ *Histoire ge-*

(X) As the affairs of the company were never in a more prosperous state than at the time when they applied themselves to their High Mightinesses for obtaining a continuance of their charter, it is requisite to explain the true causes of that unwillingness expressed by the States upon that head. The *West India* company was at that juncture in a very untoward situation, the *Portuguese* having recovered themselves in some measure in *Brazil*, so that the company stood in great need of large supplies, which they knew not where to find, and were therefore very desirous of being incorporated into the *East India* company ; proposing, if that offer was accepted, to make a very large present to the republic ; tho' they confessed at the same time that they had not above a

thousand florins in cash, but should be able to raise that sum with ease upon the credit of such a conjunction (46). This was strongly pressed upon the *East India* company, but to no purpose ; for the directors positively asserted, that they had enough to do in managing the affairs already under their care, and that their capital would not be sufficient to answer the demands of so vast an establishment. After many delays the principal chambers declared roundly, that they would be concerned no longer if this union was forced upon them ; which declaration had its effect, the States renewed the charter of the *East India* company, but took care, as is observed in the text, not to lose the present offered by the other company to have obtained an incorporation (47).

(46) *Le Clerc* histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 231.
 de commerce.

(47) *Wicquefort*, *Le Clerc*, *Janison*, *Dictionnaire*

a care at the same time to give the best colour they could to those actions which flowed, at the bottom, only from their avarice and ambition *. In a few years after the peace was made with Spain; in which such care was taken of the company's concerns, that they obtained, so far as that peace could give, as good a title to their possessions as the States themselves had to their independence and freedom †.

But it was not the Portuguese only who suffered in this juncture; it was no less unfortunate for the English. The civil war gave a fatal blow to their commercial interests in the Indies, which their neighbours did not fail to improve, by taking their ships upon frivolous pretences, and by plundering their factories under colour of their being at war with those in whose dominions they were settled. This is a point necessary to be touched on here, as it shews what a series of lucky circumstances concurred to give the Dutch East India company room to spread her power and influence in so sudden and surprising a manner as she did. But to examine these matters more minutely belongs to another part of our work; and therefore we shall content ourselves with adding here, that, on the treaty between the Protector Oliver and the States General, there was a commission settled for hearing and determining the disputes between the two East India companies, when, on the part of the English, there was brought in a long enumeration of their losses, to the amount, in the whole, of near two millions seven hundred thousand pounds ‡. The Dutch, on their side brought in a long account likewise, which they swelled to an immense sum; however, the arbitrators on both sides, by their final determination, dated August the 30th, 1654, awarded the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds to be paid to the English company, in full satisfaction for their losses; and the further sum of three thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds to be paid, in the proportions specified in that public act, to the representatives of the persons that were murdered thirty-two years before in Amboyna §. It was also stipulated in the treaty, that the island of Poleroon should be restored to the English; but, by the help of the same address which prevented an immediate inquiry into the barbarous expulsion of the English from the Moluccas, the restitution of this island was diverted and postponed; for Cromwell, having had the honour of inserting the article concerning it in the peace, suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by certain arguments, not to insist on the execution of it ¶. This, however it was brought about, was a prodigious advantage to the Dutch, as it prevented any diminution of their fame in the Indies, and left them in full possession of all that they had acquired by those practices for which they made a pecuniary satisfaction; which was in effect nothing, when compared with the reputation which naturally resulted from the methods in which they had manifested their superiority in those parts; to which no check either was or could be given at this time, though the naval power of England was actually superior to theirs in Europe † (Y).

In what manner disputes were terminated between the company and the commonwealth of England.

* NEUVILLE hist. van Holl. 1 deel. l. xi.

† LE CLERC histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 458.

‡ Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 88.

§ Ibid.

¶ Histoire de la conquête des

Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 274.

† NEUVILLE hist. van Holl. 1 deel. l. xi.

(Y) We meet with nothing precise or exact in our own histories upon this subject: some carry this point very high, and persuade us, that the protector prescribed harder terms to the Dutch republic, and in a more peremptory manner, than either of the preceding kings, or the parliament, by the dispersion of which he had acquired the supreme authority; and mention various points, as if they had been actually settled by the treaty (48). Others again deny this, on the behalf of the parliament, who, as they say and shew, prescribed harder terms, and much more explicit, than those of the protector: they farther add, that Cromwell suffered himself to be deluded by the Dutch, in referring the business of Amboyna to commissioners, after which he minded it no more (49). This comes nearer the truth, which is fairly represented in the text from the treaties and awards themselves. But the Dutch historians admit, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned de-

cision, a dispute was raised about the forms of the releases, so that the money was not paid at the time, nor in more than six months after, which was the space allowed for the protestant cantons to decide as umpires; upon which a new act was drawn, dated the 9th of May 1655, and other commissioners appointed to decide upon fresh questions, with the like reservation to the protestant Swiss cantons (50). But, notwithstanding the English commissioners were named, yet for want of assigning them proper salaries, they never met; but at length the English company, desirous of touching the money, removed all difficulties; and so the point was adjusted after Cromwell's time, and without any restitution of the island of Poleroon, which, as they allege, was never properly insisted upon, and could not therefore be complied with (51).

(48) Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 420. de la conquête des Îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 273, 274.

(49) Cook's detection, part ii. p. 46 (51) Idem ibid. p. 275.

(50) Histoire

S E C T. VIII.

The causes of the war off Ceylon, the progress of that war, the great success of the Dutch in that island, in which they not only render themselves superior to the Portuguese, but also force the natives to a submission, and absolutely defeat their whole force, when exerted to shake off the yoke.

A succinct history of the war in Ceylon, and the views on which it was undertaken by the Dutch.

THE benefits springing from these, and other transactions of a like nature, though considerable in themselves, were not however to be named with another vast acquisition^a that of the island of *Ceylon*, by which the *Dutch* added to the possession of the nutmeg, mace, and clove trade, already in their hands, that of cinnamon, whereby they obtained a complete monopoly of one of the most considerable branches of the *Indian* commerce, that of spices^d (Z). In bringing this about, they acted with very great prudence and address; and, though there is no room at all to doubt, that from the very first they had actually in view what in the end they so fully accomplished; yet their design was so well concealed, that the potent monarch they had to deal with, though one of the ablest and wisest princes in the east, did not discover it till it was too late; so that, notwithstanding he struggled for some time, yet that served only to weaken his power, and waste his forces, which made the *Dutch* so much the more secure in their conquests. It is true that the prosecution of this affair employed their counsels and their arms for many years, obliged them to be at the expence of fitting out squadron after squadron, with considerable numbers of regular troops on board; for which though they stipulated some kind of satisfaction with the monarch they pretended to assist, yet they never received it, or expected to receive it, but with great sagacity chose to be losers for a long time, and to be dupes in appearance to the treaties they had made, foreseeing that at last they should be paid for all, when, under various colours and pretences, they came to what they all along aimed at, having the power to pay themselves^e. It was with a view of treating this matter clearly, though concisely, all at once, that we omitted the mention of the first expeditions of the *Dutch* to the coasts of this island, from a persuasion that it would be more perspicuous, and consequently more pleasing to the reader, to consider these transactions in a short and continued relation, than to take up the broken threads in their chronological order, and so wind them up at last in the total reduction of all that the *Portuguese* possessed under the dominion of the *Dutch*^f.

The state of affairs in the island of Ceylon at the company began her operations.

RAJAH Singa was at this time king of *Candy*, or *Gandy*; and having been educated with his brother, the prince of *Uva*, amongst the *Portuguese*, had, as their own writers say, a great affection, as well as a high esteem, for their nation; but, not being able to bear the oppressions and insolences of the governor, he had been forced into a war, in which he obtained a great victory. But being informed, that the *Portuguese* had sent considerable succours from *Goa*, were taking all imaginable measures to carry on the war, and in the mean time burnt his towns, and plundered his subjects, under the protection of the fortresses they had built upon his frontiers, he resolved, as his last resource, to make an alliance with the

^a JANICON *etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 309.
Indes, p. ii. liv. iii. cap. 3.

^f Voyage de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 103.

^e TAVERNIER *voyages des*

(Z) In the beginning of the seventeenth century captain *George Spilberg* visited this island, and was very well received by *Don John*, who at that time was acknowledged king of *Candy* and emperor of *Ceylon* (52). In 1603 *Sibald de Weert* came in quality of commodore of a *Dutch* squadron, upon the coast of that island, and promised assistance to the same emperor against the *Portuguese*. Upon some offence taken at his behaviour, which was very rough and unpolished, that monarch ordered him to be seized; and whether he made resistance, or that was only pretended, it so fell out, that he and all his attendants, except one boy, were cut to pieces (53). Notwithstanding this, which certainly was a fact that any other nation would have deeply resented, yet the *Dutch* passed it by, and entered into further negotiations with him, as will be seen in another place; but they came to nothing during this reign, and are only mentioned here

to shew how steadily they adhered to their interests, and with what a readiness they sacrificed such points as would have created endless quarrels with almost any other nation; and this, their own writers admit, was their established maxim, to which with great probability they ascribe the extraordinary progress of their power in the *Indies*; which kind of policy, however, they seem to have borrowed from the natives, who were very ready in making treaties, broke them with little scruple, and then entered into fresh engagements, as if nothing had happened (54). It must however be observed, that the *Dutch* followed this rule only to obtain the power of laying it aside, which, when they had once acquired, they soon made the natives sensible they knew how to revenge injuries as well as the rest of the *Europeans*, and perhaps better.

(52) *Baldus, description of Ceylon*, cap. vi.
— *Indes*, p. 131.

(53) *Basnoge description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 147.

- a *Dutch*, and to drive this imperious nation out of the island *. Accordingly, in the month of *March* 1638, he sent two ambassadors to *Batavia*, who were received with all the respect imaginable; they declared to the general and council, in the name of the king their master, that the *Portuguese*, in direct violation of treaties, and without any just cause whatever, had attacked, and carried the flame of war into the very heart of his dominions, which he had no hopes of extinguishing by any measures he could possibly take, since the quiet of the island depended intirely on the caprices of the governors-general, who never wanted pretences, when they had a mind to disturb it, which induced the king to desire the assistance of the company against the common enemy. To this it was answered, that they were very well apprised of the truth of this representation in all its circumstances; that there was scarce a country
- b in *India* from which they had not received the same complaints; that the company took a pleasure in espousing the cause of injured nations; and that they were willing to exert their whole force for the assistance of his majesty of *Candy*, without any other view than that of doing him justice, and setting him free from the tyranny of their common enemy †. Upon this an alliance was concluded, by which the *Dutch* undertook to furnish an army and a fleet for the service of the king, to reduce the fortresses in the possession of the *Portuguese*, and, when dismantled, to put them into his hands, so that he might be at liberty to correspond and trade with whom he pleased. On the other hand it was stipulated, that the king should also bring as great a force as he was able into the field; that he should pay the *Dutch* the expence of their expedition, and for any losses they might sustain therein, according to certain rates that were
- c settled, and that they should be allowed to keep a single place for a secure retreat ‡ (A).

- IN consequence of this treaty they fitted out from *Batavia* a squadron of six men of war, with a body of land-forces on board; and in the month of *February* 1639, they made a descent on the west coast of the island of *Ceylon*, where they made themselves masters of the fortresses of *Battecolo* and *Triquinimala*, which, agreeable to their treaty, they demolished immediately, and put into the hands of the king, who was not a little pleased with their punctuality in performing their alliance. Somewhat earlier the next year the *Dutch* sent double the force; and, having landed upwards of three thousand men, and made themselves masters of *Negombo* and *Gallo*, places of great strength, and which might have made a considerable resistance if they had been tolerably well supplied, or if the *Portuguese* had not foolishly ventured an
- d engagement in the field, in which they lost the best part of their forces *. The *Portuguese*, extremely alarmed at this progress of the *Dutch*, sent over Don *Philip Mascarenbas*, with the title of governor, and a small reinforcement, in the autumn of the same year, who immediately besieged, and retook *Negombo* by capitulation, in which it was promised that the *Dutch* should have vessels given them, with every thing requisite, for transporting them to their own settlements, and they engaged not to land again on the island of *Ceylon*. But when they came to put to sea, the *Dutch* found the vessels that were given to them so leaky, that it was not without great difficulty they got into the port of *Gallo*. This the *Portuguese* resenting as a direct breach of faith, gave no quarter for the future; which proved of very bad consequence to themselves, as it served to justify all the severities which the *Dutch* afterwards exercised upon them. At this juncture, however, the former thought the war near an end, for they made no doubt of taking *Gallo* as easily as it had been taken from them; but they were quickly convinced of their mistake, the *Dutch* defended it with so much resolution, that after the loss of a great number of men in a siege of a considerable length, they were obliged to turn it into a blockade, which lasted two years †. At length there came advice of the revolution in *Portugal*, and of the truce made between king *John* and the republic of the United Provinces; upon which it was agreed that each should continue possessed in the *Indies* of what was actually in their power at the conclusion of this treaty. The *Dutch*, therefore, demanded that the district belonging to the fortress of *Gallo* should be left to them; which the *Portuguese* refused, pretending that they were entitled to no more of the country than was under the command of their artillery, which was in effect continuing the blockade in a time of peace; and, being infa-

Conclusion of the alliance, and issue of the first war.

* Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. ii. cap. 5.

† BALDÆUS description of Ceylon, cap. 18, 19.

‡ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. ii. cap. 5. BALDÆUS, cap. 20. 22.

Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. cap. 5, 6, 7. BALDÆUS, cap. 23, 24.

‡ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. cap. 8.

(A) the *Dutch* give a different account of this treaty, if it be the same with that which was signed at *Battecolo*, May 23d, 1638, by the emperor on one side, and *Adam Westerwold*, counsellor of the *Indies*, and commodore of the *Dutch* squadron, and *William Jacob Koster*, vice-commodore on the part of the State, and the prince of *Orange*, on the other; and here, by the way, it may not

be amiss to take notice, that Mr. *Koster*, after exposing his life often, and performing many great services for the emperor of *Ceylon*, was notwithstanding in the end assassinated for some imprudent speeches, which the *Dutch* thought fit to dissemble upon the old principle, that the misfortunes of private persons should not be suffered to create any disturbance in public affairs (55).

The strange
conduct of the
Portuguese in
their defence of
that island.

tuated with their own notions of superiority, they would needs continue the war, which proved in the end, as it might have been easily foreseen it would, the total ruin of their affairs ^m (B).

BUT they were guilty of a far stranger act of infatuation; for the prince of *Uva*, brother to the king of *Candy*, who was always in their interests, and thereby provoked that monarch, who represented to him, that it was a folly to expect better usage from that nation than they had already received, carried things at last so far, that the king declared war against him; and, falling suddenly with a great army into his country, forced him to fly for succour to his friends the *Portuguese*. They received him indeed with all the honours imaginable, and had now an opportunity put into their hands of retrieving all they had lost by their past mistakes; for that prince was infinitely beloved by his brother's subjects as well as his own, and, as he was elder than *Rajah Singa*, who succeeded only by his father's will, had a fair pretension to the crown. All he desired was, an escort of one hundred and twenty *Portuguese* to the frontiers of his own country, where his subjects were ready to rise, and to receive him. This motion however was but coolly entertained; and when an old nobleman, who had been the prince's governor, expostulated the point a little warmly with an inferior officer in the troops of *Portugal*, he ordered his head to be cut off, which was done immediately, notwithstanding all his unfortunate master could do to save him. After this they seized upon the person of the prince, and sent him over to *Goa*, where he was converted to Christianity, and passed the remainder of his days in a prison; while the king of *Candy*, by the addition of his dominions, which consisted of some of the best provinces in the island, and by the assistance of his subjects who were the bravest and best soldiers in it, became so much the more powerful, and continued the war against them with indefatigable diligence, at the same time that he received and protected all who deserted from them, which, under a government so harsh and severe, to the natives more especially, was not a few. If this was related only by *Dutch* writers, we should have just cause to suspect, at least, if not to disbelieve it; but as we have the fact, with all its circumstances, from *Portuguese* authors, who very candidly acknowledge that nothing could be either more base or more weak, we cannot but afford it credit. This sending the prince of *Uva* to *Goa* happened before the news of the truce; and, in respect to their conduct upon both occasions, one cannot but acknowledge, that they seemed to take as much pains to lose this fine island as the *Dutch* did to obtain it, and therefore it is no great wonder that both completed their ends ^p.

Wise conduct of
the Dutch,
and extreme
vanity and
weakness of
the Portu-
guese.

THE *Dutch* commodore *Peter Borel*, who had been sent with a squadron to *Ceylon* to notify the truce, perceiving how little he was able to obtain from those who had the administration of the *Portuguese* affairs in that island, proceeded to *Goa*, in order to treat with the viceroy; and, finding exactly the same usage from him, contented himself with debarking five hundred men at *Ponte de Gallo*, with instructions to the *Dutch* governor to support and defend himself as well as he could. Upon this he marched part of his garrison out of the place, in order to cover such of his people as were employed in collecting provisions; which detachment, without any regard to the truce, the *Portuguese* attacked and defeated, and then turned their forces against the king of *Candy*, who continued to give them all the disturbance in his power. The *Dutch* general and council at *Batavia*, being well apprised of the situation things were in, and that the *Portuguese* had nothing less in view than driving them intirely out of the island, equipped a strong fleet, with a body of between three and four thousand men on board, which appeared before *Negombo* in the beginning of the month of *January* 1644. The *Portuguese*

^m Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. vii.

^p LE CLERC hist. Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 231.

^q BALDÆUS description of Ceylon, cap. 42.

ⁿ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. ii. cap. 10.

^p RIBEYRO hist. de l'Isle de Ceylon, l. i. cap. 11.

^q Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. cap. 14.

(B) In this historical detail we follow chiefly the history written by captain *Ribeyro*, a *Portuguese*, who actually served therein from first to last, who very impartially censures the errors of his countrymen, and seems upon all occasions to speak with great candour as well of the natives as of the *Dutch*. We have the rather done this, because his history is very consistent and regular; whereas the method pursued by *Baldæus* (56) is embarrassed and perplexed, and in some passages not easy to be understood. Besides, the *French* translation of *Ribeyro's* history of *Ceylon*, by the Abbé *Le Grand*, is still more curious, and in some respects more valuable than the original. The author, captain *John Ribeyro*, wrote it with a design that the king of *Portugal* should be clearly informed as well of the value of what he had lost, as of

the manner in which it was lost. He resolved to deliver this work of his into the king's own hands, which he actually did in 1685, and would therefore insert nothing which did not consist with his own knowledge. But the Abbé *Le Grand* (57), being assisted with several curious manuscripts by a nobleman of *Portugal*, who put him upon this translation, and was perfectly well acquainted with the history of his own country and countrymen, he, from these authentic pieces, added a great variety of useful and important circumstances, which had been omitted by *Ribeyro*, not because he was unacquainted with them, but because he could not personally vouch them; yet these additions are not made by interpolating the original work, but either by way of notes, or supplements to each of the author's chapters.

(56) The description of the island of Ceylon by Philip Balde is inserted in Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 667. (57) The title of this piece is, Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, écrite par le Capitaine J. Ribeyro, et présentée au roi de Portugal, en 1685. Traduite du Portugais par M. l'Abbé le Grand.

- a army, which consisted of about five hundred of their own troops, besides the *Lascharins* or *Indian* soldiers in their pay, was in the neighbourhood of that place, under the command of Don Antonio Mascarenbas, brother to the governor; and, according to their usual vain and ridiculous custom, resolved to fight the enemy as soon as possible, let their force be what it would. On the fourth of that month, the *Dutch*, under their general Francis Caron, debarked their forces, which consisted of seven battalions, each as strong as the *Portuguese* army; and, as soon as they were disposed in proper order, marched to find out the enemy. Don Antonio, with his troops, was in full march towards them, and, finding their two first battalions embarrassed in their passage between two mountains, he briskly attacked and routed them; but continuing his pursuit into the plain, quickly found himself surrounded by the other five battalions.
- b Some of the *Lascharins*, who made less haste through the pass, escaped; but not a man of the *Portuguese*, either officer or soldier; so that nothing could be more decisive than this action; in consequence of which, *Negombo* fell immediately into their hands. But finding that the *Portuguese* had drawn their whole strength into *Columbo*, they contented themselves with leaving a strong garrison in their new conquest, and then reembarked their troops, and sailed back to *Batavia* *.

- c As soon as the *Dutch* were retired, the *Portuguese* general, having received a considerable reinforcement from *Goa*, invested *Negombo* in the month of *April*. He continued some time before the place, without making any great progress; at length he carried a fort, in which there were fifty men, by a storm, upon which he put them all to the sword. This made the garrison of the place desperate; so that, in two general assaults, the besiegers lost half their army, and were at length glad to retire with the rest to *Columbo* †. In the month of *December* the same year, arrived the *Dutch* general John Maatzuyker, with an order from the king of *Portugal* to put the *Dutch* immediately into possession of the districts belonging to the fortresses they then held, or which they had been in possession of a year before ‡ (C). This gave great distaste to the *Portuguese*, though without any reason; for they were now so weak, that the *Dutch* could easily deal with them.

- d As soon as the country was evacuated, the *Dutch* gave notice to the king of *Candy* of the treaty they had made, and that, by a clause therein, he might become a contracting party, if he would; which that prince readily accepted *. It seems, however, that he was far enough from being pleased at this transaction; conceiving, that if these two nations came to have a right understanding, the consequences could not be favourable to his interests, which made him study to renew the war. He acted, in this respect, like a great politician, encouraging such of the natives as were, by this treaty, become subjects to the *Dutch*, to desert their habitations, and retire into his dominions; to prevent which, the governor of *Ponte de Gallo* caused a small detachment to take post upon his frontiers, *Rajah Singa* pretended to take this extremely ill, and privately desired leave of the *Portuguese* to pass through their territories, in order to attack that detachment. This being readily granted, his troops, by a quick march, surrounded the *Dutch*, and made them prisoners, but without bloodshed. The governor of *Ponte de Gallo*, much surprised at this action, sent an officer to the king of *Candy*'s court, to reclaim the prisoners, whom he entertained with great civility and respect. When he opened to him the subject of his commission, the king told him frankly, that he had no design to prejudice the *Dutch*, but that he had a mind to see what the disposition of the *Portuguese* was, and how far he might trust to their new peace. He then gave him convincing proofs, that they had not only granted him a passage, but offered him their assistance, and, when he had done this, he set the *Dutch* at liberty, and sent them home †.

THE *Dutch* governor of *Ponte de Gallo* took care to let the king know how much he thought himself obliged to him in this transaction; by which he plainly discovered, that it never entered into his intention to betray them to the *Portuguese*. The governor likewise ordered all of that

* BALDÆUS, cap. 42.

† Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, l. iii. c. 15.

‡ Histoire generale de

Portugal, par Monf. DE LA CLEYDE, tom. vii. p. 99. Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 318.

• Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBEYRO, l. iii. c. 15.

‡ BALDÆUS, cap. 43.

(C) It appears clearly from the testimonies of the best writers, that John IV. king of *Portugal*, was a very wise and prudent prince, and very free from the vices and defects of his nation. He very well understood the state of his affairs in the *Indies*, as well as *Europe*. He saw the necessity of temporising in one part of the world, till his power was thoroughly established in the other. He was convinced of the naval power of the *Dutch*, by the fleet they sent to his assistance against the *Spaniards*; and therefore he sent his orders into the *Indies*, that, by making reasonable concessions, the truce might be firmly established in *Ceylon*, with instructions to his officers, to make

use of that interval to repair the losses they had sustained, to fortify the places that still remained in their hands, and to make a solid peace with the king of *Candy*; which directions, if they had been pursued, would certainly have preserved the best part of the island to the crown of *Portugal*, and, when a favourable opportunity offered, enabled them to recover the rest; but, through the pride, treachery, and negligence, of such as commanded in those parts, they were contemned; which gave the *Dutch* an opportunity of renewing the war, and of dispossessing them of all that they had still left (58).

The war immediately renewed, on the trace expiring, on which the Portuguese seize their government.

nation, who continued to live in the provinces yielded to the *Dutch*, to quit them without a delay; but, in other respects, observed the truce very punctually, making, however, the best preparation he could for renewing the war, as soon as it should be expired. The *Portuguese*, on the other hand, though they might have been easily informed of the *Dutch* preparations, were equally careless and inactive; so that, in the month of *October* 1652, when two *Dutch* officers arrived at *Columbo*, to acquaint the governor that he was no longer to consider them as friends, all things fell into confusion, and the people having no confidence in *Don Manuel Mascarenhas Homem*, who then enjoyed that post, they put him under an arrest, as a thing necessary to their safety⁷.

By their rashness lose a battle against the *Dutch*, by which their force is absolutely broken.

Don Gaspar Figueira was at the head of the troops, and he had the good luck to defeat a small detachment of the *Dutch*, and afterwards to beat the king of *Candy*, which raised their courage extremely. He was still more successful the next year, both against the *Dutch* and the king of *Candy*, whom he routed in a general engagement, in which there fell more of his subjects than in any dispute he ever had with the *Portuguese*⁸. The *Dutch* at *Batavia*, having a just sense of the importance of this war, sent *Gerard Hulst*, with a good fleet and army, to *Gallo*, and with an absolute power to act as he thought fit, in order to bring things to a conclusion as soon as possible. He arrived the last of *September* 1655, and found the *Dutch* army before *Calitura*, which surrendered on the 14th of *October*. Two days after, arrived *Don Gaspar Figueira*, with his small, but victorious army, who, forgetting that he had to do with *Europeans*, and regular troops, and not reflecting on what had happened to other officers of his nation, who had engaged rashly, gave the *Dutch* battle, though much inferior to them in all respects. General *Hulst* was surprised at the courage, or rather confidence, of this hero; but having sustained two attacks, in which the *Portuguese* lost the best part of their men, he soon dissipated the rest, and obliged the small remains of their army to take shelter in *Columbo*. That place was next attacked, and, partly by force, partly by famine, reduced, so that on the 10th of *May* it was surrendered⁹. The king of *Candy* assisted in person at this siege with an army of forty thousand men; and therefore insisted, that, pursuant to treaties, it should be put into his hands; which the *Dutch* positively refused; alleging, that he had not complied with the terms stipulated; and that there was a very large debt due to them, for which they meant to keep *Columbo* as a security¹⁰ (D).

The king of *Candy*, or emperor of *Ceylon*, breaks with the *Dutch*, to no purpose.

If the affairs of the crown of *Portugal* in this island had not been in a manner desperate, and their power in the *Indies* almost brought to nothing, they might now have had some chance for restoring them; since a war presently broke out between the king of *Candy* and the *Dutch*, in which there was much blood spilt on both sides. But a considerable reinforcement coming from *Batavia*, they first swept the places which the *Portuguese* had upon the coast of *Coromandel*; then made themselves masters of the island of *Manar*, between *Ceylon* and the main; and, at last, besieged the fortress of *Jafanapatan*, which, after holding out three months, surrendered *June* the 24th, 1658, and the garrison being made prisoners of war, were transported to *Batavia*¹¹. Thus the conquest of *Ceylon* was intirely finished; and the king of *Candy*, after having often hazarded his own person, and lost, in the space of twenty years, many thousands of his subjects, found, at length, that he had only fought to change his masters; and that the *Dutch*, by subduing the *Portuguese*, thought they had a good title to succeed to all their rights, which, whether it was so or not, they were resolved to maintain; and to which the king and his successors have been forced ever since to submit; though, as we shall see hereafter, they have shewn, that it is much against their will, and that they would be glad to employ any other *European* nation, to treat these new as they treated their old masters¹². But, as hitherto they have not been very successful in that respect, they have of late made a virtue of necessity, sent ambassadors occasionally to *Batavia*, and lived upon as good terms with the company as any of the princes of *India*; and yet it is very doubtful, whether they have altogether conquered that aversion which all men have, and princes more than any other men, to be kept in a state of abject slavery and dependence (E).

S E C T.

⁷ Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA CLEYDE, tom. vii. p. 522, 523.

⁸ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon,

par RIBBYRO, l. iii. c. 17.

⁹ Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA CLEYDE, tom. vii. p. 605—618.

¹⁰ Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par RIBBYRO, l. iii. c. 21.

¹¹ BALDÆUS description of Ceylon, c. 44.

¹² BASNAOE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, p. 31.

(D) This general *Gerard Hulst* was a person of invincible courage, strict honour, and of very polite behaviour, qualities that rendered him more acceptable to the emperor of *Ceylon* than any of his predecessors, as appeared by the reception he gave him, when he made him a visit in his camp, at which his imperial majesty took a ring from his own finger, and put it upon that of the general, and, at the same time, gave him a garter of gold, which

had been worn by the prince his son. On his return to the *Dutch* camp before *Columbo*, going into the trenches to visit them, he received a shot in the breast, of which he died the same evening, *April* 10th, 1656. He was succeeded by *Adrian Vander Meyden*, at that time governor of *Ponte de Gallo*, who had the honour of taking the place (59).

(E) In order to give the reader some notion of the true

S E C T. IX.

Their conduct in respect of the Chinese, and other eastern nations. The war of Formosa; and the causes of the loss of that fruitful island, and important colony.

ALL the successes which the company had met with, some against, and many beyond, ^{The company resume their design of procuring an intercourse with China.} their expectations, could not make them forget their several disappointments in their attempts to settle or force a trade to *China*. They could not bear with patience, that, while they were esteemed and courted by all the other nations in the east, they should be neglected by the government of *China*, and even treated with apparent aversion; they could not see without concern the *Portuguese* in possession of *Macao*, or digest the affront they had received, when they attacked that place; and therefore, to overcome all these obstacles, the governor-general and council at *Batavia* resolved to send an embassy to the *Chinese* monarch, with magnificent presents, and with such plausible propositions, as they thought it impossible he should reject. At the head of this embassy were *Peter Boyer* and *James Keyser*, men of great parts, and long versed in business; who set out from *Batavia* in the month of *June* 1655, and arriving safely at *Canton*, communicated to the viceroy the subject of their commission, and desired they might be sent to the imperial residence. The emperor of *China* was then in the city of *Peking*, to whose presence, after a stay of eight or nine months, they were admitted; and, from the civility shewn at their first audience, had great hopes of success; but they soon discovered, that there were persons who traversed all their designs, and found means to misrepresent all the propositions they made.

THE chief of their enemies was Father *Adam Schaal*, a Jesuit, and a native of *Cologne* in Germany. He had resided in *China* upwards of five-and-thirty years, and had wrought himself so highly into the emperor's favour, that he raised him to a mandarin of the first rank, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians in the empire. This man, by his great interest and knowledge, baffled the designs of the *Dutch*; for he represented them as a people without any lands or settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely by peddling and piracy, and had, by treachery and cruelty, raised themselves a large empire in the *Indies*, at the expence of the natives, and more especially of such princes as, suffering themselves to be deceived by fair pretences, had admitted them into their dominions, and thereby afforded them an opportunity of distressing them and their subjects. The *Chinese*, naturally suspicious, having once these notions in their heads, began to put such questions to the *Dutch* ambassadors, as might best enable them to judge of the truth of what they had been told. Upon their asking, at how great a distance the seat of their government lay from *China*? they answered, about

* NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 11 deel. l. xi. c. 7.

true grounds of this monarch's dissatisfaction, and, at the same time, to shew, that these eastern princes are very far from being so barbarous, or so ignorant, as they are sometimes represented, the following letter is inserted, written by *Rajah Singa*, to the new *Dutch* general, upon the taking of *Columbo* (60).

"Our imperial majesty being very desirous to introduce the *Dutch* nation into our dominions, *Adam Wessels* came on the coast, with a squadron of ships, just as we had made ourselves masters of *Batavia*, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him, which, being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards. As for instance, by captain *Burchart Kock*, and commissary *Peter Keyser*, who, being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before-mentioned peace, by oath; pursuant to which, at their departure for *Galle*, they took along with them one of our principal officers, in order to deliver into his hands the country of *Matara*. But, at his coming there, they found means to render the same ineffectual, by alleging certain difficulties; which made the said officer return to our court without executing his commission, to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved director-general came into our dominions from *Holland*, with full power to act as he should find most suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship; pursuant to which, he desired us to bury all past miscarriages in oblivion, promising at the same time, in the name of the prince of *Orange*, and the *East India* company, full satisfaction for the same; as

"also, that the fortresses of *Negombo* and *Columbo*, when taken, should be delivered into the hands of our imperial majesty, and certain *Hollanders* to be established in the said places, for our service. It is upon this account, that we sent our auxiliaries to assist our dearly beloved *Hollanders* in the taking of *Columbo*; which being since taken, they are become forgetful of their promise, and even continue so to this day. Your excellency is left at your own liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the prince of *Orange*, and the honourable company. But I would have you consider, that such as do not remember and fear God, and keep their word, will, one time or other, be sensible of the ill consequences thereof."

By way of postscript, was written:

"Two letters have been dispatched from our imperial court. Your excellency has writ in *Dutch* to *George Blom*, but without mentioning any thing relating to our service. Your excellency may write such frivolous pretences as your last contained to whom you please, but ought not to impose them upon our imperial majesty, it being in vain to allege, that the director-general received his instructions from *Batavia*, whereas he brought his full powers along with him out of *Holland*. Such sinister dealings, as they create no small jealousy, so I can't see with what face you can expect any further credit from us. I have taken care to have this translated into *Dutch*, that you may have no reason to plead ignorance."

five thousand leagues. Being interrogated as to the power and strength of the colony at *Batavia*, they gave such answers as were true in themselves, and likely to create respect: but they were precisely things that turned most to their disadvantage; because they seemed exactly to agree with what father *Schaal* had laid down; so that, towards the latter end of the year 1657, the ambassadors quitted *China*, without being able to make any progress in the execution of their commission: so strong were the apprehensions the *Chinese* had of their danger, in case these strangers were admitted to trade in the ports of their empire^f (F).

Zachary Waghenier very successful in his embassy to the court of Japan.

But, if disappointed in their hopes from a negotiation in *China*, they had better success in *Japan*; to which country they sent *Zachary Waghenier*, with the title of ambassador, to the emperor, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to gain a perfect knowledge of the policy of that empire, and to make himself as agreeable as possible to the emperor and his ministers; which commission he was very capable of performing, being a man of deep reach, great experience, and extremely affable in his deportment. He had not been long, however, at *Jeddo*, before a sudden fire reduced that city to ashes; which occasioned such confusion at the court of *Japan*, as induced the *Dutch* ambassador to return home^g. He was scarce arrived at *Batavia*, before news came, that great disputes had arisen between the *Japanese* at *Nangasacki* and the *Dutch* settled in their factory there; which alarmed the general and council so much, that they obliged Mr. *Waghenier*, much against his will, to make a second voyage to *Japan*; where he did not arrive till the beginning of the month of *March* 1659. He found means to ingratiate himself with the emperor, and his chief minister; and, by promising two things on the part of the *Dutch*, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their favour. The first was, that they should give early intelligence of any designs that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the prejudice of the empire. The second, that they should forbear taking *Chinese* ships upon the coast of *Japan*; because, the emperor allowing them to trade in his dominions, it was but reasonable he should protect them^h (G).

A fresh war breaks out in Java, in which Batavia is besieged by the king of Bantam.

WHILE these negotiations were carrying on in the most distant parts of the east, there arose a new war in *Java*, which threatened ruin to the *Dutch* affairs. We shall give a concise view of the whole matter from the *Dutch* histories. The island of *Java* had been antiently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes styled by the *Dutch* simply the emperor, and at others king of *Japara*, from whom the governor of *Bantam* revolted, assumed the title of king, and was supported, in this quality of an independent prince, by the *Dutch*. It was by a dextrous management of these divisions that they maintained their own power; for whenever the emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the prejudice of *Batavia*, the king of *Bantam* was sure to take arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the king of *Bantam* marched forces against them, they never failed to have recourse to the emperor of *Java*ⁱ. But, in the year 1659, the emperor being much embarrassed at home, the king of *Bantam* laid hold of this

^f BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 450, 451. p. 449. l. iii.

^g NEUVILLE *hist. van Hollande*, 11 deel. l. xi. c. 7.

^h P. CHARLEVOIX *histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. ⁱ TAVERNIER *voyages des Indes*, P. ii.

(F) There is a very full relation of this embassy in Mr. *Thruener*'s collection, from whence it has been translated; and transferred to several books, in different languages, on account chiefly of the curious observations made by the ambassadors in their travels; which, at the time they were published, could not but be highly esteemed, as at that period there was scarce any tolerable account of this great empire extant. At the close of their relation, we find two things very remarkable. The first is, a distinct account of the expences of this whole affair (which, from the time of the ambassadors departure, to their return to *Batavia*, included the space of one year seven months and fourteen days) amounting to somewhat short of one hundred thousand florins, or ten thousand pounds sterling; which, if we consider the usefulness that it created, is a strong proof of the company's oeconomy. The other is, the emperor of *China*'s letter to the governor-general of *Batavia*; which is conceived in a style of cold civility, under which there seems to be a kind of concealed railery. He tells him, that his country being at such an extreme distance, he is much obliged to him for taking notice of him, and sending him presents: that, in return, he had sent him presents; but that, considering how far they lived asunder, he saw no occasion for a close correspondence between them; that, how-

ever, he might send vessels to trade in his dominions, provided they came once in eight years, which would be sufficient, and with a crew not exceeding one hundred men. Notwithstanding this, a small vessel was sent to the port of *Canton*, in order to try whether a private trade might not be admitted; but this attempt meeting with no greater success than the embassy, highly provoked the *Dutch* governor at *Batavia* (61).

(G) It appears by the instructions given to Mr. *Waghenier* upon his first embassy, that he was to make all imaginable submissions, and to do every thing that lay in his power, to gratify the pride, and to obtain thereby the favour of the *Japanese* court. There is little reason to doubt, that, in both his embassies, he went as far as he was able in this respect, which procured him a very good reception, and enabled him to obtain some favours. But, notwithstanding all this, the *Japanese* have ever since continued to prosecute their own notions, and to put the *Dutch*, from time to time, under fresh difficulties; so that if they were really instrumental, as it is generally presumed they were, to the total exclusion of all other *European* nations, they have been punished for it to almost as high a degree as their enemies could desire (62).

(61) *Ambassade des Hollandois à la Chine, ou voyage des ambassadeurs de la compagnie Hollandoise des Indes Orientales, vers le grand chan de Tartarie maintenant empereur de la Chine*. Paris, 1666. (62) P. Charlevoix *hist. du Japon*, vol. ii. p. 449.

a favourable opportunity to raise a great army, and to attack the *Dutch*; supposing, that, as they were now deprived of the emperor's assistance, he should soon be able to make himself master of *Batavia*, to which he laid siege. He found himself, however, mistaken, for the company was become so potent, that they were able to defend themselves by their own strength; which they did so effectually, that, after the loss of a great part of his forces, the king of *Bantam* was obliged to raise the siege, and even to retire precipitately into his own dominions*. The emperor of *Java*, or king of *Japara*, had still less success; for tho' he inherited, from his father, an invincible hatred to the company, yet they made him feel the effects of their power, and suffer severely for his obstinacy, tho' they were never able to conquer it, or to bring him, either by fair or foul means, to have any correspondence with them.

b THESE disturbances did not hinder the governor and council from engaging in a foreign war, for the support of one of their allies, the king of *Bengal*, who was in great danger of being dethroned by his brother. At first, the *Dutch* only furnished him with provisions and artillery, and offered him, in case he was expelled, a sanctuary at *Batavia*; but afterwards finding that a considerable part of his subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over troops to his assistance, and not only delivered him from the immediate danger he was in, but restored him to his former dignity. In gratitude for this seasonable assistance, he gave them leave not only to erect a factory, but a fort, at *Hugbley*, well fortified, with twelve pieces of large cannon mounted, and a good ditch. It was by this means that they ruined the *English* trade there, and secured all the commerce of those parts to themselves, at least for some time¹.

c YET these remarkable instances of good fortune could not efface the remembrance of their miscarriage in *China*, much less incline them to forgive the jesuits, to whom they attributed the defeat of that embassy, which cost, in their opinion, an immense sum of money. To be revenged on the authors of this disgrace, they fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, with orders to proceed to the island of *Macassar*, and to attack the city of the same name, in the port of which they knew there was a *Portuguese* fleet, richly laden, wherein the jesuits were deeply concerned². On the seventh of *June* 1660, the *Dutch* attacked *Macassar* by land and sea; and though the *Indian* monarch defended his allies with his whole force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a complete victory, burnt three *Portuguese* ships, sunk two, and took one, so richly laden, that it sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the *Chinese* embassy, and of this expedition. What was still more honourable for the *Dutch*, the unfortunate king of *Macassar* was obliged to send a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the king of *Pope*, to *Batavia*, and to submit to such terms as the governor-general thought fit to prescribe; which were hard enough, since he was obliged not only to expel all the *Portuguese* settled in his dominions, but also to promise, that he would never admit them, or any *Europeans*, to reside in his territories, with the liberty of trading. The fortress and port of *Jompandam*, with the district of between three and four leagues round about it, were to remain in property to the *Dutch East India* company; the jesuits were to be expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company; and the king was to send an ambassador, with suitable presents, to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms³ (H).

BUT, immediately after all this mighty success, the *Dutch* company received the severest check they ever met with since their establishment in the *Indies*. They had at this time a very fine settlement on the island of *Formosa*, one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the east, abounding in all the necessaries of life, producing various rich commodities, and afford-

An account of the noble and flourishing colony of the Dutch in Formosa.

* NEUVILLE hist. van. Hollande, 11 deel. l. xi. c. 8.

² BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 624.

GERVAISE description historique du royaume de Macassar, p. 57.

¹ TAVERNIER voyages des Indes, P. ii. l. iii. c. 19.

² TAVERNIER voyages des Indes, P. ii. l. iii. c. 19.

(H) In the only history we have of this kingdom, the *Dutch* are represented as having begun and prosecuted this war in a most extraordinary manner. It is alleged that they sent over, for ten years before, and while they were carrying on a peaceable trade with this monarch's subjects, a great number of their own countrymen, who settled in different parts of his dominions, and who, when they thought themselves strong enough, excited a rebellion, marching with a numerous army to attack the king suddenly in his capital, expecting to have been supported in this attempt by a fleet and army from *Batavia*; which not arriving so soon as they expected, the king's forces, tho' in a manner surprised, behaved so vigorously, that they were in great danger of being totally destroy-

ed; but being encamped on one side of the river, and the king's army on the other, they observed, that, at a certain hour in the night, the soldiers went down to drink; upon which, they found means to poison the waters, and thereby destroyed multitudes. By this they secured themselves till the succours arrived, and, by one of the articles of the peace, procured an indemnity for all they had done, as well as the intire restitution of their estates and effects, which had been confiscated. However, as this book was dedicated to father *De la Chaise*, a jesuit, and confessor to *Louis* the fourteenth, the credit of it is not extremely clear, of which it is but just to give the reader notice (63).

ing an opportunity thereby of carrying on a vast commerce. They had built, for the protection of their colony, a square fort, with large bastions; and below these, towards the sea, they had another fortification, which covered the palace of their governor, consisting of two regular bastions, an excellent covered-way, and four half-moons; the whole united to the fort by very strong walls, defended by a great number of cannon, and constantly supplied with a numerous garrison. The town was long and large, extremely well peopled; and the inhabitants, from seven years old and upwards, being charged with a poll-tax at the rate of half a guilder a head, produced a revenue more than sufficient to defray the expences necessary for the maintenance of this important colony. Such indeed it might be well styled, since, by its situation, at the distance only of twenty-four leagues from the coast of *China*, and one hundred and fifty from *Japan*, it afforded the means of carrying on, with the greatest ease, a trade to both, that was inexpressibly beneficial * (I). The *Chinese*, in the year 1653, had laid a very deep design for the destruction of the *Dutch* in this island, by an universal conspiracy amongst the natives; which, however, had not the desired effect, for, being discovered in time, it was absolutely defeated. This piece of good fortune made those, who were intrusted with the care of the company's affairs at *Batavia*, in regard to this settlement, much more remiss than is usual with this nation; insomuch that they neglected the fortifications, and suffered their magazines to become exhausted, while, by a steady and undiverted application to trade, they were labouring to advance their private fortunes † (K).

A taylor of
Formosa,
whose name
was Iquon,
revolts from
the Tartars,
and beats the
Chinese.

At the time the *Tartars* made their last conquest of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* town upon this island a taylor, whose name, in their language, was *Chinchilung*, but by the *Dutch* and other *Europeans* he was called *Iquon*. This man had a vast capacity, a courage stubborn and enterprising, and, from an unconquerable aversion to the *Tartars*, got together a few men, two or three small barks, and with this force turned pirate, or privateer, which you will please to call him. In a short space of time his power increased to such a degree, that he became extremely formidable to the *Tartar* emperor; who, finding that his foible was ambition, offered to make him king of the two great provinces of *Canton* and *Fokien*, and sent for him to *Focken*, where he promised to give him the investiture of his new dignity; but, instead of

* Voyage de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 210, 211.
2 deel. l. xi. c. 13.

† NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande,

(I) It is a very difficult point to afford the reader, within that narrow compass to which we are restrained, such an account of this island, the *Dutch* settlement thereon, and the loss of it, as may be intelligible and satisfactory. But, notwithstanding this, it is necessary to endeavour it, because there is no point either more perplexed, or of greater importance, in this chapter of our history. The *Dutch*, following the *Portuguese*, bestowed the name of *Formosa* on that part of the island where they established themselves, upon account of the fine climate, delightful prospects, and great fertility of the country (64). The *Chinese* bestowed the name of *Tai-ovan* upon the whole island, which signifies, in their language, the first or chief of ten thousand, being, perhaps, a kind of hyperbolical allusion to the small islands in its neighbourhood (65). The only commodious port lay on the south-west side of the island, the mouth of which was covered by a small island, which thereby afforded two entrances, the one for large, the other for small ships. Upon this island the *Dutch* erected their first fortress, and applied thereto the *Chinese* name of *Tai-ovan* (66); which occasions great obscurity in the relations, which we have endeavoured to remove by this account. Another thing to be observed is, that, for the sake of dealing with them, availing themselves of their industry, and raising a large and constant revenue out of the tribute imposed upon them, the *Dutch* tolerated many thousands of *Chinese* inhabitants, who fled thither after the last *Tartar* invasion, had their dwellings round the *Dutch* fortress, and carried on a prodigious commerce with their countrymen on the continent. They had likewise a great number of the natives in subjection, whom they found, and their writers acknowledge to have been, an honest, faithful, and brave people; which dis-

tinction of characters will enable the reader, if he casts his eyes upon *Dutch* books, to distinguish which of these two nations are meant, when mentioned, as they very frequently are, under the common name of the inhabitants of *Formosa* (67).

(K) The *Dutch* governor of *Formosa*, when these conspiracies and insurrections happened, was *Nicolas Warburgh*, who, considering the connection the *Chinese* in the island had with such of their countrymen as were in arms against the *Tartars*, and knowing that the former, without any foreign assistance, were between twenty and thirty thousand men, thought himself obliged, in order to render himself and his garrison secure, to proceed against such as were either in arms, or embarked in illicit correspondence, with the utmost severity; and therefore cut numbers of the former to pieces, and exposed many of the latter to cruel deaths, and exquisite tortures. By this behaviour he made all the *Chinese* to a man determined enemies to the company, and exposed the settlement, over which he presided, to much greater hazards than if he had acted with temper and moderation; yet this very man, when he returned to *Batavia*, and was promoted to the post of counsellor of the *Indies*, treated all the letters of his successor, expressing his apprehensions of the *Chinese*, as mean pusillanimous complaints; asserting, that he had strength enough to resist any attack that could be made upon him, and to crush any conspiracy that might be formed against him; by which he deluded the governor-general and council, hindered them from sending the supplies they ought to have done, and even prevailed upon them to diminish the ordinary allowances for the support of the fortifications, magazines, and garrison (68).

(64) *Formose negligée; ou la prise de cette île par les Chinois sur les Hollandais*, p. 5.
de l'empire de la Chine, tom. i. p. 177. (66) *Formose negligée*, p. 13.
Formosa, by George Candidius, in the first volume of Churchill's collection of voyages.

(65) *Du Halde descript.*
(67) *Account of the island of Foo-*
(68) *Neuville hist. de Hol-*

a keeping his word, he caused him to be seized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was soon after poisoned¹. This taylor, who was so near being a king, had a son, whose name was *Coxima*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been taylor to Mr. *Puttman*, governor of *Fort Zeeland*, and who, on his father's imprisonment, took upon him the command of the fleet. He first demanded succours from the *Dutch*, and promised them great advantages, if he was successful against the *Tartars*; which they refused: and this provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to turn his whole force against *Formosa*; the rather because he had good intelligence within the *Dutch* town, and knew that their affairs were in a very bad condition². He assembled, with this view, a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them frigates of small force, but near one hundred were stout men of war, of forty guns and upwards. The news of these great preparations reaching the ears of the *Dutch* governor, who was at that time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, successor to *Cornelius Keiser*, he dispatched advice to *Batavia*, and demanded speedy succours; and also to *Japan*, for the assistance of such *Dutch* ships as happened to be there. All, however, was to no purpose; for, before any relief could come, *Coxenga* sent his fleet, under the command of his uncle *Souja*, which appeared before the place in the month of *March* 1. 51³ (L).

b The *Dutch* governor sent a detachment of three hundred and fifty men to prevent the debark- His son, after ing of their troops, who behaved as well as men could do; but to little purpose, since the his father's misfortune, *Chinese* landed forty thousand men. They soon cut off the communication between the town and the island; and, having made themselves masters of the adjacent country, *Coxenga* treated resolves to re- c all who had joined the *Dutch* in the same manner that *Nicholas Werburgh*, who was governor cover For- in 1653. did such as were concerned in the rebellion; that is to say, he put them to death, mosa, and at- with all the marks of shame and cruelty he could invent, and without the least regard to age, tacks it. sex, or quality. After this, he attacked all the outworks at the same time, which prevented the *Dutch* from succouring each other; so that these places were very soon carried, tho' with a vast effusion of blood, and the governor was forced to retire into *Fort Zeeland*⁴. The conqueror, considering the great strength of the place, and how unfit his army was to undertake sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hancbroeck*, the eldest of the *Dutch* clergymen, and sent with him his brethren, two or three schoolmasters, and some of the gravest men among his prisoners, to persuade the governor to surrender; declaring that he was content they should d retire in safety, and that he would not touch the hair of a *Dutchman's* head, or one farthing's worth of their goods; but, if they refused this proposition, he would put them all to the sword without mercy. The governor told those who brought him this message, that he had all the sorrow and concern in the world for their misfortune; but, at the same time, that there was

¹ DAPPER tweede Gezantschap naar Sina, fol. 52. ² Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 214, 215. ³ BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 670, 671. ⁴ NEUVILLE hist. van Hoil. 2 deel. l. xi. c. 13.

(L) As there interfered a space of more than seven years between the forming and the execution of this design, the *Dutch East India* company had time and force enough to have prevented it; but what ought, in the nature of things, to have contributed most to their advantage, became the chief cause of their misfortune. The governor of *Fort Zeeland* informed them, from time to time, of the intrigues that were carrying on amongst the *Chinese*; of the difficulties under which he laboured; and of the certain intelligence he had received of *Coxenga's* preparations. His dispatches were very unwelcome at *Batavia*, more especially when he insisted, that their fortifications, tho' strong in themselves, were very irregular, and very injudiciously placed; by which the company was put to a needless and useless expence, and himself and his garrison to unsurmountable difficulties. All his apprehensions met with very little credit from his superiors, some of whom were the very persons that, by undertaking things they did not understand, had squandered away the company's money upon useless doubts, that served only to divide, and consequently to weaken, the force of the garrison (69). However, not to be wanting to themselves, they sent a strong squadron, under the command of commodore *John Vander Laan*, to *Formosa*, with full power to act as he thought fit, and to proceed from thence, if he found it expedient, and reduce the city of *Macao*. If this officer had been a man of abilities, he had certainly saved *Formosa*; but having

small parts, and much vanity, he ruined it: for, by boasting of his interest with, and knowledge of, the council at *Batavia*, he raised a faction in the garrison against the governor; procured from the officers, when drunk, a remonstrance against him, which though they refused to sign when they were sober, yet he made the same use of it as if it had been signed; and, though he returned without doing any thing, prevailed upon the governor-general and council to send letters to *Formosa*, disapproving in the strongest terms all that had been done, depriving the governor of his command, and directing him to repair to *Batavia*, in order to stand a trial (70). But receiving, in less than a month, certain intelligence of *Coxenga's* expedition, they sent other letters, restoring the governor to his command, applauding his precautions, and giving him solemn thanks for those things, which a month before they had voted to be high crimes. The soldiers and seamen discovered their sense of the matter, by bestowing upon the commodore the name of *John without brains*; by which he was distinguished to the day of his death. By the help of these remarks, the reader may form a just notion of the true sources from whence all these mischiefs flowed, and the reasons which induced the council to revenge their own bad conduct upon a governor, to whom, in truth, they could impute nothing more than that he had the ill luck to be the victim of it (71).

(69) *Formose negligée*, p. 15. (70) *Basnage annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 671. (71) *Formose negligée*, p. 177.

nothing could induce him to betray his trust, or to give up the place he commanded into the hands of the enemy. With this answer they returned to *Coxenga*; who, as soon as he heard it, caused all his prisoners to be put to death, men, women, and children^a.

Succours from
Batavia at-
tempt to re-
lieve the
place; but are
repell'd, and
obliged to re-
turn.

When this was done, he embarked the best part of his army on board three hundred junks, a very light sort of vessels, with which he blocked up the port, while he fired upon the fortress from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each. Things were in this situation, when there arrived from *Batavia* a stout squadron of nine men of war, commanded by commodore *Cuven*, who immediately made the best disposition he could for the relief of the place. He landed, for this purpose, all the troops he had on board, and, being joined by a part of the garrison, marched to attack six thousand *Chinese*, that were covered by a redoubt not yet mounted with cannon. These troops, being well armed, and completely disciplined, received them in order of battle; and, though the *Dutch* fought with great resolution, and renewed the attack several times, they were at length obliged to retire, with the loss of four hundred men^b. The commodore then ordered his ships to force a passage into the port; but the junks, drawing very little water, kept close under the shore, where the great ships durst not follow them; and, in this attempt, the *Dutch* lost two of their best men of war, of which one run on shore, and had all their crew, to the number of three hundred and eighty, killed by the *Chinese*; the other was blown up by a shot fired into her powder-room. Commodore *Cuven*, perceiving that it was impossible for him to do any thing more, detached two of his ships to *Japan*; and, having taken on board two hundred women and children that were in the fort, he sailed back to *Batavia*, with the five ships remaining of his squadron, and made an exact report to the governor, and the council, of the miserable state of their affairs in *Formosa*^c.

Flagrant
treachery
of the
governor
in
surrendering
the place
to the
Chinese
in fight.

The news was received there with deep concern; and a resolution was immediately taken, to send an embassy to the emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, to inform him, that they were in danger of losing *Formosa*, on account of refusing to assist a *Chinese* in his rebellion; but, not depending altogether on the success of this embassy, they ordered five ships of war to be equipped, and to sail forthwith to the relief of the place. The governor *Cojet* made so obstinate a defence, that old *Souja*, the uncle of *Coxenga*, resolved to raise the siege, without the knowledge of his nephew, with at least that part of the army which he commanded: but, tho' he managed this design with the utmost secrecy, yet *Coxenga* came to have a suspicion thereof; d upon which, forgetting the nearness of his relation, he caused old *Souja* to be arrested, and put in irons. After which, notwithstanding he had the plague and famine in his camp, he pushed on the siege so vigorously, that the governor found himself obliged to surrender, tho' the succours he had expected were in sight^e. Accordingly, the place being given up to the *Chinese*, he marched out with the remains of his garrison; and being taken on board the squadron, he returned to *Batavia*, where, instead of receiving the thanks, as he might reasonably have expected, of the governor-general and council, he was committed to prison, and kept there a long time, under pretence that he had given up the place too soon, because the *Dutch* squadron was in sight. This misfortune, however, great as it was, brought about a correspondence with the *Chinese* emperor, who consented to give them his assistance to restrain the power of *Coxenga*, to hinder him from pirating in those seas, and disturbing the commerce between *China* and *Japan*: points of very high consequence to his subjects, and of no less concern to the *Dutch*, who saw the face of their affairs extremely altered by the loss of this important settlement; since, instead of having the *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, and *Chinese* commerce at their mercy, they were no longer able to send their own annual ships to *Japan*^f, but with great difficulty and danger. It is necessary now that we should take some notice of affairs in *Europe*, in order to shew how far they influenced those in this part of the world, and what led the *Dutch* company to push their conquests, on the coasts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, to that extent in which they still remain, and by which they completed the ruin of the *Portuguese*.

^a Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 367—377.

^b deél. l. xi. c. 13.

^c BASHAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 673.

^d HOLL. 2 deél. l. xi. c. 13. BASHAGE, ubi sup.

^e NEUVILLE hist. van. Hollande,

^f NEUVILLE hist. van

^g DAPPER tweede Gezantschap naar Sina, fol. 91.

S E C T. X.

The nature of that policy, by which they totally ruined the power of the Portuguese. The causes and nature of their connections with the Tartars in China. The war of Macassar, which ends in the total reduction of that potent monarch, and his subjects; who endeavour to shake off the Dutch yoke, but without effect, though the bravest and best disciplined people in the Indies.

- a** **I**N a short space after the restoration of *Charles* the second, a negotiation was set on foot, ^{While the Dutch are treating with the Portuguese in Europe, the company reduce the coast of Malabar.} under his mediation, between the crown of *Portugal* and the States General, the war being, upon the whole, equally grievous to both parties; inasmuch as, besides the loss of *Brazil*, the subjects of the States found themselves terribly incommoded in their trade by privateers under *Portuguese* colours: but, notwithstanding this, the treaty went on but slowly; of which it was resolved to take advantage in the *East Indies*, where the company, as if they had been sovereigns within the bounds of their charter, prosecuted the war with more vigour than ever; so that, in 1663, they attacked *Coulam* on the coast of *Malabar*, and having reduced it, they next attacked *Cananor* on the same coast, of which, though with some difficulty, they became masters; and though their design was to have demolished the place, and to have established only a factory, yet, when they came to consider the conveniency and importance of its situation, they determined to repair the fortifications, and keep it as a settlement of their own. They next proceeded to *Cochin*, a city of still greater force, and greater consequence, as being a bishop's see, and a place of great trade. Commodore *Goens* met here with much more resistance than he expected, and, during a siege of some continuance, lost a considerable number of his people; but, being resolved to become master of the city, he prosecuted his attempt with such obstinacy, that at last he prevailed, and the *Portuguese* were constrained to surrender*. When possessed of it, however, he scarce knew how to act, because he saw the preservation of it was a thing of great consequence, and yet that it would require a very numerous garrison, and a great expence to put the fortifications into repair.
- b** He applied himself, therefore, to the general and council at *Batavia*, who sent him orders ^{By a steady and vigorous pursuit of this conduct, the peace comes too late for the Portuguese.} not to spare either men or money, but to push his fortune to the utmost; and at the same time sent likewise a fresh squadron, and a considerable body of troops on board it. This so encouraged commodore *Goens*, that he marched by land to attack the city of *Porca*, which was the capital of a little *rajah*, or *Indian* prince, who had been subject to the *Portuguese*. But he, not caring to dispute with those who had beat his masters, offered to become their tributary, and to pay them the same obedience which he had formerly done to the crown of *Portugal*; and this, being as readily accepted as offered, put an end to the war on that side. The city of *Cranganor*, between *Calicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his hands, without a blow; and thus, in the space of a single year, the *Dutch* expelled the *Portuguese* out of almost all the places they held on the coast of *Malabar*, and acquired a territory of one hundred and fifty leagues in length, with all the trade belonging to it, and which the *Portuguese* had enjoyed, without interruption, from the time of their first settlement in *India*. They likewise contracted an alliance with the samorin of *Calicut*, the king of *Cochin*, and other *Indian* princes^b.
- c** By the accession of *Aurengzebe* to the empire of the *Indies*, the *Dutch* had an opportunity of complimenting him; which they did by a splendid embassy, that made the power and the influence of the company known to the great monarch of *Indostan*. As they carried magnificent presents, had nothing but general favours to ask, and expressed themselves in terms full of deference and respect, that prince, who had made his way to the throne by measures not the most conformable to laws human or divine, was extremely well pleased with this application, granted their demands, and assured the company of his favour and protection^c. The king of *Siam*, who, in the company's sentiments, lay under great obligations to them, having ^{The company send a solemn embassy to the Mogul, and renew their correspondence with Siam.} in some respects deceived their expectations, they, without farther ceremony, withdrew their factories out of his dominions. The king, justly alarmed at this, and well knowing that it was impossible he should escape the weight of their resentment, who were themselves so powerful, and who had such an influence upon all his neighbours, sent immediately his ambassadors to *Batavia*, where they were treated very respectfully; and, upon the king's promising them that no cause of offence should be given them for the future, their factories were immediately

* *Neuville* hist. van Holl. 2 deel. l. xii. c. iv. *Orientales* fait à leurs H. P. Oct. 22, 1664.

^b Report que les directeurs de la compagnie des Indes *NEUVILLE*, ubi sup.

re-established^a. It was by these political contrivances, intermixed with reasonable acts of severity upon their own people, when, either through insolence or drunkenness, they committed outrages upon the subjects of potent princes, that they raised their reputation to a great height, and prevailed upon many of the *Indian* princes to send their children to *Batavia* for education, where they were sometimes entertained at the expence of the company, and all imaginable pains taken to infuse into their minds an high idea of their naval power, and of their capacity to maintain that superiority which they had so manifestly acquired^b (M).

An embassy
and fleet sent
to the assistance
of the
Chinese
against Cox-
enga and his
party.

BUT these, and other affairs of equal consequence, did not hinder the governor-general and council from paying a proper attention to the loss of *Formosa*, or the overtures made by the emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, for restoring to them that place. There was the greater reason to expect that this monarch would act sincerely, because *Coxenga*, not satisfied with *Formosa* and its dependencies, had made himself master of several islands between that country and *China*, and actually seized some towns upon the continent. On the assurances, therefore, given them by Mr. *Borel*, their ambassador to the emperor, they fitted out a great fleet of seventeen large ships, under the command of *Balibasar Borth*, with orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmost vigour against *Coxenga*^c. On his arrival on the coast of *China*, he found that conqueror in possession of the island of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars*, with all their force, were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* commodore, observing that the principal fortress in this island stood upon the sea-coast, resolved to try whether it was not possible to take it by assault, supposing that this would strike a terror into the enemy, and raise the credit of the *Dutch* army with the *Tartars*: but he quickly found, that the soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all resemble the *Chinese*; for they gave him so warm a reception, that he was soon obliged to abandon the design. He next determined to attack their fleet, while the general of the *Tartars* engaged their forces on shore; to which the latter consented^d.

The Tartar-
Chinese be-
have exceed-
ingly ill to
their new al-
lies the Dutch.

THIS fleet of *Coxenga's* consisted of four score large junks, and twenty-seven small ones, all full of soldiers and seamen, and very well furnished with brass cannon. The battle was very obstinate and bloody; and *Coxenga* distinguished himself as a gallant soldier, an experienced seaman, and a great captain: but the *Dutch* large ships tore his junks to pieces; so that, after an engagement which lasted for several hours, he was forced to retire; but did it in order, and with a good countenance. The *Tartar* general, before the battle, began to draw up his forces in a regular line, and all the time it lasted looked on very quietly. After all was over, the *Dutch* commodore expostulated this matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* general answered, that he could not prevail upon his men to fight; but, in case the *Dutch* attacked the enemy a second time, he believed they would behave better^e.

Who trust
them again in
another en-
gagement, and
are deceived
by them.

THE commodore took his word, and attacked *Coxenga* a second time, and routed him intirely; but the *Tartar* general was as calm a spectator as before. This victory, however, was of greater consequence than the former, since it not only cost *Coxenga* all his new conquests, but his life. The *Tartars* laid hold of this opportunity to demolish the fortresses they had raised as fast as they left them; and the *Dutch* were very brisk in carrying off whatever was valuable. After this, they made themselves masters of the island of *Amoy*, and the recovery of *Formosa* was looked upon as certain; yet, when they came to attempt it, they were strangely disappointed; for old *Souja*, who had now recovered his liberty, drew together the

^d BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 702, 703.
l. xii. cap. 4.

^e BASNAGE, ubi sup. p. 703.

^b BASNAGE, ubi sup.

^c NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 2 deel.

^e DAPPER tweede Gezantschap naar Sina, fol. 97.

(M) It is believed, and upon good grounds, that this part of the *Dutch* policy, as we have hinted before, is copied from the *Portuguese*, who, in the time of their grandeur, practised the like at *Goa*, but with less dexterity as well as success. The *Portuguese* were wont to dazzle the eyes of the young *Indian* princes with magnificence, to caress and indulge them in their pleasures, and to bestow upon them *Portuguese* names, as if they meant to naturalize them. All these arts, as they grew up, they easily saw through, and, when they came to the possession of their dominions, were very often the bitterest enemies the *Portuguese* had. They behave in quite another manner towards them at *Batavia*; they are never admitted to the presence of the governor-general, but in ceremony; and upon solemn occasions they are treated with great respect; and, under this pretence, they have little liberty, converse with none but such as are appointed to instruct and entertain them, and carried to the reviews of the company's forces, bear also a part in all public spectacles and shews, and no pains are spared to

insil into their minds political maxims, that seem intirely calculated for their advantage, which, at the bottom, turn however to the company's benefit; for they are given to understand, that, from the natural laziness, perfidy, and fickleness of their own subject, they are in continual danger; but that, while they adhere steadily to their alliances, they may command all the power of the *Dutch*, which seldom fails of making a great impression upon their minds; and as it is the company's interest to keep these promises, so they very seldom fail of gaining their end, which is in effect to render these princes their viceroys. By this method also they come at a perfect knowledge of the temper, genius, and capacity of these princes; so that they are ever afterwards able to deal with them without any danger of being deceived or betrayed; or, if ever this happens, they know how to raise up competitors, who, by their assistance, may supplant such monarchs as endeavour to emancipate themselves from that yoke which they endeavour to impose.

a fleet and army of his nephew, and disposed them in such a manner, that there was nothing to be done but by force; and even of doing any thing that way there was a great uncertainty. The old *Chinese*, however, being a man of great wisdom and experience, was not willing to risque all, if all might be saved without running any hazard, and therefore had a mind to make peace with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a settlement, and a free trade; which he thought might content both ¹.

THE son of *Coxenga*, however, whom the *Chinese* call *Tching-king-may*, having discovered the design, defeated it; and, procuring himself to be elected general, seized the old man, and sent him a second time to prison, where, in a fit of melancholy, he dispatched himself with his own hands. This young officer inherited all the spirit and all the abilities of his family, and managed his affairs with such courage and conduct, that the admiral soon found himself obliged to return to *Batavia*, without being able to execute the commission he had received; which was the reason that he met no extraordinary welcome ².

It was not long after this victory that *Tching king-may* departed this life, and left the island of *Formosa* to his son *Tching-ke-san*, who was, at the time of his father's demise, a child. Public affairs were indifferently well managed by his guardians till he grew up to man's estate; when proving of a mild and melancholy disposition, and perceiving that the *Tartars* had not only reduced, but put to death, the king of *Fo-kien*, his principal ally, he resolved to prevent all danger of suffering in the like manner, by a voluntary surrender of his dominions, to which, though against his will, he was constrained to add also that of his person. He came to *Peking*, in the quality of an abdicated prince, in the summer of 1683, had a small pension given him, and, in other respects, was treated with kindness and civility. Thus the island of *Formosa*, or at least that part of it which belonged to the *Dutch*, became re-united to the *Chinese* empire, and has continued so ever since, there being always a body of twelve thousand regular troops maintained therein; but both officers and soldiers are changed once in three years, and sometimes oftener, in order to prevent all possibility of revolting ³ (N).

THE first war between the maritime powers after the restoration did not much affect the *Dutch* affairs in the *East Indies*; and therefore we need say nothing of it here, but proceed rather to their war against the king of *Macassar*, one of the most vigorous, and at the same time one of the most important, in which they had been engaged from the time of their first establishment. This kingdom, which comprehends the best part of the island of *Celebes*, was then inhabited by a brave and numerous people, whose monarchs, as they had never submitted to the *Portuguese*, had of course a strong aversion to the yoke of the *Dutch*, with whom they were never upon good terms, on account of the intercourse they preserved with the *Moluccas*, and the protection they gave the *Portuguese* who had taken shelter amongst them; yet there was not a word said of either of these causes in their manifestoes. On the contrary, they complained in these of the depredations committed by the king of *Macassar*, as their

¹ NEUVILLE hist. van. Hollande, 2 deel. l. xii. c. 4. p. 704.

² BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i.

³ DU HALDE description de l'empire du Chine, tom. i. p. 179. 482.

(N) This was the last sovereignty in the hands of the *Chinese*; and, by the reduction of this island, the *Tartars* rendered their conquest of the empire complete. The reader will easily perceive, that an apprehension of the *Dutch* reviving their claim to their old settlement, may be one reason of the great care that is expressed for the safe custody and preservation of the west part of this island; for, as to the east, it remains still in the hands of the natives, who are not in any danger of being conquered by the *Tartars*. It is proper, however, to observe, that the *Dutch* have no longer any great motive to undertake the recovery of what they formerly possessed, since the principal entry into the port, which we have before described, is now choaked up with sand to such a degree, that ships of any considerable burden cannot pass; and as the most important point in reference to the *Dutch*, was the having a good haven to receive their vessels, either outward or homeward-bound to and from *Japan*, this being out of the case, renders *Formosa* of far less consequence than formerly it was (72). As we shall not have occasion to resume this subject any more, let us add the following passage from a modern writer (73): "The natives," says he, "differ much from the neighbouring people of *China* and *Luconia*,

"both in physiognomy and make. They are of a low stature, with a large head and forehead, hollow-eyed, and the cheek-bones very high, a large mouth, and a short flat chin, with little or no beard on it, long jaw'd, and a small long neck, their body short and square, their arms and legs long, small, and ill-shaped, their feet long, and broad at the toes, and generally they are very weak in the knees." One would imagine from hence, that they descended from the *Tartars* inhabiting the most northern parts of *Asia*, and that they came hither from *Corea*; for this must be understood of the original natives of this island, who remain still free and unconquered, not the *Chinese* who have settled there since the *Dutch*. If it was not from the want of ports, there seems to be no doubt that this pleasant and plentiful island would merit the attention of the *Europeans* more than it has done for above a century past. However, considering that eagerness which the northern nations have expressed for acquiring a share in the *Chinese* trade, it is not at all improbable, or at least impossible, that they may entertain thoughts of fixing a new colony in *Formosa*, and this too, perhaps, with the permission of the *Chinese*, under certain restrictions, like those which have been imposed on the *Portuguese* at *Macao* (74).

(72) Du Halde description de l'empire de la Chine, vol. i. p. 180. Indies, vol. ii. p. 295, 296.

(74) Du Halde, *ubi sup.* p. 178, 179.

(73) Hamilton's account of the East

writers report ; for his subjects had murdered some of the *Dutch* that had landed in his dominions, and had likewise plundered several ships that run ashore upon the coasts ; but, before any hostilities were committed, a treaty was set on foot, by which the king promised to make full satisfaction for the injuries done, as also to make such submission as they should require from him on account of these disorders. The company, however, having some diffidence as to the king's promises, thought proper to send their admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been governor of the coast of *Coromandel*, with a squadron of thirteen men of war, and a certain number of transports having eight hundred soldiers on board, with orders to see the late treaty executed according to the letter in every article ; who, with this naval force, arrived before *Macassar* on the nineteenth of *Decem̃er* 1666 ^a.

But this giving satisfaction to neither party, they at last have recourse to arms.

THE next morning came two deputies from the king, and brought with them a thousand and sixty-six ingots of gold, which had been promised in satisfaction for the murder of the *Dutch*, and also the sum of one thousand four hundred and thirty rixdollars in satisfaction for the vessels that had been plundered ; but at the same time they declared in the name of the king, that the submissions required were inconsistent with his dignity, and therefore such as he could not comply with. As this was what the company expected, and as they were also informed that the king of *Macassar* had sent a large fleet to attack the island of *Bouton*, admiral *Speelman* immediately declared war ; and, having made two descents upon the country, carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, burnt fifty villages to the ground, and about an hundred ships in several ports, the king not suspecting such a visit. The admiral sailed, when this was over, to relieve the island of *Bouton*, which was hard pressed by the fleet and army the king of *Macassar* had sent against it. Admiral *Speelman* arrived before the place on *New-year's-day* 1667, forced a passage with his small vessels into the haven of *Pouton*, and then proceeded to the relief of the city, which was besieged by the king of *Macassar's* general, at the head of ten thousand men. But the *Dutch*, attacking them in their intrenchments, and finding means to set their magazines on fire, forced them to raise the siege ; which was followed by such a prodigious desertion of their army, that the generals of the king of *Macassar* found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with the *Dutch* admiral ; and, being able to obtain no better terms, surrendered at discretion ^c. The first thing they did was, to disarm their prisoners, of whom they sent five thousand five hundred to people a desert island not far from *Bouton* ; four hundred of them they kept for slaves ; and five thousand *Bongies*, or auxiliaries of different nations, they delivered up to the king of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful ally during the war. They restored to the king of *Bouton* three hundred vessels, together with whatever plunder had been taken from his subjects by the enemy, and could be found after their defeat ; the rest of the king of *Macassar's* junks they incorporated with their own fleet of transports ; and, with an hundred and ninety-five standards, and all the arms and ammunition of the enemy, with the principal officers of their army, whom they kept prisoners, admiral *Speelman* returned in triumph to *Batavia*, where he was received with universal applause, as indeed his conduct well deserved ^d.

The king of *Macassar* thinks once more of throwing off the company's yoke.

BUT the company, as the *Dutch* writers affirm, still entertained great jealousies of this monarch, to whom they were so lately reconciled ; which seem to have proceeded from the knowledge they had of his genius, and maxims of government. It soon appeared that he had negotiated only to gain time, since he began to intrigue afresh with all the neighbouring princes ; to whom he represented, that nothing could save them from becoming downright subjects to the company, but entering into a close alliance with each other, and employing the whole of their forces against the common enemy. He laboured to make them comprehend, that what was every one's particular interest might be considered and adjusted, when they were free from those apprehensions by which they were all so justly alarmed ; whereas endeavouring to provide for those interests by separate treaties with the company, was like mice making terms to come within the cat's reach, when they could only be safe by keeping out of it. He intimated farther, that as they fought for a free trade, which was the interest of all the other *European* nations as well as theirs, it was not unreasonable to expect private assistance at least, and in time, perhaps, auxiliary squadrons. He closed all by insinuating, that, how hazardous soever the war might be, they could not well be in a worse condition than that into which they were put by the late peace, which, if it continued long, the company would certainly improve by sowing jealousies amongst them, which would afford a fair opportunity of subduing them all one after another ; whereas a strict union would at least give them a chance for freedom ^e. These arguments had their weight with most of his neighbours, for they were sensible enough that all he advanced was agreeable to truth ; and therefore not only readily en-

^a NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 2 deel. l. xii. cap. 19.
Indes Orientales contre la roi de Macassar, p. 240.

^b Remarks on the rise and progress of the Dutch East India company, p. 131.

^c Relation de la guerre de la compagnie des
BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 92.

a tered into an alliance, but exerted themselves to the utmost in raising their respective quotas ; so that the king of *Macassar*, as the head of the league, quickly appeared a more formidable enemy than ever ; and so much the more so, as it was evident that nothing could divert him from his purpose, and that he must be absolutely crushed before he could be brought into a state of dependence or compliance¹.

WHILE he was making these preparations, the *Dutch East India* company were not either uninformed or negligent ; on the contrary, they equipped a stout squadron of their own, on board which they embarked a considerable number of regular forces, at the same time that they pressed their *Indian* allies to put to sea as many vessels as they were able, and to furnish as many land troops as were in their power ; which, whether out of regard to treaties, through their fear of the company, or to gratify their private resentments, they did, though it was visibly against their natural interest, for which the king of *Macassar* and his allies fought as much as for their own². Yet so it was, that, in compliance with the orders they had received, they armed with all imaginable diligence, and repaired to the place of rendezvous as they were directed ; so that admiral *Speelman*, on the eighth of *June*, sailed from *Ambon* with sixteen vessels and fourteen shallops, on board of which were the succours furnished by the king of *Palacca* and *Ternate* ; arriving, on the nineteenth of *July* in the morning, on the coast, he attempted to force a passage into the port of *Macassar*, but was warmly repulsed ; for the king having erected a fort for the defence of the place, the *Dutch*, after twenty-four hours cannonading, were forced to retire. A few days after the admiral was joined by a part of the fleet which had been separated from him by a storm ; and on the second of *August* he made a descent with his whole force at a place called *Gliffon*. His army at this time consisted of six hundred *Dutch* troops, three hundred disciplined *Indians* in the company's pay, three thousand from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, seven thousand *Bougies*, eight hundred *leamen*, and two independent companies under the command of the captains *Joncker* and *Stryker*. But the forces of the enemy were incomparably greater ; for they amounted to at least twenty thousand men, under the command of all the little kings and princes that the monarch of *Macassar* had drawn over to his party. Admiral *Speelman* kept the main body near his fleet, and detached one hundred men to attack the castle of *Gliffon* in the night. The king of *Palacca*, who was intrusted with the management of this affair, executed it with such conduct, that by three in the morning he became master of the place ; of which he gave notice to the *Dutch* admiral, who immediately sent him such reinforcements and supplies as were requisite to preserve it³.

THIS was a dreadful blow to the enemy ; and, as the admiral very justly foresaw, the first thing they did was, to attempt the recovery of it ; in which they were so far from succeeding, that after three general assaults, in each of which they lost a great number of men, they were forced to give over that design : neither was this all ; for, taking advantage of the situation of this fortress, such multitudes of bombs and red-hot bullets were fired from thence into the enemy's camp, as threw them into the utmost consternation ; which opportunity was not let slip by the *Dutch* general, who attacked the entrenchments, at the same time that a vigorous sally was made from the castle, which obliged the enemy to quit all their posts. General *Speelman* soon after embarked his forces, and transported them to another part of the island, where he destroyed a multitude of villages. As this war was attended with great losses and inconveniencies on both sides, a negotiation was set on foot, to try what could be done towards settling a peace. The king of *Macassar* was very unwilling to let these deliberations be spun out, because he found his *Indian* allies deserting him by degrees, and making peace for themselves ; which example of theirs he resolved to follow, by submitting to such terms as he could get, which were indeed none of the most reasonable ; and so the treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of *November* 1667 ; in consequence of which the regents of the island, and all the neighbouring princes, as well as the king of *Macassar*, sent a numerous and solemn embassy to the governor-general *John Maalsnyker* at *Batavia*, to make their submission to the company for their past conduct⁴.

THE *Dutch* army and fleet continued in the island ; and, the rainy season coming on, there ensued such a mortality among them as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain some advantages ; by which they were tempted to break the peace, by massacring a great number of the dying soldiers, and two of the captains ; upon which the war broke out again, and continued with as great violence as ever for two years ; in which time the success of admiral *Speelman* was so great, and the calamities brought upon the natives of *Macassar* were so many and so heavy, that at last they were forced, in order to obtain a peace, to send a new ambassador to *Batavia*, and to make all the submissions the company could require ; and, after all, they

¹ NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 2 deel. liv. xii. cap. 19.
Indes Orientales contre le roy de Macassar, p. 236.

² Relation de la guerre de la compagnie des
³ NEUVILLE hist. van Hollande, 2 deel. liv. xii. cap.
19. ⁴ Relation de la guerre de la compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le roy de Macassar, p. 234, 235.

were left to the mercy of *Speelman*, who by a new treaty, concluded on the fifteenth of *June* 1669, not only renewed the treaties of the nineteenth of *August* 1660 and the eighteenth of *November* 1667, but also imposed upon them other conditions still more grievous and more intolerable^a. This put an end in a manner to all open and avowed opposition to the company, who from this time have considered all disputes rather as insurrections and rebellions, than wars with equal and free powers (O). This fixed the trade of spices intirely, and without controul, in the hands of the company; for, before, both the *Portuguese* and the *English*, as we have already mentioned, found means to purchase them in *Celebes*, that is to say, nutmegs, mace, and cloves, which were carried thither from the *Moluccas*, and it may be from other countries with which the *Europeans* have now no correspondence. As for cinnamon, not content with possessing all the true spice in the island of *Ceylon*, they pushed their conquests on the continent of *Malabar*, as has been before shewn; with this view, amongst others, that they might destroy the bastard or wild cinnamon which grew about *Cochin*, and in which the *Portuguese* drove a considerable trade when they were no longer masters of better^b.

^a See the treaties at the end of the relation before cited, and which are also inserted in the *Corps Diplomatique*.
^b *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 148.

(O) In speaking of the former war between the *Dutch East India* company and this monarch, we took notice of some passages reported by an author of suspicious authority; but, in reference to what is said in the text of this last war, we may venture to affirm, that we cannot go well upon securer grounds, since what is said therein is taken from a narrative printed by authority at *Batavia*, together with the articles of peace; and, amongst them, the sixth begins thus (75): "All the *Portuguese* that can be found, without exception, shall be obliged to retire out of *Maccassar*, and all the countries dependent on that crown; and, because we are obliged to believe that the *English* are great makers of mischief, and the authors of the breach of former treaties,

"the regents of *Maccassar* oblige themselves to take the first occasion to compel them to retire out of all their territories, without ever permitting any of those two nations, or their creatures, to come and trade, or to transact any business whatever, within the extent of the country of *Maccassar*, or even so much as to continue therein after a certain day; and the said regents shall not at any time hereafter permit any other *European* nations, or any on their behalf, to come and settle within their jurisdiction on the score of traffick, or any other pretence, of what nation soever they be, or what name soever they may assume, without any exception." The rest of the articles are of a like tendency, and are drawn up in the same strict terms.

(75) *Relation de la guerre de la compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le roy de Maccassar*, p. 244.

S E C T. XI.

The East India company's fourth charter. Manage their affairs with equal discretion and success. Disappoint the French in their attempts to fix themselves in the island of Ceylon, and prosecute their opposition to that nation with signal advantage.

The Dutch East India company obtain, tho' with some difficulty, a further term in their commerce.

BUT let us now turn our eyes a little to *Europe*, where we shall find that the *East India* company had worn out their third charter, and consequently found themselves under the necessity of procuring a new term, in which they met with some difficulty. The concerns of the republic were then managed by the *De Witts* and their faction, who, we are sure, were no friends to any monopoly, and had in particular no great veneration for this. The pensionary *John De Witt* thought that companies might be necessary when new trades were to be opened, and new establishments made: he thought the acquisition of the *Moluccas* necessary, and that of *Batavia* expedient; but, as to the great power that the company afterwards assumed, he judged it not at all beneficial to the *Dutch* nation. He saw, and he made no scruple of declaring it, that as to the *Dutch* employed in the *East India* settlements, they were for the most part, to use his own expression, the very scum of the people, debauched, necessitous, without principles, rapacious, and profligate; all which he conceived arose from the strict and slavish terms put upon them by the company, to which none would submit who could possibly live at home, or knew how to get abroad at their own expence, whence he apprehended that there was not that solid strength in their establishments which was commonly imagined. He believed that so severe an administration could never be beloved, but must depend chiefly on the military and mercenary force maintained for its support; and at the same time he was convinced, that, to alter these maxims, or to relax any thing of this severity, was not to be expected^a. For these reasons, therefore, he regretted that this trade was not in some measure laid open, which, from the hopes of thriving, would naturally have drawn a better sort of people to the *Indies*, who would have gradually raised colonies of another kind, more defensible, in

^a *GRONDEN en maximen van de republieck van Hollande*, 1 deel. cap. 26.

- a case of a general war, than those funded by the company would in all probability prove (P). Yet, in spite of all this, a new charter was procured, by the help of what procures all things, a large sum of ready money, which the circumstances of the state at that time made very convenient, and in consideration of which they had a grant of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from the beginning of 1666^y.

- It is, however, worthy of remark, that, within this last period of which we have been speaking, the company, notwithstanding the prodigious expences to which she stood exposed, and the great interruption of her trade during two wars with *England*, when whole fleets were requisite to escort her outward and her homeward-bound ships, several of which were however taken, notwithstanding the long wars maintained in the *Indies* against the *Chinese* taylor and his descendants in *Formosa*, the *Portuguese* in *Ceylon* and *Malabar*, and the king of *Macassar* and his allies; and notwithstanding the augmentation of the company's civil list, if I may be allowed to use that expression, which, as the reader will hereafter see, was in itself become a prodigious thing, and equal to more than the whole profits of the company's trade during their first term; yet, notwithstanding all these, the directors divided four hundred and fifty *per cent.* upon their capital, which was about forty *per cent.* more than they divided in the preceding term from 1622 to 1642^z. We may from hence discern how well, in respect to their immediate profit, the pains they had taken to root out all competition at the markets to which they traded had answered, and how great a gainer the company was become, by dint of the power and influence which they had acquired, notwithstanding the prodigious sums expended, and which they continued to expend: from all which we may collect how great the losses must have been which the *English* and *Portuguese* sustained, from whom this additional commerce was taken; and how all things were understood by their respective governments at home, when they were content to pass by such losses for the sake of a precarious peace, or, which was worse, to accept of a paltry satisfaction, and thereby bar their own right to reprisals when the alteration of affairs, or the favour of Providence, should put it in their power to make them^a. At the same time this shews the wisdom of the *Dutch* company, that never stinted money when negotiations were upon the carpet, but, by applying dexterously, and paying handsomely, procured good clauses to be inserted for them, of which their advocates knew how to make the best use, when, on the breaking out of fresh disturbances, old clamours were revived against them, which might, by a little industry, or a lucky turn of fortune, have been converted into well grounded claims, but for these prudent precautions^b.

THE great prudence and admirable address of those who managed the company's affairs, were as conspicuous in their domestic transactions with the States General as in their conduct in the *Indies*; for, when the person intrusted with the command of their homeward-bound fleet went, according to custom, to pay his respects to the States, he was instructed to make such a

Remark, that the grandeur of the company has procured an additional benefit to the proprietors.

With what prudence the directors managed the private as well as public affairs of the company.

^y Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

^z Ibid. tom. i. p. 10.

^a FICHARD'S history of England, p. 841.

^b See the several treaties of peace company.

(P) The grand pensionary wrote his book, or at least published the 1st. edition of it, after this charter was for the first time renewed; which was certainly contrary to his judgment, as appears from what he delivers upon the subject of scouring the seas, a service for which immense sums were levied in the infancy of the republic, and of which, as he suggests, the stadtholders availed themselves by putting it in charge, notwithstanding, upon the *East India*, *West India*, and the *Greenland* companies (75). "So," says he, the States General and the admiralties charged themselves of scouring the seas, as far as concerned *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*; and the traffick of those parts, together with the northern whale-fishing, upon supposition that all those respective companies were sufficient to drive on their trade without convoys from the state, and to take care of their own affairs. But, on the contrary, they found that the trade of these societies was carried on with so great prejudice to the rest of the people, who were excluded, that if our governors had then, or should now deal in the same manner with the trade of *Europe*, by erecting companies exclusive of all others; for example, one company for the dealer in the *Mediterranean*, a second for the *French* and *Spanish* merchants, a third for the eastern and northern merchants, a fourth for the

British and *Irish* traders, a fifth for the haddock, cod, and herring fisheries; I say, if they had done this, one tenth part of the inhabitants would not have been able to live and earn their bread; so that *Holland* would soon have been ruined, even though the trade of those companies had been carried on with so great industry, that, notwithstanding any resolutions taken by *France*, *England*, *Sweden*, and the states of *Italy*, to disturb, prohibit, and prevent, foreign manufactures, and consequently those of *Holland*, to be brought into their countries; yet each of those companies, in the small compass of our *Europe*, had driven a greater trade than the whole *East India* company now drives, to the incomparably greater, mightier, and richer *Asia*, both in goods and money; for it cannot be denied, that the free eastern trade alone, the herring fishing alone, and the *French* trade alone, produce ten times more profit to the state and the commonalty of *Holland*, than twelve or sixteen ships which yearly sail from *Holland* to the *East Indies* do now yield to the state and the inhabitants." This passage is very remarkable, contains a variety of facts equally curious and important, deserves to be read with the greatest care, and to be weighed and examined with the utmost attention.

^c Gronden en maximen van republieck van Hollande, 2 deel. cap. i.

representation of their affairs as might serve to show how beneficial this commerce was to the public, what difficulties the company had to struggle with, and what a singular degree of patriotism was evident in the whole administration of her dominions and commerce. We learn the truth of this from a memorial presented to their High Mightinesses, in the name of the directors of the *East India* company, in 1664, upon the death of commodore *Steur*, who died in his voyage. They represent, in this short piece, the losses and the uncertainty with which their traffick was attended; the vast expences of their civil, ecclesiastical, and military government, which they computed at two millions a year; the frequent disappointments they met with from a variety of causes, such as bad seasons, by which they had suffered so much at *Amboyna*, that they did not send home that year so much as a single pound of cloves; the perfidiousness of some *Indian* nations, and the art and cunning of others; so that they protest, upon the whole, that, notwithstanding what they sent home produced eleven millions for less than three that they carried out, yet had they much trouble on their hands to bring all things round, and that the company might with more reason be said to be managed for the benefit of the republic, than for the emolument of private persons; so far the gain resulting to the nation exceeded the profits that accrued to the proprietors. All this was very properly calculated to smooth the way for the renewing of their charter; which was brought about the next year, but not without paying a round sum to the treasury of the union, as has been already observed (Q).

A succinct account of the country of Tonquin, previous to the relation of the company's trade.

ABOUT this time things began to take a wrong turn in the kingdom of *Tonquin*, where hitherto they had carried on a very lucrative commerce for above thirty years; and, as there was something very singular in the commencement of that trade, the reader will no doubt be pleased with some account of it. This country was in ancient times a province to, or at least a kingdom dependent upon, the empire of *Cbina*, from which it is divided on the north by a large ridge of mountains, as on the east it is bounded by the sea. There are few countries in *Asia* more plentiful, in respect to the necessities of life, than this; neither is it deficient in some very valuable commodities, more especially silk of an admirable quality, sweet-scented woods much esteemed in all the other countries of the east, and several kinds of drugs. The government, like that of *Cbina*, is monarchical, and the customs and dispositions of the people alike in many respects; in one, however, they differ extremely, the people of *Tonquin* being as much celebrated for their candour, integrity, and fair dealing, as the *Chinese* are derided for the want of those good qualities. The situation of the country, the power of its monarch, and the obstinate attachment of his subjects to their own manner of living, prevented the *Portuguese* from settling amongst them, even when their power was at its height in the east; and what might perhaps farther contribute to give them a distaste to this country, was, the aversion testified by its inhabitants upon all occasions to the Christian religion.

Rise, progress, and decay of this commerce.

SOME of the *Dutch* factory in *Japan* being informed that a small squadron went annually from thence to *Tonquin*, and that a considerable trade was also carried on thither from *Cbina*, one Mr. *Charles Hartfink* proposed to the *Dutch* chief to send a vessel from *Japan* to *Tonquin*, by which there was a probability of opening a new trade. His scheme was accepted; and he sent thither on board a vessel, freighted not only with all the commodities usually carried thither from *Japan*, but those of *Europe* besides, together with various curiosities that it was supposed might prove acceptable presents to the king of *Tonquin*; for there is no country in the *Indies* where any favour can be obtained, or the least degree of credit acquired, without the interposition of presents. By the help of them, and his own insinuating address, Mr. *Hartfink* was as well received as he could desire; and disposed of all his commodities at a high price, and in a very short time carried a valuable cargo to *Batavia*. General *Van Diemen*, who then presided over the *Dutch* affairs, commended him highly for his care and diligence, resolved to settle a factory at *Tonquin* without delay, of which, as he well deserved, Mr. *Charles Hartfink* had the

* This singular and extraordinary piece is printed in the first volume of Mr. THEVENOT's collection. *Geographie moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 654.

* Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 809.

(Q) These reports, which are and have been always constantly made, may be justly considered as the most authentic, as well as the most curious, pieces that are to be met with in respect to the history of the *Dutch East India* company, inasmuch as they comprehend a succinct and perspicuous detail not only of the general state of the company's affairs, but of each particular colony, from the time that the former account was stated and delivered. It falls out, however, unluckily, that a few, and but a very few, of such reports can be obtained; and even with respect to these, there is one thing that must be always

remembered, which is, that it is not barely intelligence, but intelligence under the direction of the company, that furnishes these representations; so that, when all is done, though these are the best materials that can be had towards framing a history of this nature, yet they are to be used with the greatest caution, and care must be taken to compare them with the histories and memoirs of those times, and, above all, with the public acts and memorials of other nations, in which there is any notice taken of the matters which they contain.

direction;

- a direction; but though this was a very considerable preferment in itself, yet it was scarce any thing in comparison of what he obtained in that country, where the king, to manifest his esteem for him, took him into his councils, bestowed on him the highest titles of honour; and at length, as if he had nothing more to give, by a solemn instrument in writing, adopted him for his son ^f. Under his management, and that of some succeeding chiefs, all things went on as prosperously as the company could desire; but at length jealousies and discontents arose, which, though pacified for a time, broke out afresh, and, by their consequences, lessened the trade to such a degree, that at length the company thought fit to withdraw their factory, tho' their ships sometimes visit the coasts of *Tonquin* occasionally, and, like other *Europeans*, are permitted to trade freely, but without receiving such encouragement as to excite any desire of
- b resettling in the same manner as formerly ^g (R).

The desire of embellishing *Batavia*, and augmenting the conveniencies the company have there, beyond those of any of the *European* settlements in *India*, though remarkable enough in all who have been honoured with the post of governor-general, yet was in none more conspicuous than in *John Maatzuyker*; who, as he enjoyed that office many years, so he left behind him various monuments of his attention to the public service. In his time were erected those vast magazines for spices, and other rich goods, that are at this day one of the great ornaments of that rich and beautiful city; and, in the construction of them, care was taken to provide a magnificent apartment for the receiver-general, who resides there with all the officers under his inspection; and who is obliged every morning, at half an hour after ten, to repair to the governor's closet, where he makes a report of the passages of the preceding day, and of ships entered and cleared, and of the sums received for the company's use ^h. Near his apartment there is another for the principal surgeon, his assistants and servants, together with all conveniencies for preparing medicines of every kind: these buildings were finished in the year 1670. About the same time also the great dock and yards in the island of *Onroost* were also completed, where every thing necessary to building, equipping, and preserving, the company's ships, is provided in such abundance, and furnished with such readiness, under the direction of an officer who is stiled equipage-master, that the company can build, repair, and refit, their vessels, without the least loss of time, and in the most complete manner imaginable ⁱ. It was likewise during his administration that the hall of mechanic arts was erected, one of the noblest, and at the same time one of the most useful, foundations that the wit or industry of man could contrive. In this the painters, engravers, sculptors, armourers, potters, carvers, &c. in the company's service, have their separate dwellings and workshops, where they execute the orders they receive with the utmost punctuality, under the inspection of the city architect, who has a grand apartment there, and a salary proportioned to his abilities and services ^k.

- In the second *Dutch* war, in the reign of king *Charles* the second, the *Dutch* were so fortunate as to make themselves masters of the island of *St. Helena*, a conquest of no great importance to them, considering its vicinity to the *Cape of Good Hope*; but of infinite detriment to the *English*, who therefore spared no pains to recover it, and were no less successful, as we have shewn in another place ^l: but their disputes with our nation, during that war, were nothing in comparison of the disturbance given them by the *French*, which struck at the very heart of their empire in the *Indies*. This was owing to one Mr. *Carron*, whom we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Dutch* trade in *Japan*. He had been many years in the *Dutch East India* company's service, was a man of quick parts and enterprising genius, and equally hasty and determined in his resentments. He was either slighted or suspected at *Batavia*; which made such an impression upon his spirit, as induced him, upon his

The great application of the government in the Indies to the beautifying *Batavia*.

Enterprise of the French on Ceylon, by the suggestion of a director, described.

^f Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. ^g Memoires sur le commerce des Indes, p. 201. ^h JANICON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 337. ⁱ NIEUHOFF, LEGUAT, LE BRUN, &c. ^k JANICON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 336, 337. ^l Lives of the admirals, vol. ii. p. 298.

(R) The trade between the *Tonquinese* and the *Dutch* was first interrupted in the year 1654, and their factories withdrawn, but settled again at the request of the king; and were continued, though not without some disputes between the two nations, for about forty years, when they were intirely withdrawn, and the trade carried on only by ships sent thither occasionally, as is mentioned in the text. Yet, while a good intelligence continued, this commerce must have been very profitable, since, in the capital city of *Catebro*, some very valuable commodities were purchased at very low rates. As for instance, excellent

musk, far superior to, that is, much less adulterated than, that of *China*, for three gilders an ounce; silk of several kinds, and very good, for two gilders a pound; and the most beautiful tortoise-shell in the *Indies*; of all which commodities there was such abundance, that any quantity might be had without danger of raising the price. The *Tonquinese* are also said to have been a very friendly, open, and honest people; so that it is more than probable the *Dutch* were in the fault as to those points on which they differed (77).

(77) Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 201. Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 212.

return to *Europe*, to make a tender of his services to the *French* court, where he was well received on account of his perfect acquaintance with the commerce of the *Indies*, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, was amongst the favourite designs of one of the greatest and ablest ministers that nation ever produced^a. While *Carron's* proposals, in relation to *Japan*, were under consideration, the war broke out, which gave a new turn to affairs, and enabled him, and another person in much the same circumstances, to offer a plan for attacking the *Dutch* in the *Indies*; which, as in itself very plausibly contrived, was highly relished by a minister at that time intent upon humbling, perhaps we should not go too far in saying upon destroying, the republic; towards which nothing could contribute more than attacking them at the same time both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this expedition in the course of this work; and shall therefore content ourselves at present with shewing how this dangerous design was, by the forces of the *East India* company, under the conduct of a very able and gallant commander, intirely defeated, notwithstanding that the great expectations raised by this expedition met at first with some kind of success^b.

Circumstances
serving to
heighten the
desire of the
French mi-
nistry to make
an impression
in the *Indies*.

THE plan proposed to the *French* court by Mr. *Carron* and Mr. *Martin*, who had been likewise in the *Dutch East India* company's service, and was well acquainted with their affairs, was, to make a descent upon the island of *Ceylon*, and to reduce the fortress of *Ponte de Gallo*, which they judged would prove an advantageous settlement, might be preserved against the whole power of the *East India* company, till supplies arrived from *France*; and, with what other conquests they could make, consigned to the *French* crown by such a treaty of peace, as, if the republic should sustain herself against that war, might be prescribed by a victorious monarch^c. While this mischief was meditating, the *Dutch East India* fleet arrived safe in *Holland*, after the breaking out of the war in 1672, with a cargo valued at upwards of sixteen millions of guilders; a circumstance, which, however happy both for the company and commonwealth^d, could not fail of raising the envy of her neighbours, and of stimulating the *French* ministry to neglect nothing that promised the diminution of a commerce so beneficial to a republic that gave umbrage to a prince too ambitious to endure the prosperity of a free government, bound by interest, as well as ready from inclination, to prescribe limits to his rapid conquests. The fleet employed in this expedition consisted of sixteen sail, well manned, and thoroughly provided with every thing necessary to put their design in execution. The *Sieur de la Haye*, who had the supreme command, had quitted a very beneficial civil employment on purpose to gratify his natural propensity to a military life, for which he had shewn himself fully qualified by a series of actions, that might be regarded as so many testimonies both of his conduct and his courage, though some have suggested that this was superior to his abilities, and that he failed for want of a capacity equal in all respects to the conquest committed to his care^e.

Disappoint-
ment of that
project, and
its causes very
differently re-
ported by
writers of
different na-
tions.

THIS squadron arrived in the proper season upon the coast of *Ceylon*, where, agreeable to their instructions, they made an attempt upon *Ponte de Gallo*, but without success; concerning which, however, there is some variety of opinions. The *French* writers pass this matter over in general terms; the *Dutch* say the fortress was in a good condition, and the governor made a gallant defence; so that the *French*, despairing of success, thought it wisest to withdraw^f. But a countryman of our own, who was remarkably well versed in the secret history of the *Indies*, has perhaps given us the true reason of his first disappointment. He says, that Mr. *Martin* flattered himself all along, that he should have the government of the place; but finding, in his passage, that this command was otherwise disposed of, he gave things such a turn, as made the taking, or even the attacking, that fortress, altogether impracticable^g. The *Sieur de la Haye* proceeded then to *Trinquemala Bay*, where he succeeded better, reducing the fortress, after a little cannonading, into which he put a good garrison, and landed for their use one hundred and two pieces of cannon. The joy conceived upon this conquest lasted not long; for the *Dutch* commodore, *Ryckloff van Goens*, coming with a fleet of equal strength upon the coast, the *French* were glad to retire, nor were they able to do that without loss^h. However, when they came upon the opposite coast of *Coromandel*, the *Sieur de la Haye* formed a project for surprising the town of *St. Thomas*, a place remarkably well fortified by the *Portuguese* in the time of their prosperity, and of which they had been dispossessed by the *Dutch* about twelve years before. The place was very large, in tolerable good condition, and with magazines well provided; notwithstanding which the *French* officer took his measures so well, as to carry his point with the loss of five men only. He left a strong garrison of six hundred men, with every thing necessary; and, knowing that he was not in a condition to perform any

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 137.
^b Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 210.

^c Journal du voyages des grandes Indes, Paris, 1698, 12^e.
^d BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 457.

^e BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 458.

^f WICQUEFORT histoire des Provinces Unies, lib. xviii. BASNAGE, LE CLERC.
^g HAMILTON's new account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 343.

^h BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 458.

a thing more, resolved to return into *Europe* *. In the mean time commodore *Goens* had retaken *Trinquemala*, made the garrison prisoners of war; and then, passing over to the *Coromandel* coast, made the *French* feel the weight of their own cannon; so that the *Sieur de la Hays*, who came into those parts as a conqueror, left them but by permission; and, in his return, one of his vessels being shipwrecked in the sight of the port of *Lisbon*, the famous Mr. *Carron*, through the malice of his pilot, was, with two captains, and some other officers, drowned; so that this squadron, of which such exalted hopes were conceived, answered them in the event but very indifferently * (S).

WHEN the *Dutch* had time to reflect upon what had happened, and to consider how dangerous a thing, in respect to the whole system of their commerce in the *Indies*, a *French* settlement at *Trinquemala* would have been, they came to have a true notion of the service done them by commodore *Van Goens*, whom the company soon after rewarded with the highest preferment they had to bestow *. Yet the possession of *St. Thomas*, though at a considerable distance from them, and by which they were very little incommoded, kept them still in some pain: they knew that the *French* were apt to be disgusted when projects were unlucky, and that at this time they had many irons in the fire; but they foresaw, that, if this place continued long in their hands, the ministry would become sensible of its importance, and perhaps incline to take such measures for its preservation as might render it difficult, if not impracticable, to wrest it out of their hands †.

THEY thought proper, therefore, in the year 1674, to stir up the jealousy of the king of *Golconda* against these new comers; and, having engaged him to besiege the place by land, they sent a considerable fleet to assist in the reduction of it by sea; in which, however, they were not very fortunate; for the *French* governor, having a good garrison, and, as we said before, being well provided with necessaries, made a much better and more vigorous defence than was expected; insomuch that the *Dutch* fleet found it requisite to retire to an adjacent port, where they landed a considerable body of men, who joined the king's army; which determined them to continue the siege, till at length, by dint as well of famine as force, they brought the garrison to surrender, though upon honourable terms; and thus, as the *Dutch* imagined, the *French* thorn was finally extracted, and they like to hear little more of them in *India* *. In this, however, they were, as sometimes happens to the very best politicians, not a little mistaken; for, from the miserable remains of this garrison, by the prudence and sagacity of the officer who commanded them, a new settlement arose at *Pondichery*; upon which, tho' the *Dutch* kept their eye, and, as we shall shew hereafter, reduced it once under their power, yet even this proved to their own prejudice; so that, from an expedition so long and to so great a degree unsuccessful, the *French* owe all that they enjoy at this day (which however is not a great deal) of the commerce of the *Indies* †.

* Voyages des Indes Orientales, par *CARRE*, tom. ii. p. 217.
p. 147. † See the list of governors-general of the *Indies*.
tom. ii. p. 554. * *JANSON* etat de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 312.
des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102.

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii.
† *BASHAGE* annales des Provinces Unies,
* Histoire

(S) Tho' the *Dutch* company suffered severely by this Mr. *Carron*, and also by some other deserters, yet, upon the whole, they have got much more than they ever lost by entertaining strangers in their service; but in this they are very cautious and circumspect, of late years more especially, and very rarely prefer foreigners, natives of the country, or even the children of *Dutch* parents born in the *Indies*, to offices of high rank or great trust; and indeed their tenderness in this point is not only grounded

in reason, but warranted from experience, so that it is not like to wear out in haste; but, notwithstanding this policy, protestants of all nations are received and encouraged; and, if they marry and settle, at the *Cape*, *Batavia*, or in any other of their plantations, soon find a way to make their fortunes; and, if their own ill conduct does not create it, are less the objects of envy than they would be amongst almost any other nation whatever (78).

(78) *Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, par l'abbé de Choisy*, p. 86.

S E C T. XII.

This conduct of the company intitles them to great favour at home. The nature and success of their policy in the isle of Java. Resolve to drive the French out of the Indies; in consequence of which they attack, and render themselves masters of Pondichery. The famous secular medal struck in honour of the company, after its subsisting with honour, and accumulating such dominions, forces, and wealth, in the space of a century.

The company, in consideration of many services, obtain certain indulgences at home.

Methods by which they secure to themselves the commerce of the Indies.

Disposed to render themselves independent and secure in the island of Java.

THE share the company took in this war, the great expences they were at upon these and other occasions, the heavy losses they sustained by their ships taken at *St. Helen's*, and elsewhere, by the *English*, the advanced price of whatever supplies were sent them, and it may be some contributions, which, in regard to the distressed condition of the commonwealth, they furnished at home, gave them an opportunity of asking and obtaining a very favourable composition in respect to the duties upon their importations, in which they were to have a stated abatement; and in regard to their exportations, for which they were to pay an annual subsidy of sixteen thousand florins, in full satisfaction; which contract freed them as well from frequent disputes, as from many other inconveniences ^a.

AFTER the peace of *Nimeguen*, when they were free from any apprehension of seeing hostile squadrons in the *Indies*, they renewed their negotiations with several of the little princes, in order to secure the monopoly of the trade in their dominions. This in most places they might have commanded, as the *Portuguese* actually did on account of their superior force; but they rather made choice of this method than that, for the following reason: They were apprehensive that, in case they had restrained the commerce of other nations, in the ports of these princes, by open force, their behaviour in the *Indies* might have been questioned in *Europe*, and the States General obliged to interpose in a case that might have been construed a violation of treaties; whereas by making alliances with these petty princes, in which they stipulated to vend their staple commodities to the company only, they made this denial of trade to other nations to be the act of those princes, for which therefore neither the company nor the States General were answerable by the law of nations ^c. It may be proper, upon this occasion, to observe, that we do not take so remarkable a fact upon trust from the writings of any private person; but speak from the authority of such alliances, and of a representation grounded upon them from the company to the States; so that this maxim of their policy, which we shall again have occasion to mention, is as well supported as can be desired (T).

THEY were no less assiduous in contriving to free themselves from those dangers to which they were continually exposed in their capital settlement upon the island of *Java*; and from which though they had hitherto defended themselves in some measure by force, but much more by their constant vigilance, and numerous precautions, yet were they never without apprehensions, and those too not arising from slight suspicions, but from causes that were but too well founded, and which therefore, for the sake of domestic peace and settled security, they held themselves obliged to try every method to remove.

^b GROOT placat boek, 4 deel. fo. 1327. vii. part i. p. 61. Ibid. p. 76.

^c Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. vi. part ii. p. 454. tom.

(T) We have already given the reader an article from a treaty concluded between the company and the king of *Macassar*, by which the *English* were for ever excluded out of his dominions by the mere will and pleasure of the *Dutch*; we will now give another from the representation of the company to the States in 1664, in which having related the success of their arms in reducing the little *Indian* prince of *Porca* upon the coast of *Malabar*, that representation proceeds thus (79): "Tho' the *English* have been exhorted, as well by the king of *Cochin* as by the Raga, to retire from *Porca*, they have not yet thought fit to do so; but still continue there, and this without our pressing them at all to retire, though we have good right, and also the power of doing it, since it might be effected by only

" hinting our desire to the king of *Cochin*; nay, not content with this, they have come a second time into the road of *Porca* with their ship the *Noupa il*, notwithstanding there was nothing there to be sold, and that we ourselves had not purchased so much as a grain of pepper; so that they were forced to depart empty, which, according to their custom, they would place to our account, and have drawn a florid protest to that purpose, tho' we did nothing to them, nor give them the least hindrance, which will appear by attestations confirmed upon oath; neither then, nor when the ship the *Leopard* came before *Cochin*, with a design to proceed from thence to *Porca*, tho' there was not a single pound of pepper there in the magazines: upon which they have made a second protestation."

(79) *Report que les directeurs de la compagnie des Indes Orientales fait à le H. P. O. 22. 1664.*

- a** THESE powers were the king of *Materan*, or, as he stiled himself, the emperor of *Java*, *A view of the political mo-
tours, and
many obstacles
in the way of
these projects.* and the king of *Bantam*, now an independent prince, though his predecessors were only governors of that city and province for the emperor. The *Dutch* had done their business by playing these monarchs against each other, which though they had hitherto managed with much dexterity, and with incredible success, yet they doubted, and with reason, whether this could be done for ever, and therefore they thought it much more expedient for them to bring both under their power, not in the way of an absolute conquest, for that was impossible, but by having the persons of these monarchs in their hands, and thereby as absolute a direction of their affairs as of any of the little princes before-mentioned; a scheme strange and difficult, more especially as both princes were jealous and diffident of them to the highest degree, and yet a scheme which, in the space of a few years, they actually accomplished; and though it be true that they have not ever since been able to keep the emperors of *Java* in a constant and strict submission, and though it is no less true that they are at all times under a necessity of treating both monarchs with all the exterior marks of deference and respect imaginable, yet for all that it is very certain they have no longer those apprehensions from the emperor's power they formerly had; and that, as for the king of *Bantam*, he is almost as much at their devotion as the company's king of the *Hottentots* at the *Cape of Good Hope* ⁴. The shewing how this scheme was brought about is a very necessary and useful part of our business, and will serve to give the reader a true idea of the deep reach, and refined policy, of the *Dutch* statesmen in the *Indies*. But, previous to this, it will be necessary to shew what kind of a monarch this emperor of *Java* is, in what manner he keeps his court, and something of the temper and disposition of his subjects, without which our succinct relation would be, in a great measure at least, unintelligible.

- b** THIS prince, in point of religion, is a *Mohammedan*; and, according to the practice of most eastern monarchs, constantly served by women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are obliged to go every year in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, to make vows there for the safety and prosperity of the king and royal family. His subjects are extremely faithful, and to the last degree devoted to his service. The principal persons in his court are obliged, at every audience, to approach him creeping on their knees; only in time of war this slavish custom is dispensed with. Such as commit the slightest fault are poniarded on the spot with a little dagger called a *Krid*; and as this is the only punishment in use, so the slightest as well as the greatest faults are among these people capital. The natives of this country are, for the most part, of a brown complexion, tolerably well shaped, and have long black hair, which however they often cut. Their noses flat and broad, and their teeth excessively bad, which is supposed to be owing to their *Betel* and *Fausel*, which they chew continually ⁵. The *Fausel* is a kind of nut something smaller than the nutmeg, without taste, and yielding, when chewed, a red juice. It is this juice that the *Indians* make use of in painting the chintses which we admire so much in *Europe*. The tree from whence they gather this nut is very strait, and resembles in its leaves the cocoa-tree. The *Betel* is a plant which produces long rank leaves, in their shape resembling those of a citron; in taste they are of an agreeable bitter. The fruit grows in the shape of a lizard's tail, about two fingers breadth, very long, of an aromatic flavour, and in its smell extremely grateful. The *Indians* carry with them continually the leaves of *Betel* at all visits; they are presented in ceremony, and they are almost perpetually chewing them. As the taste is very bitter, they for the most part qualify them with *Araca Fausel*, or the powder of calcined oyster-shells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable flavour. After they have chewed the juice out of them, they spit forth the dry mass. There are some who mix their *Betel* leaves with lime, amber, and cardamom seeds; others with *China* tobacco. Abundance of *Europeans* are got into the way of chewing it to such a degree that they cannot leave it off, though it has been very fatal to some of them, since the *Indians* are so very skilful in preparing *Betel*, that it shall do a man's business as effectually as a pistol or dagger. But this and other ill customs came in by degrees, and were not at all in use among those, who, by their wisdom and courage, triumphed over the natives ⁶.

c THE emperor of *Java*, though he leads an inactive life, in a great measure surrounded by women, and diverted daily by their pantomime entertainments, in which, if we may believe the *Dutch*, they excel both antients and moderns, and explain their passions by their gestures as easily and as effectually as others by their speech; is nevertheless a very powerful monarch; that is to say, he holds all the east and south countries of the island of *Java* under his dominion, which is a vast extent of territory, and exceedingly well peopled; but a dispute arising in reference to the succession, divided the princes into factions, and armed all the people of *Java* against each other. The *Dutch* took this advantage; raised one brother to the imperial throne, *But, in the midst of his lewd and luxurious life, is a very powerful and formidable monarch.*

⁴ Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé de Choisy, p. 181.
vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 36, 37.

⁵ Histoire de l'expédition de trois
Relacion de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

or at least kept him upon it by their assistance, and drove two other princes into the mountains ; a it is very probable they might have ended the war, but that was not their interest. They persuaded the reigning monarch in 1677 to remove from his own seat at *Materan* to *Kattasura*, which was a point of great consequence to them. There, for his farther security, they got leave to erect a fort, in which they kept a strong garrison, and have likewise a court of guard in his very palace, placed there out of pure tenderneis and respect for his person, and that he may never be at a loss for his faithful defenders either against open enemies, or secret traitors ; and under this pretence they keep a constant watch over his actions, while he possesses in his own imagination a power as arbitrary and unrestrained as ever ; with the additional advantage of having *Europeans* at his command, in case that, by any of those violent acts of power which are ever frequent enough in such courts, he should provoke any of his princes, whom in their language they stile *Pangarangs*, to conspire against him ^b. The whole of this new regulation was brought to bear about the year 1680 ; and, as far as any authentic relations that we have met with reach, still subsists ; though the company have sometimes differences with him, and are constantly obliged to cajole him by splendid embassies, and costly presents ; but, in return, as will be seen hereafter, they are in possession of the trade of his whole dominions ; and all his subjects, or, to speak with greater propriety, his slaves, are employed in working to supply the luxury of the emperor's court, and the *Dutch* magazines with a variety of valuable commodities and manufactures, which they in part consume, and partly export into other countries. Thus the first part of their grand scheme was completely executed ^h (U).

State of the king of Bantam's dominions, and an account of the nations trading thither.

It was not long before an opportunity offered for carrying the other part of their plan into execution likewise, by bringing the king of *Bantam* as much or more under their power than the emperor of *Java*. The city of *Bantam* was a place of very great consequence before the *Europeans* found a passage into the *Indies* ; for the *Arabs*, the *Turks*, the *Moors*, the *Chinese*, and almost all the nations in the east, resorted to that port ; and even after the *Portuguese* became very powerful, they were contented to trade there without making any settlement. The *English* were the first who had any factory there ; after them the *Dutch* and the *Danes* carried on a great trade. The king of *Bantam*'s territories were not very large ; but their happy situation made them very considerable, as the capital is seated upon and commands the *Streights of Sunda*, the opposite coast of the island of *Sumatra* being subject to the king of *Bantam* ; this, and its nearness to *Batavia*, from which it is not distant full sixty miles, will d easily convey to the reader's apprehension a true notion of the importance of this place to the *Dutch*, who were not more jealous of the natural power of that king, if he had known how to manage it, than they were uneasy at the sight of vessels of all countries trafficking in his port, where daily experience convinced them that themselves were the least beloved by his subjects of any ⁱ. It was no wonder, therefore, that they were extremely attentive to every thing that passed in this country, or eagerly desirous of interposing upon any occasion that promised an alteration in their favour, or could lead to such a change of affairs as might correspond with their interests, and put him as much in their power as they could wish ; more especially after some checks they had received from the reigning king of *Bantam*, who was much in the interest of the *English*, and had actually sent a solemn embassy to the court of king *Charles* the second ; e which was considered as one great reason why they looked upon him as a prince by no means fit for their purpose, and to the perplexing of whose affairs they were ready to contribute by

^z Histoire de l'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 192. 193. Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN. ^h Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 217. ⁱ NIEUHOFF, TAVERNIER, FRIER, Abbé CHOISY.

(U) This is one of those great events, the real importance of which is not to be apprehended by a bare perusal, but requires to be long and attentively considered. The emperor, or, as he is called in the language of the country, *Sunjunan* of *Java*, is an hereditary monarch, whose dominions are very extensive, and who exercises a despotic power through their whole extent (80). The general and the council of the *Indies* were but representatives of the *Dutch East India* company, administering their affairs in subordination to the directors, and all subjects of the States General of the *United Provinces*. They were strangers, occupying but a small part of one of the greatest islands in the world, charged with a multitude of other affairs, and under a necessity of attending to them, as well as to the war in *Java*. He was at home, had thousands, and even some hundreds of

thousands, at his devotion, without any other point of view than that of maintaining his authority. The design of the general and council was rendered extremely difficult by its being of a complicated nature, requiring an equal degree of art and of force to maintain as well as to execute it. His, on the other hand, was as simple and plain as a thing could be, to support his own interest and authority, and to prevent laws being given by those who were the servants of servants, subject to a republic that had not the tenth part of his people (81). Yet the general and council at *Batavia* carried their point ; and, which is still more extraordinary, have maintained it from that time to this. There is nothing in ancient history that can with any shadow of reason be called a parallel to this transaction, considered in its full extent, and all its circumstances duly examined.

(80) Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé de Choisy, p. 182. Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 361. Mémoires du commerce des Hollandois, p. 211, 212. (81) L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 35, 36. Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN.

a countenancing those intrigues, to which these eastern courts, wild and barbarous as they appear, are to the full as much exposed as those of the politeſt nations ^k (X).

THE old king of *Bantam*, whom ſome *Dutch* writers call Sultan *Agan*, and others Sultan *Nangbi*, worn out with age and infirmities, and being willing to ſee his favourite ſon placed upon the throne in his life-time, reſigned the government to Sultan *Agni*, or, as other writers ſtile him, Sultan *Haafi*, who had not held it long before he rendered himſelf univerſally odious, and that ſo deſervedly, as that the old king his father, in pity to his people, as well as for the preſervation of himſelf and his two ſons, the *Pangerangs Parbaya* and *Sakbi*, took up arms; and, with a body of thirty thouſand men, beſieged Sultan *Haafi*, in the fortrefs of *Bantam* ¹. The young king, deſerted and abandoned by every body, except the instruments of his cruelty, and the companions of his debauches, diſpatched immediately ſome of his favourites to *Batavia*, to deſire the interpoſition of the *Dutch* in his favour. This was pre- ciſely what they wanted and deſired; and therefore, without any ſcrupulous inquiries into the merits of the cauſe, they ſent an army of three thouſand regular troops, under the command of the *Sieur Martin*, to his relief ^m. He made a deſcent upon the coaſt of *Bantam* with his forces; and, in a general engagement, defeated the old king's army, after a long and obſtinate diſpute. The loſs of the battle was not the greateſt miſfortune which he ſuffered; for, ſoon after, he was taken priſoner, kept under a ſtrict guard, and very indifferently treated by his ſon. As for the two young princes, having made their eſcape from the field of battle, and retired with their wives and children into the mountains in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, the *Dutch* ſent detachments in purſuit of them, who followed them ſo cloſe, that, having loſt all his effects, the eldeſt of them, *Parbaya*, came and ſurrendered himſelf to the company, who aſſigned him a penſion, and a place to live in near *Batavia*. And thus the war ended in the eſta bliſhment of the young prince upon the throne ⁿ.

HE had not, however, all things conſidered, any great reaſon to rejoice in this victory; for the *Dutch*, in conſequence of it, made themſelves maſters of the fortrefs of *Bantam*, and of his perſon; the *European* factories were plundered, particularly that of the *Engliſh*, in which they found gold, jewels, and rich goods, to an immense value; and every thing was diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as ſuited beſt with the views of the king's good allies, who had fixed him upon the throne ^o. In order to manage Sultan *Haafi* the better, he was provided with a *Dutch* favourite, one *Henry van Steenwyk*, who, after he was promoted to the dignity of a prince, aſſumed the title of *Pangerang Wieragouna*, and made it his buſineſs to keep his maſter ſteady to the intereſts of his countrymen; ſo that, though every thing was tranſacted in the king's name, yet nothing was done without the advice of the *Dutch* favourite. Theſe troubles began about the year 1680, and the *Engliſh* and *Danes* were conſtrained to quit *Bantam* in 1683; which produced loud complaints in *Europe*, and a warm paper war between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch Eaſt India* companies ^p; and, in ſhort, every thing, except the reſtitution of the *Engliſh* to their factory, and the right of trading in the capital and dominions of the king of *Bantam*, from which, with all other *European* nations, they have been precluded ever ſince; ſo that the whole produce of this country in pepper, which amounts to about ten thouſand tons a year, is intirely in the hands of the king's allies, who purchaſe it at what rates they pleaſe ^q.

BUT we muſt not ſuppoſe, that the people ſubmitted with as much alacrity as their prince; for things happened quite contrary, they ſtudied continually, and, notwithstanding many diſ- appointments, made repeated efforts to reſtore the old king, and to drive out the *Dutch*;

^k Captain HAMILTON's account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 127. and moſt of the authors before-mentioned.

¹ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 214. Voyages de Siam des peres Jeſuits, p. 123.

^m Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé DE CHOISY, p. 161, 162. ⁿ Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF aux Indes Orientales, p. 215, 216. ^o Voyages de Siam des peres Jeſuits, p. 127. ^p Impartial vindication of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, 1688. 8vo. Juſtification of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, printed at the end of it. ^q HAMILTON's account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.

(X) It is no difficult matter to conceive how the courts of all theſe princes are kept in a manner in a continual ſtate of confuſion, more eſpecially when this comes to be the intereſt of powerful, ambitious, and intriguing neighbours. We ſee viſibly that the paſſions and humours of mankind are in general much the ſame throughout the world, ſo that they only receive different colours from cuſtom and education. In the courts of *Indian* princes, power and pleaſure intirely occupy the minds of perſons of all ages, ranks, and ſexes; their having many wives, and children by ſeveral of them, is a grand ſource of intrigues; the ambition of their *Pangerangs*, or governors of towns and provinces, is another no leſs dangerous; to

which if we add the reſentment that is frequently inſpired by thoſe acts of wanton cruelty which abſolute princes are naturally apt to commit, we may eaſily diſcern that almoſt at any time malecontents enough are to be found in ſuch a government, who, when ſure of being ſupported, will contribute all in their power to trouble and overturn it (82). We have in the text ſufficiently explained the end aimed at by the *Dutch* in bringing about this revolution; all that we intend in this note is, to ſhew what were the means, and how much they have theſe always in their power, in caſe the reigning monarch ſhould at any time provoke thoſe who adminiſter the affairs of the company to employ it.

(82) Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 217. Tavernier, Le Brun.

hence became
disaffected to
their sovereign.

which, instead of contributing to shake of the yoke, made the weight of it the more uneasy. ^a
The *Pangerang Wieragouna* persuaded the king, that the safety of his person depended intirely upon the having a considerable body of the *Dutch* troops at *Bantam*; and as he could not but be sensible of the risk they ran, in remaining there without some place of strength for their retreat, he prevailed to have a residence assigned them, within a pistol-shot of the fortrefs; which was at first composed of canes, in the form of a lozenge, surrounded by a strong palisado, which continued till the year 1686. About that time a great insurrection happened at *Bantam*, in which the people endeavoured to make themselves masters of the *Dutch* posts; but Sultan *Haafi* had early intelligence of it, sallied out with his guards, and provided for the safety of his allies, at the expence of his subjects. This attempt, though it miscarried, made such an impression upon the king's mind, that he sent his father, and one of the oldest and most considerable of their nobility, to *Batavia*, ^b that they might be the more safely kept; and expressed his desire, that the *Dutch* would provide better for their own safety; and they, without many intreaties, erected a square stone fort, called *Steelwyk*, within pistol-shot of the fortrefs of *Bantam*; which, having always a strong garrison, and being well supplied with cannon, commands at once both the port and the town, keeps strangers out of the former, and prevents any insurrection in the latter; to the mutual satisfaction of the luxurious and insatuated monarch, as well as of the *Dutch* company (Y).

The methods by
which this
monarchy is
rendered
wholly depend-
ent on the ad-
ministration at
Batavia.

By these steps, this other great power in the island of *Java* was brought into their tutelage, though not under their subjection; for they abridged the king in none of his prerogatives, and left him in the full possession of his revenues; were caressing him continually with ambassies, ^c and loading him with presents; giving him, according to the custom of the east, the most lofty titles; and professing, upon all occasions, their inviolable friendship, and profound respect, for his majesty; to prevent his ever suspecting, that he was, at the bottom, no better than their vassal. In this state of seeming authority, and real dependence; but in the full possession of a numerous seraglio; a treasury full of precious stones, which he much admired; diverted with costly spectacles, and surrounded with clouds of rich perfume; he wasted his days to an extreme old age, and then died, little considered by his allies, and less by his subjects, who hated him for depriving them of their commerce, though they were never any great gainers by it; but they were better pleased to have variety of purchasers for their pepper, than a single nation, whom, of all others, they least affected. It does not, however, appear, ^d that he ever disliked that change which had been introduced in his reign; but, on the contrary, persisted in the firm persuasion, that he owed the possession of his dominions, and the tranquillity of his government, to the succours furnished him from *Batavia*; and therefore recommended to his son and successor the maintaining a close correspondence with the company, as a great secret of state, and the most effectual means of preserving his absolute authority.

Some circum-
stances relat-
ing to the son
and successor
of this Banta-
nese monarch.

THIS son of his was alive in 1722, and seems to have inherited his father's qualities, as well as his dominions. Before his accession to the throne, he had diverted himself by committing acts of piracy at sea, and lived afterwards in a manner not only unworthy of his rank, but scandalous to him as a rational creature. He had in his seraglio five hundred wives and concubines, and yet was guilty of the blackest incest. Those who were then intrusted with ^e the administration of affairs for the *Dutch East India* company, took the liberty of directing their ambassadors to admonish him gently as to his course of life, from the great odium it raised. He defended himself by a kind of plausible sophistry, with which vicious men delude themselves, and then hope to delude others; but, in the end, told them plainly, that he was born to give, and not to receive laws; that he lived in such a manner as he liked best; and that if his friends had any objections to the women about him, they should send him some

^a Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF, p. 239.
p. 160, 161.

^b Impartial justification of the English East India company.
trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 195.

^c Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé DE CHOISY,
^d L'expédition de

(Y) The author, upon whose credit we report these facts, is *Claus van Graaf*, or, as his *French* translator styles him, *Nicholas de Graef*. He was by profession a surgeon, and made five voyages to the *Indies*, between the years 1639 and 1687, and of these he has published an account, written with all the plainness and punctuality that might be expected from a man of his profession, not totally a stranger to letters, but unacquainted with the arts of writing, and therefore the less likely to impose upon his readers. We learn from him, that the king of *Bantam's* *Dutch* favourite was a mason by trade, a very shrewd sensible fellow, and one who first rendered himself acceptable to that prince, by building him a new stone

palace, where he might live more at his ease, and with less apprehension of being rendered the victim of some sudden conspiracy. This palace, as our author tells us, was at the same time a kind of fortrefs, of its builder's invention, being a long square, with bastions at each angle, and a half moon in the middle of each of the long curtains, the rampart being well supplied with brass cannon, which, for that purpose, were purchased from the *English* and *Danes*. We are likewise told by him that this *Dutchman*, to obtain the honour of being made a prince, actually turned *Mohammedan*, was circumcised, and, the better to make his court to the king, made an effectual display of his zeal for the king's religion (83).

(83) Voyages aux Indes Orientales, et en d'autres lieux de l'Asie, p. 211.

- a from their own country *. The author, upon whose credit we take this, was an eye-witness of what he wrote, and had several conversations with his majesty of *Bantam*, whom he represents as agreeable in his person, affable in his behaviour, pleasant in his discourse; but, withal, very artful, and execrably wicked. In his father's time the *Dutch* durst not stir singly without their fortifications; but in his reign, small detachments were not secure; so that, upon the cutting off a lieutenant with twenty men, the regency at *Batavia* were obliged to reinforce their garrison considerably *. This monarch died as he lived, suddenly, and without shewing the least remorse for the many abominable actions of which he had been guilty *. Thus we have shewn how the *Dutch*, who, though in comparison of the *Europeans* in other settlements, are wonderfully strong, and yet but weak in comparison of the natives, preserve their territories in the island of *Java*, make its natural sovereigns believe themselves indebted to the company for protection, and make use of absolute power in those monarchs, to bend their people to such a subjection, as not only they want force, but the whole strength of the republic, whose sovereignty they own, would never be able to compel, to what, from the artful management of their influence, they procured (Z).
- b

- UPON the breaking out of the next general war in *Europe*, the *Dutch* found their affairs in the *Indies* in so prosperous a condition, and were so well apprised of the employment given to the *French* fleet, that they were under no apprehensions of meeting with any other disturbance, than that of cruising for their outward and homeward-bound ships, against which they knew the States General would make the best provision in their power; and therefore, the general and council at *Batavia* applied their thoughts intirely to the making use of so favourable an opportunity for absolutely expelling the *French* out of the *Indies* *. This could not proceed from any great detriment they received from their commerce, which was so inconsiderable, that it neither brought them much profit, nor could raise any degree of envy in the nations already established in the *Indies*. But the swelling title of the royal *East India* company of *France*, the dexterity with which Mr. *Francis Martin* had established himself at *Pondicherry*, where he had raised a tolerable fortress, and a small town under its protection; his insinuating manner of treating with the *Indian* princes, whose countenance and favour he had obtained in a high degree; and the convenient situation of the place, which, except the *English* settlement at *Madras*, was preferable to any upon the coast of *Coromandel*; was what made them uneasy *. They foresaw, that, some time or other, this would turn to account, and that the *French* would be convinced, that a trade to the *Indies* was practicable, from seeing this settlement subsist and improve, with very little encouragement, and scarce any supplies from *Europe*. They determined therefore to nip it in the bud, and to rid themselves of all their fears, by dispossessing their enemies, while in so weak a condition as not to be able to make any great resistance. Their first project of exciting an *Indian* war, and making others act as the instruments of their resentment, did not take effect, by which much time, and perhaps some money, was lost; so that at length they determined to do their business themselves, and to do it effectually b.
- c
- d

- MR. *Laurence Pitt* was at that time their director on the coast of *Coromandel*, to whom the management of this expedition was committed; and accordingly he came before the place in the latter end of *August* 1693, with a force sufficient to have reduced any fortress in the *Indies*. His squadron consisted of nineteen sail, exclusive of transports and small vessels, from which he landed fifteen hundred men, all regular troops, commanded by experienced officers, and two thousand more, composed of seamen formed into companies, and *Indian* troops in *Dutch* pay, such as *Bougies*, *Macassars*, and *Cbingueleys*, fifteen or sixteen brass cannon for battery, six mortars, and a train of twenty-four field pieces; besides, they had also one of the princes of the country, with his troops, in their pay, from whom they purchased a right to the place for fifty thousand pagoda's c. When the forces were once landed, they lost no time, but pushed the siege with such vigour, that, on the sixth of *September*, the *French* governor was obliged to beat the chamade; and on the eighth the capitulation was signed, consisting of thirteen articles; by which it was stipulated, That the place should be given up to the *Dutch East India* company; the garrison to march out with all marks of honour; the *Indian* soldiers allowed
- e
- f

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 209. L'Expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 196, 197. x HAMILTON'S account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127. y L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 197.
 z Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 231. a Captain HAMILTON'S account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 356. b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 231. c Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 75. Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 234.

(Z) This gentleman, who published an account of commodore *Roggeveen's* voyage through the *South-Sea* to the *East Indies*, was a native of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* in *Germany*, one who embarked in several expeditions, and in that particularly, merely from the love of travelling, and seeing strange countries. His accounts

are short, but very clear, written with singular vivacity, and with an air of sincerity, that has recommended his performance very much to the best judges. We may with reason therefore look upon the transactions above-mentioned as facts that can never be controverted.

to retire where they please; and the *French* to be sent home, either at the close of that year, or at the beginning of the next ^a.

Become masters of the place; fortify it, at a vast expence; and are obliged to give it up at the peace. THE *Dutch* being thus become masters of *Pondicherry*, not only repaired and fortified this settlement, but, in the space of six years that it remained in their hands, augmented the fortification very considerably, and made it one of the fairest and strongest places upon the coast; supposing that they should have had the same good fortune with respect to that, as had attended the like conduct in regard to their conquests from the *Portuguese*; but in this they were much mistaken. When the peace of *Ryswick* was signed, *September* 20th, 1697, there was a general clause for the restitution of all places taken on both sides, from the beginning of the war, either in or out of *Europe*; and, at the close of that general clause, the fortrefs of *Pondicherry* was particularly mentioned; with a provision, that it should not be demolished, but be delivered up in its present condition; and Mr. *Martin*, who was again made governor by a particular treaty with the *Dutch* director, consented to pay sixteen thousand pagoda's, in consideration of what had been expended: so that the *French* were really great gainers by this short interruption of their possession ^b (A).

A curious singular medal struck, upon the company's entering on a new century.

WHILE this war continued, the company thought fit to treat with the States General for the new term, as that of which they were possessed was to determine on the last day of the year 1700; and it is said, that this renewal of their charter, which was completed on the 11th of *August* 1698, and by which all their rights and privileges were extended to the close of the year 1740, cost them several millions; which, however, were very well bestowed, considering the great length of time which they obtained, and that, in the space of thirty years before, they had divided to their proprietors upwards of six hundred and forty *per cent.* on their original capital; which gave the government in *Holland* just reason to expect, that the state should receive a large fine, upon renewing so beneficial a grant; and the rather, because that their finances were pretty much exhausted, by a long, expensive, and not over-prosperous, war; during which, the company had made great profits; and it was very remarkable, that, notwithstanding so large a disbursement in ready money, they were able next year to make two dividends to their proprietors; one in the month of *June*, of twenty *per cent.* and another in *December*, of fifteen *per cent.* and this though they had likewise made two dividends the year before ^c (B).

We

^a Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 75.
Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 245, 246.

^b Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 382.
^c JANSON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 316, 317. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

(A) This treaty of peace was signed by plenipotentiaries on the part of his most Christian majesty, and the States General of the United Provinces, *September* the 20th, 1697; and the eighth article runs in the following words (84): "All the countries, cities, places, domains, forts, isles, and seignories, as well within as without the bounds of *Europe*, which may have been seized and occupied since the commencement of the present war, shall be restored on each side, in the same state they were in, with respect to their fortifications, at the time of their being taken, and with regard to other edifices, in the condition they now are, without being at liberty to demolish or hurt any thing whatever, as also without any pretensions to satisfaction for what might be formerly demolished; and particularly, the fort and habitation of *Pondicherry*, shall be restored, agreeable to the before-mentioned conditions, unto the *East India* company established in *France*; and as to the artillery which may have been brought thither by the *Dutch East India* company, it shall remain to her, as well as the magazines of military stores and provisions, slaves, and all other effects, to be disposed of at pleasure, together with the domains, rights, and privileges, which she has acquired from the prince, or from the inhabitants, of the country." Thus the reader sees how much care was taken to procure the restitution of a single fortrefs to a low and still declining company, and will, in a succeeding chapter, see of how great consequence this restitution proved.

(B) In order to avoid breaking the thread of our history, it was necessary to refer an event too remarkable

to be omitted, though in some measure personal, to the bottom of the page (85). Amongst the superior officers in the company's service, there was one Mr. *Hans van Hertog*, who rose, by his faithful discharge of his duty in several inferior stations, to the post of governor of *Japara*, upon the east coast of the island of *Java*, a place of great consequence in point of situation, but the trade of which had been hitherto so managed, as not to produce any considerable profit. Yet, while this gentleman was in the office, the trade answered so abundantly, that several millions came into the coffers of the society. The directors, to whom all accounts are annually transmitted, were so thoroughly apprised of the difference between his, and those they had formerly received from the same place, that they wrote to the council in the *Indies*, extolling his fidelity, and desiring, that very particular regard should be shewn to his merit. But, it seems, it was a merit, of which, in the *Indies*, they had no conception; and therefore, notwithstanding this recommendation, they laid him aside, and took every opportunity to cross and perplex him. This usage Mr. *Hertog* bore for some years, with a degree of patience equal to that of his probity; but, tired out at length, he desired leave to return to *Europe*. This proposition was so agreeable to those in the administration, that they not only granted it, but gave him the command of the last fleet that returned in 1689, which consisted of five sail richly laden. At the *Cape of Good Hope*, the war being just broke out, he seized two *French* ships, that were worth half his fleet, and took care that no part of his rich prizes should be embezzled. He did not, however, live to revisit his na-

(84) Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 382. Histoire des Indes Orientales, par l'abbé Guyon, tom. iii. p. 344. Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 75.
(85) Resol. der Staat Gener. 23 Maart 1790, fol. 215. Holland h. n. kur. 1089. p. 279. Histoire metallogique des Pais Bas, par Gerard van Loon, tom. iv. p. 426.

- a We may from hence discern at least in part, the motives which induced that prudent, as well as potent society, though it did not appear till four years after, to cause a most noble medal to be struck upon this occasion; on one side of which, the company was represented under the figure of a beautiful woman, in the flower of her age, seated at her ease, having on her head a naval crown, holding in her right hand a drawn sword, with a wreath of laurel on the point, which is the arms of *Batavia*, her right foot resting on a tortoise, her left arm is reclined upon a table, and in the hand hanging down the charter appears half open, with the seal of the generality. At her feet lie several horns of abundance, signifying the many advantages arising from the wise conduct of her commerce, to which the bird of *Pallas* standing by alludes. On the upper part of a pedestal, against which she leans, appear the arms of the States General; and on the base, there is a large C; intimating, that the company had now subsisted one hundred years; more clearly explained in the device, IN ALTERA SEcula PERGO; that is, "Through ages yet to come I urge my way." In the exergue, is marked the year MDCCII. On the reverse, appears a ship, or rather galley, under sail, beyond the columns of *Hercules*, which she seems to have left behind, her passage facilitated by six rowers, having before them the arms of the six chambers, of which the company of the *Indies* is composed. At a distance appears a setting sun, the course of which the vessel follows, to meet him rising in the east. *Neptune* appears as pilot at the helm, to signify the company's dominion over the sea. And in the exergue are these words: INVIA NULLA VIA FAVENTE DEO; that is, "No way impassable, if God assist" (C).
- b

c Histoire metallique des Pays Bas par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. iv. p. 359.

tive country, himself and his wife expiring on board the fleet, when in sight of the coast of *Holland*. The directors, however, very wisely and honourably determined to give a singular mark of their esteem, for such uncommon fidelity, and therefore ordered a gold medal, weighing a pound, to be struck, with the figure of the ship in which he came home on one side, and with a suitable inscription on the other, to be presented, after a public and pompous funeral, to his father, who was an eminent merchant of *Rotterdam*.

what is said of this medal in the text, but it may not be amiss to add a circumstance or two more, in relation to this secular medallion, which are worthy of being preserved. The directors of the company appointed a committee, consisting of one member from each of their chambers, to inspect this business. Some of the medals were of gold, and of the value of two hundred and fifty florins, the rest of silver. There were enough struck for every director, advocate, and principal proprietor, to have one of each metal he pleased, but at his own expence; after which, the die was broke (86).

(C) We have cited the proper authorities, to support

(86) *Resol. van de Heeren Comm. op de Haag sche befeignes*, 23 Maart 1702. *Ibid.* 12 en 17 Juny 1702.

S E C T. XIII.

The causes and consequences of the company's long war in Java, which, however, did not hinder their making great improvements in their several settlements in that island. The grand conspiracy of the natives, for the extirpation of the Dutch. The manner in which it was discovered, prevented, and punished; with the copies of some records, in regard to this singular event, which afford the clearest evidence of the spirit both of the natives and the Dutch.

- c AFTER all the precautions that could be taken, a new war broke out in *Java*, in the year 1704, occasioned by the death of the emperor, and the disputes which arose about the succession; an affair of too great consequence to the company for her to remain unconcerned. The part she took was that of the deceased emperor's brother; whereas the *Javaneese*, or at least a great party among them, espoused that of the late emperor's son. This war was more obstinate, and of longer continuance, than could have been expected; which was occasioned by the young emperor's taking into his service many of the *Indian* soldiers, that, in a time of full peace, had been disbanded by the *Dutch*, and who, being acquainted with the *European* discipline, proved very formidable enemies; for, in the course of the war, it clearly appeared, that, in point of sagacity and stratagem, they were not at all inferior to the best officers in the *Dutch* army; and, from their great activity in marching, and their perfect knowledge of the country, they gained frequent advantages^a. But the company, by the help of fortresses and magazines, being able to keep their armies longer in the field, and being also able to transport on board their fleets their troops, when and where-ever it was necessary, the *Javaneese*, in their turn, found themselves grievously distressed; so that at length both sides being equally tired of what produced nothing but mischief and bloodshed to either, things were at
- d

The causes of the last and longest war in Java, which proved very detrimental to the company.

^a HAMILTON'S account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 133.

last composed¹. But, in the midst of these troubles, the governor-general *John van Horon* ^a had the courage to undertake the rebuilding of the town-house, in 1706. It had been built about fifty-four years, and, being composed of brick and wood, began to decay; but might have been easily, and at a small expence, repaired, if that had not been considered as unworthy the magnificence of *Batavia*. The new stadthouse shews to what a degree this notion was carried, since it is reputed the most superb structure that has been erected by the *Europeans* since they came into the *Indies*. In this noble pile of building the council or college of justice assembles; in it are also apartments for many inferior courts, so that all the public business of the colony is transacted there, and this too with all imaginable convenience².

How this war convinced the Dutch, that there are gold mines of considerable value in Java.

It is reported, that, from the consequences of this war, the administration in *Batavia* were convinced that the natives had some secret resources, which, with all their industry, they have ^b never yet been able to discover; for, in places which had been destroyed and plundered more than once in the war, and where the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost misery, they were in a short time in as good a condition as ever, and had all their bracelets, and other little ornaments of gold as before³. It is indeed certain, that not in *Java*, only, but through all the *Indies*, the natives are wonderfully suspicious of the *Europeans*, and conceal with the utmost care the places, and the means of procuring either gold-dust or precious stones; which may be reasonably supposed to arise from the fear of being reduced to the most abject slavery, and forced to work in the mines, which, in those warm countries, may be well accounted the most dreadful of all punishments⁴. This circumspection is said to appear even in the *Hottentots*, who are represented as the most stupid of mankind; for they sometimes bring small parcels of gold-^c dust to purchase necessaries, but are very studious in concealing how they came by it; and not many years ago some *Dutchmen* having formed a design of following a parcel of *Hottentots*, whom they judged to be gone in search of that precious metal, those savages, perceiving their design, turned suddenly back upon them, surrounded and killed them all⁵ (D).

The introduction and progress of the great improvement made by planting coffee in this island.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that about the year 1719 they began to cultivate coffee in *Java*, not as a curiosity, but as a commodity; and it is worth our notice, how many years passed before this improvement came to be thought practicable. A notion a long time prevailed, that the *Arabs* were as jealous and circumspect in regard to this plant as the *Indians* about their gold-dust; and that, to prevent its being cultivated in other countries, they never suffered so much as a bean to pass out of their hands, till so long dried in the oven as to deprive ^d it of the power of vegetation; but in all probability this was no better than a fable⁶: for, about the year 1690, some coffee-shrubs in pots were transported in *Batavia*, and, being there transplanted, grew very well. In 1697, from the pestilential fumes that succeeded a great earthquake, most of the gardens belonging to that colony suffered severely, and most of their curious plants were killed; a few coffee-shrubs, however, escaped; and, in 1706, they began to plant them again in many places, and particularly in the garden of the governor-general, where in a few years they came to great perfection⁷. At length, therefore, it was resolved to try whether the coffee they produced might not be roasted and drank. Since that time coffee is become a great commodity in *Java*, as also in the island of *Ceylon*, with the soil of which it is pretended the plant agrees better than with that of *Arabia*; for whereas about *Mocha* ^e the coffee-bushes seldom rise higher than six, or at most ten or twelve feet, in *Java* and *Ceylon* they grow commonly to twenty or thirty, and rise even to forty, feet high. In consequence of this they have much greater quantities than in *Arabia*, where one tree with another seldom yields above five pounds of berries in a year⁸. But, in these new plantations, fifteen or twenty pounds are not thought very extraordinary; but the doubt is, whether the flavour of the *Java* and *Ceylon* coffee comes up to that of *Arabia*, which at first it was universally acknowledged it

¹ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 97.

Unies, tom. i. p. 333.

Orientales, p. 395.

coffee in Dr. JAMES's Medicinal Dictionary. du café, p. 9.

² Mémoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

³ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 245, 246.

⁴ Mémoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

⁵ JANIÇON état présent de la république des Provinces

⁶ Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN aux Indes

⁷ See the article of

⁸ Origine & usage

(D) The *Chinese*, as well as the *Dutch*, failed in their attempts to discover the gold mines in *Formosa*; and yet it is certain that the natives have a great deal of that precious metal (87). Before the *Europeans* penetrated so far as the *Moluccas*, the king of *Ternate* exacted an annual (88) tribute in gold from the inhabitants of *New Guiney*; but the *Dutch* will not acknowledge that they are able to obtain any from thence, either by commerce, or any other way. In *Celebes* it is very certain there are very rich mines of gold; but it is no less certain that the *Dutch* are not masters of them; nor, with all their search, have they been able to discover those in *Java*; in *Sumatra*,

(89) however, they have been more fortunate. Without doubt there must be a vast quantity of gold found in *Asia*, since the price of silver is still kept up, notwithstanding the large quantities that have been carried thither by the several nations of *Europe*; and this consideration, to those who have a thorough insight into points of this nature, will convince them, that, if sublunary affairs were not directed by an over-ruling Providence, things would be otherwise circumstanced than they are in this respect, by which the commerce between *Europe* and the *Indies* must of necessity be interrupted.

(87) Du Halde description de l'empire de Chine, tom. i. p. 197. Malucas, l. ii.

(89) Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Gayon, tom. ii. p. 212.

(88) Argonola conquista de las Indes

a did not; but in process of time the former grew more into esteem, and the *Dutch* now persuade themselves that it is little, if at all, inferior to that of *Mocha*. Be that as it will, there is nothing more certain than that vast quantities are imported in every *East India* fleet from these two islands; so that this new commodity turns to a vast account, which may be probably the reason that it has been raised at *Surinam* in the *West Indies*, from whence the *French* have carried it into their islands of *Cayen* and *Martinico*, and the *English* likewise cultivate it in *Jamaica* (E).

b THE war in *Java* broke out a fresh in 1719, and continued between four and five years, by *War in Java* which the company were put to a great deal of trouble; and were taught, by experience, a *breaks out a-* maxim long ago laid down by great masters in the art of war, that it is by no means pru- *fresh; and,* dent to employ regular troops for many years together against a barbarous nation, because, *tho' at length* however they may be beaten, they are at last beaten both into courage and discipline; the *ended, proves* former being acquired by habit as well as the latter, and, when it is acquired, it is a great *the cause of a* chance if they do not beat their masters. In this, however, the *Dutch* acted against their *dangerous in-* will, as being thoroughly sensible that the war was against their interest; but they were unwilling to sacrifice the advantages they had so long enjoyed, or to end the war upon worse terms than they began. At length, however, things were adjusted, and the peace of the island restored; which had not happened long before a discovery was made of a very deep and dangerous design, the aim of which was no less than the intire subversion of the government at *Batavia*, by the destruction of all the *Dutch* inhabitants and of the Christians of every deno- *trigue.* mination that lived under their protection. This discovery was made just time enough to prevent it, that is, on the last day of the year 1721, but how, or by whom, is a secret with which the world is not yet acquainted, at least with any degree of certainty. Some have ascribed it to the sagacity of the council of the *Indies*; others are of opinion that some of the accomplices, being diffident of the event, secured themselves by betraying their confederates. Mr. *Van Bosch*, the *Dutch* minister at *Macassar*, intimated that the company stood indebted for her safety to the friendship of a great monarch; which is a point that shall be explained hereafter.

c BUT, however the discovery was made, the principal conspirators were arrested without *A succinct* noise, and their whole design defeated; three months after which they were brought to their *view of the* trials, and convicted; from the record of which conviction we shall give a succinct account of *conspiracy.* this desperate undertaking, little inferior, either in its nature, or management, to *Catiline's* plot for overturning the *Roman* republic. The original author of this dark design was a *Javanese*, whose name was *Catadia*, a native of the royal city of *Kattasura*, who had spent four years in establishing secret correspondences over a great part of the island, before he disclosed it to the person that he afterwards put at the head of the design, and who had been embarked in it about two years. This chief was one *Peter Erberfeldt*, burgessof *Batavia*, whose father had been a member of the provincial college, and a captain of horse, but his mother a *Moor*. He was near sixty years of age; and there appears no other motive for his entering into this cabal, than the ambition of making himself sovereign of *Batavia*. *Maja* *Praja*, sergeant of a *Javanese* company in the *Dutch* service, and who had formerly lived with the major of *Batavia*, was another conspirator, who, from his knowlege of the strength and disposition of the company's forces, gave them such lights as they could not otherwise have procured. There were, besides these, eight or ten more of different ranks and nations, yet all of them but mean people, that were embarked in this design, and that for many months together were employed in taking measures for carrying it into execution.

f IT is very strange that in all this time, and where so many were intrusted, nothing should be divulged; and it would appear more strange, that, when the conspirators knew their *How this de-* own force, they were so dilatory; if it had not been discovered, from there own confessions, *sign came to* that they waited to see what turn the war of *Java* would take, in which there is reason to sus- *excite appre-* pect that *Peter Erberfeldt* thought the emperor wanting in somewhat that they expected from *hensions in the* him; for, applying himself afterwards to the king of *Bantam*, with whose character the reader *king of Ban-* it was com- *tam, to whom* *municated.*

* See this point treated at large under the article of Coffee in Dr. JAMES's Medicinal Dictionary. * *Memoires*
de Dr. GARCIN. * HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 133, 134. L'expédition de trois
vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 82. * Sentence contre Pierre Erberfeldt & ses complices prononcée à Batavia
en 1722.

(E) It is very remarkable that the *Arabians* themselves, who were so long in possession of the coffee trade, in exclusion of all other nations, very fairly acknowledge that it is not a native of their country; but that it was brought thither from *Abyssinia*, or the *Higher Ethiopia*, together with another shrub called *Kat* (90). The leaves and berries of this last mentioned bush were looked upon as specifics against the plague, and are still considered as such

by the inhabitants of *Yemen*. As to coffee, they attribute no virtue to it at all, except this that the *Kat* could not grow but in its neighbourhood. However, in process of time they discovered the utility of the coffee-berries, the use of which was soon communicated to the inhabitants of the opposite country of *Egypt*, and from thence spread over all *Europe* (91).

(90) *Origine & usage du café*, p. 9.

(91) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. i. col. 596, 597, 598.

is already acquainted, and giving him an exact account of the posture that things were in a little before the time fixed for the insurrection, he intimated, that, as soon as he was thoroughly settled in his new monarchy, he intended to attack the emperor, not doubting but he should be able to make a great party amongst his subjects. It was this last piece of intelligence that alarmed his majesty of *Bantam*, who, considering the daring spirit of the man, and the amazing secrecy with which he had managed for so long a time so dangerous an undertaking, began to apprehend that he might have a worse neighbour of him than of the company; and being at that time upon so bad terms with his own subjects, as not to dare to stir out of his fortress but with *Dutch* guards, he judged it most for his interest to make his court to the general and council at *Batavia*, by imparting to them what he knew of the conspiracy; by which they were enabled, without making any stir, to seize those who had been most active in this business, and to take the necessary precautions, in case of a commotion, to render it abortive; for there was just reason to fear, that those, who had engaged to assist *Erberfeldt* and his confederates, might have either taken arms to rescue them, or to protect themselves; but they were so much surprised at seeing the thing discovered, that either they were afraid to stir, or thought that by remaining quiet the regency at *Batavia* might consult the tranquillity of the colony, and dissemble the informations they had of their being privy to the plot; and, if they acted upon this motive, they were certainly right, for the general and council, notwithstanding the severity with which they proceeded against the traitors in their hands, very prudently declined any thing that might render these people desperate, which could have only ended in a rebellion^w; the consequence of which might have been very dangerous: yet it is more than probable that this moderation had no great effect upon the minds of the natives, further than to render them more cautious in their intrigues, as succeeding events have demonstrated. But to proceed with our present history.

Method which was to be pursued in carrying this scheme into execution.

The plan of the conspirators was, to surprise the city, and to put all who were not of their party to death; after which they took it for granted that the mixed multitude of different nations inhabiting the low countries would either willingly join them, or have submitted through fear. The great object of their councils, therefore, was, to bring this point of the surprise to bear. In the action, *Peter Erberfeldt* was to have commanded, and given orders in quality of chief; and *Catadia* was to act as his lieutenant, or person next to him in power; and, to acquire the greater respect, the former was immediately to have assumed the title of *Ihowang-gusti*, which is Great Lord, or Supreme Governor; and the latter the name of *Rading*, which implies the same with Prince. This whole transaction was concerted in the house of *Erberfeldt*, situated without the city, at that corner of the road to *Jacatra* which turns off to the *Portuguese* church. The conspirators likewise met often at a country-house of his situated on the *Sunder*, from whence they carried on a correspondence with several *Mohammedan* princes, and chiefs of the *Indian* nations, whom they had found means to draw over to their party. The letters upon this subject were written by *Catadia*, *Maja Praja*, *de Chias*, &c. who also read those they received in answer, because *Peter Erberfeldt* was not able to write or read the languages of which they made use; and it was the same persons who were charged with delivering those letters, or causing them to be delivered, to those to whom they were addressed, and receiving their answers. The better to promote their purpose, some of them dispersed themselves through different quarters of the flat country, in order to sell amongst the inhabitants a kind of *Diemats*, or little stamps, marked with certain characters, which were to secure those who carried them about them from musket-shots, wounds from guns, swords or other weapons. The conspirators had agreed that the first attack should be made on the houses of the governor-general, the council, and other magistrates in the citadel and in the city, so as to massacre all the principal persons of the government; which, had it been effected, would certainly have contributed very much to the success of their enterprise, not only by spreading general confusion, but by removing those who alone were capable of redressing it (F).

PETER

^w L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 104, 105.]

(F) In order to judge fairly and impartially of this conspiracy, and of the ensuing insurrection, the reader may be pleased to recollect what has been said of the attempts of the *Chinese* traders against the *Spaniards* in the *Manillas*, and this plainly against their own interests, since their trade thither is more lucrative than any other, except that to *Japan*; yet there they not only entered into a secret contrivance for the total destruction of their benefactors, but were encouraged and excited thereto by

the promise of assistance from *China*, which was actually intended; but, either through accident or cowardice, deferred from time to time till it became too late (92). The secret intrigues, and open tumults, in *Formosa*, seven years before *Coxenga's* invasion, discovers also that deceitful, dangerous, and insolent disposition, which lurks under that veil of submission and politeness which these people constantly wear both at home and abroad (93). Yet, on the other side, it must be confessed, that the *Ea-*

(92) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. Brun.*

(93) *Nieuboght, Tavernier, Le*

- a PETER Erberfeldt, Catadia, otherwise called Rading, Javan de Cartasaura, and Maja Praja, ^{What posts were assigned to be several chief actors in this conspiracy.} were to have had the command in the attack of the citadel; Sana Suta, Anga Tsitra de Bagall, and Layech de Sumbowen, that of the town. The attack was to be made on New-year's day, as soon as ever the gates were open. The last rendezvous of the conspirators was fixed for the evening that should have preceded the attack, at an house of the principal conspirator Erberfeldt, to confer together, and to slide away from thence, some into the citadel, and some into the town. To prevent all mis-intelligence among themselves, they agreed before-hand on this regulation; viz. that Peter Erberfeldt, as soon as the massacre was over, should assume the title of Gusti, or king, as well in the city as in the citadel; and that Catadia should have the title of Rading, or prince, in the low country, without the city, quite to the mountains. As to the rest, they were to have the title of Pangerangs, or princes, and established Mantrins, or chiefs, and counsellors to the king: they were also to execute, in their several districts, the function of Tummagums, or generals, in conjunction with Singa Patria, who had been actually established, by the company's authority, chief of Sikias.

- b THE conspirators had further agreed, that, after the execution of their design, Peter Erberfeldt was to constitute a college or board of twelve young men, each of the age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be drawn out of the families of the principal conspirators, which twelve persons were to have been sent to the princes and chiefs of the Mohammedans, in order to have settled the duties and customs they were for the future to pay at Batavia, and afterwards to act as ministers. Conformable to this plan the conspirators had taken sufficient precaution for securing means necessary to assist and support them, after the massacre was begun by a body of seventeen thousand men drawn from several places in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and for the most part named by the prisoners. According to their scheme this body was to have been divided into several detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a time appointed. The signal being given, each of these detachments was to have put itself in motion; and by the high roads, as well as by private ways, to have advanced and taken possession of all the gates, to hinder so much as a single person's escaping, that the news of this bloody action might be the longer before it reached Holland. With this view, and for the better execution of their project, the conspirators had already secured, by the distribution of the Diemates before-mentioned, one thousand men. Maja Praja had undertaken to send as many; and two thousand had orders to descend from the mountains of the south, and to join those who were hidden in the neighbourhood, in order to the perpetration of this horrible design *.

- c THREE days before the intended massacre the whole scheme was intirely settled; and Peter Erberfeldt had disposed all things, and given his orders for the execution of it in the following manner; viz. Eight hundred men were to have posted themselves at Crolot, on the Mill River, beyond the advanced guard of the fort Ryswyk; two thousand men were to have marched into the country of the chief, Peter d'Alida, particularly to Grogol, and the places in its neighbourhood; and another body of one thousand men was to have defiled to Mangadova, Piesang, Batu, and the places in that neighbourhood. To these several bodies it was agreed that all the rest of the conspirators should have joined themselves, from the different retreats in which they were concealed, in places adjacent to Batavia, that, by the junction of so great a force, they might have executed their schemes in their full extent, and maintained themselves in possession. In case they had succeeded in their design, they were to have been, as their own letters shewed, supported and sustained by another body of upwards of ten thousand Baleyans, whom they had engaged to pass the mountains on the side of Cadiri, by Maturin on the south-side, and by Campongbaru, in order to have taken post on the mountain of Guru. In case it happened that the inhabitants of Campongbaru had refused to submit, the Baleyans had orders to put them all to the sword, and to march immediately towards the city, to massacre all such as should have opposed them, and totally to have exterminated the Christians; that the company might not

* If the reader will consider this plan, and compare it with that which was said to be formed by the Chinese when they meditated a like massacre, he cannot fail of observing such a similitude between them, as will induce his belief that one conspiracy was a copy of the other.

Europeans settled in the Indies are in various particulars to be condemned, since they are exceedingly apt to stir these people to resentment by the most flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and oppression. They likewise give them bad examples, with respect to fidelity in public as well as private concerns, as if they meant to teach them by their practice, that interest ought to be the sole guide of human actions, and that any conduct may be sanctified by having superior power on its side. Lastly, it is but too common for them to sink into the same corruption, and to fall

gradually into that course of life for which the Asiatics in general are justly despised, that is, delivering themselves up to the government of their passions, and debasing their faculties by an immoderate and almost continual use of sensual delights; as if the doctrines they pretend to believe filled their heads only, without making the least impression on their hearts; and as if God had led them into the Indies as well to imitate as to chastise the vices of their original inhabitants (94).

only have been deprived of their dominions, but prevented from ever recovering them, or carrying on the smallest commerce in these parts.

Copy of the sentence pronounced against the conspirators which was afterwards executed.

In order to keep this curious and extraordinary piece of history as much as possible within bounds, and at the same time to demonstrate its authenticity, we will next transcribe the sentence passed by the council of justice at *Batavia* upon the conspirators, which was conceived in the following terms: "We the judges, having heard and examined the information preferred, *ex officio*, by *Henry van Steel Drossard*, of the low country, against the criminals *Peter Erberfeldt*, *Catadia*, otherwise called *Rading*, *Javan de Cartasaura*, *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, *Anga Tristra de Bagall*, *Layeb de Sumbowen*, *Jap Kiko*, *Cartanaja*, *Anga Sarana*, *Cakita Sihia*, *Singa Ira*, *Marengie*, *Sarapaca*, *Maja Diaga*, *Wambsa Dita*, *Wieca Susa*, *Canta Wangsa*, *Baspa*, and *Singa Patria*, chief of *Sikias*, who have confessed the whole, and submitted themselves voluntarily; it is therefore concluded, regard being had to their crimes, and all circumstances relating to them, and we hereby conclude and decree, in justice, in the name and on the part of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, That we condemn the prisoners, with the approbation of the governor-general, *Mt. Swaardekrone*, and of the counsellors of the *Indies*, to be transported to the place before the citadel, where it is usual to execute criminals, there to be delivered into the hands of the hangman, to receive their respective punishments in the manner following: The two criminals, *Erberfeldt* and *Catadia*, otherwise styled *Rading*, shall be extended and bound each of them on a cross, where they shall have their hands cut off, and their arms, legs, and breasts, pinched with red-hot pincers, till pieces of the flesh are torn away. They shall then have their bellies ripped from bottom to top, and their hearts thrown in their faces; after which their heads shall be cut off, and fixed upon a post; and their bodies, torn in pieces, shall be exposed to the fowls of the air without the city, in whatever place the government shall please to direct. The other four criminals *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, otherwise *Wangsa Suta*, *Tristra*, and *Layeb*, are to be each of them bound upon a cross, and have their respective right-hands cut off, their arms, thighs, and breasts pinched, their bellies ripped, and their hearts thrown in their faces, and their limbs exposed upon a wheel in the usual places, there to become a prey to birds. The other ten criminals shall be each tied upon a cross on the scaffold, and, in case there be no room on the scaffold itself, on a place near it, where they shall be broken alive, without receiving the coup-de-grace. They shall be afterwards carried to the ordinary place of execution, and there exposed on a wheel, and guarded so long as they shall live there; and, after they shall expire, be left a prey to the birds. The other three, *Tamboem*, *Grambick*, and *Mitas*, are condemned to be each of them tied to a stake and strangled; their bodies shall be then carried to the common place of execution, and there exposed on wheels for the nourishment of the birds. We likewise further condemn the said criminals to the costs and expences of justice, and to the confiscation of half their estates: these being paid, renouncing all farther pretensions. Done and decreed, in the assembly of my lords the counsellors of justice, this *Wednesday* the eighth of *April*, all the judges except *Cratoanger* being present."

A pillar of infamy erected on the spot where the house of *Peter Erberfeldt* stood

The severity of this sentence could be only justified by its motives, which were, the imminence and extent of the danger, which was prevented but by a few hours from subverting the whole of what they had acquired in *Java* for the space of one hundred years; the custom of the country, where tortures are common, and where a violent death, unaccompanied by extraordinary circumstances, is not regarded; and, lastly, the necessity of imprinting terror, even upon such hardened minds, upon which the future safety of the *Europeans* was to depend. Harsh and terrible as it was, yet on the twenty-second of *April* it was executed without the least mitigation; and the lights received from the confessions of the criminals being pursued, many others were afterwards brought to justice for the share they had in this conspiracy; and the memory of this singular transaction might be preserved, the house of the principal criminal, *Peter Erberfeldt*, was demolished, and a column of infamy erected upon the spot, with an inscription in the *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Malayan*, *Javanese*, and *Chinese* languages, placed thereon, containing the following words:

"In this place heretofore stood the house of that unworthy traitor *Peter Erberfeldt*, on which spot no other house shall stand henceforth for evermore."

As the pillar fronts the road, and most of the people who pass by understand some or other of these tongues, it may be presumed that this answers the end of the government in the *Indies*. But it is very remarkable, that little or no notice was taken of so extraordinary an event in any of the accounts transmitted to *Europe*; which is sufficient to convince the reader of the usefulness of this historical detail, in which we have drawn together, in as regular a

¹ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 24, 25.
prononcée à Batavia en 1722.

² Sentence contre Pierre Erberfeldt, et ses complices,
³ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 104.

- a series of time as was possible, the principal transactions of this potent society, scattered through a variety of books of voyages and travels, and of many of which there are no traces to be found either in general or particular histories.

S E C T. XIV.

The insurrection, or, as others call it, the massacre of the Chinese. Different relations of that terrible affair; and remarks upon the conduct of the Dutch therein, and its consequences.

- b **T**HE situation of affairs in *Europe*, which encouraged several nations to bend their inclinations more to commerce than in former times, the great efforts made in *France* to revive the credit of their company, and other motives of a more private nature, induced the *East India* directors in *Holland* to labour the renewing their charter, or obtaining an additional term before the old was expired, which they attempted in 1717, but without success^b. The States General, though they did not think fit to grant them at that juncture this request, published, however, a placard in support of their privileges, forbidding any of their subjects to trade within the bounds assigned to that company, or to be concerned in any of the new undertakings for carrying on a trade in those parts; and afterwards, in concurrence with *France* and *Great Britain*, engaged in a warm opposition to the establishment of the imperial company at *Osford*. The disputes raised upon that head, and other political affairs of great importance, so occupied their attention, that the company were not able to gain their great point, even to the very year in which their charter was to expire^c. This, in all probability, was owing to the company's not coming up to the terms that were expected from them, and which, it may be, were regulated rather according to the necessities of the state, which were then very pressing, and the supposed great wealth of that body, than the precedents of former times. However that might be, all that they could procure or purchase was, a prolongation of their term for a single year, to commence from the first of *January* 1741; which at the time occasioned many speculations^d.

- d **W**HILE the directors were sufficiently employed in concerting ways and means for overcoming those difficulties that obstructed their obtaining a fresh term, they received the news of the greatest shock their affairs had ever met with from *Batavia*. We intimated before, that, by the execution of *Peter Erberfeldt* and his accomplices, the growth of the treason only was stopped, but that the roots still remained, of which, eight years afterwards, the Dutch were made thoroughly sensible. Amongst the different accounts that came to *Europe*, it was very hard to discover the truth: some there were who suggested, that the governor-general, that he might the sooner amass a large fortune, kept a less severe hand over the *Chinese* than any of his predecessors, by which their numbers were increased prodigiously, and consequently their insolence. They had been formerly allowed, in consideration of a large sum of money, to celebrate, at a certain season of the year, the feast of their grand idol, called the *Jooftje de Batavia*, which, in plain *English*, was keeping a festival in honour of the devil, whose image they openly avowed this to be (G). But, as they were particularly mischievous at this season, and

^b Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.
Unies, tom. i. p. 318.

^c JANISON etat present de la republique des Provinces
^d Dictionnaire de commerce, ubi sup.

(G) We must consider, that the *Chinese* who are settled at *Batavia*, and such as come thither annually in their junks from *China*, are of the meanest of the people, and consequently more ignorant and vicious, and more universally so, than at *Amy*, *Canton*, or almost any other place in that great empire. It is commonly agreed, that, in respect to their religious notions, most of the people of learning and quality in *China* have so refined their sentiments, that they border nearly upon atheism; while the populace are for the most part idolaters, and worship demons, that is to say, powers which, in their apprehension, are of an evil disposition, and inclined to do mischief; to prevent which, they would sooth them with shows and sacrifices, and give a loose to their own follies and vices, under colour of pleasing these malevolent beings, and thereby escaping the effects of their resentment (95). It is from this principle that the chief of these spirits is worshipped in almost every *Chinese*

house, under the figure of a gigantic colossus sitting cross-legged, with an enormous belly hanging over his knees. Before this image they burn a lamp continually, make their offerings, and implore his assistance. These idols the *English* seamen call *Josi*, and the *Dutch* *Jooft*; and the greatest of these, which is carried under a canopy at funerals and public solemnities, and to which they were wont to celebrate an annual feast with infinite scandal and extravagancy, was styled *Jooftje de Batavia* (96). It was therefore intirely inconsistent with the principles of morality and sound policy, as well as directly contrary to those of true religion, to permit these riotous assemblies, that were always attended with danger and disturbance, and had no beneficial consequence but to the governor, who pocketed a round sum of money for the toleration of these diabolical excesses, equally odious to God and good men (97).

(95) *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. iii. p. 64.
Unies, tom. i. p. 350, 351.

(96) *Janison etat present de la republique des Provinces*
(97) *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, ubi sup.

presuming upon the licence they had bought, expected whatever wild things they did should meet with impunity, this custom had, for many years, been abolished; but the *Cbinese*, conceiving that money would in this age effect any thing, petitioned for the revival of this feast, and, it is said, by offering a large present, obtained it; after which, they were never quiet till they brought upon themselves that destruction, which to succeeding times will appear incredible*.

Other circumstances reported by different authors concerning this revolt.

SOME again report, that a *Cbinese* of great quality, retiring from his own country, came on board one of their junks, with a *Cbinese* fleet, to *Batavia*, and, withdrawing from thence into the mountains, spirited up a rebellion, and at the same time entered into an intrigue with the *Cbinese* captain or chief to raise an insurrection in the city, and to attack the *Dutch* within, while he fell upon them without. On the other hand, there wanted not a third party, who, suspecting the truth of the whole story, ascribed all that happened to the avarice of the *Dutch* governor, supported by such as were indebted to the *Cbinese*, and thought, that cutting their throats would be the easiest and most expeditious method of settling accounts†. As there was no care taken to discredit these rumours, by publishing a just and authentic relation of what passed in the *Indies*, we need not wonder that these tales, however improbable, were not wholly disbelieved. The clearest and most circumstantial narrative of this dismal scene, which appeared after the coming in of the *India* fleet in the month of *July* 1741, is to the following effect‡. And, as to the probability or improbability of the facts contained therein, they must be intirely submitted to the judgment of the candid reader.

Substance of the relation of this event, which the Dutch thought proper to make public.

“THE number of *Cbinese* in the city and suburbs at the time of this conspiracy, according to a very moderate computation, amounted to ninety thousand men; and the end they had in view was, to massacre all the *Europeans*, by which they thought to become masters of whatever the company possessed in the island of *Java*. Full of these ambitious notions, numbers of them began to retire into the mountains, where they pillaged, burnt, and murdered, without mercy, and without pretending to assign any reason for their behaviour. The country people, subjects to the company, took many of them prisoners, and sent them to *Batavia*, to the number, in the whole, of between four and five hundred men, of whom one half appearing to be desperate and beggarly fellows, and unskilled in any employment by which they might get their bread, were banished to *Ceylon*; and the rest, having been admonished to behave better for the future, were dismissed, and permitted to return to their relations. This lenity, however, was very far from having a good effect; on the contrary, the rebels in the mountains grew daily stronger, and did more and more mischief. At length the regency thought fit to send the counsellors *Imboff* and *Van Aerden*, with a body of eight hundred men, into the mountains, to reduce these people; who, in the space of a few days, came up with, defeated, and dispersed them. In the mean time, five of the *Cbinese* came of their own accord to the general and council, discovered the whole design in which their nation was embarked, and towards the execution of which they had already provided cannon made of several sorts of hard wood, together with great quantities of ammunition, which they had privately lodged in their houses as well within the city as without. They had likewise sunk mines in several places, which were actually filled with powder. Upon receiving these informations, all imaginable precautions were taken; the guards doubled at all the gates of the city; the forts, and other ports without, reinforced; and all the officers ordered to join their respective corps immediately, under the severest penalties: yet, notwithstanding all this, the regency could not believe that the danger was so great, or the defection so universal, as it was represented to them by the five persons before-mentioned; and therefore, satisfied with acting on the defensive, they began to deliberate on the means of extinguishing these jealousies, and of reducing the *Cbinese* to their senses and their duty; but they were quickly made sensible of their mistake, and that things were gone too far to admit of any such palliative remedies, the *Cbinese* relying so much on their superiority of number, that, instead of being struck with these dispositions, and endeavouring to make their peace, they threw off the mask, and recurred to open force.”

“On *Saturday* the eighth of *October*, the *Cbinese* attacked one of the posts without the town, called *Quale*, near the island of *Onroost*; where they murdered all that they met with, and set fire to the houses. Upon this, the regency immediately issued their orders, that no *Cbinese* should stir out of his house, or have any light within it, upon pain of death. About seven the same evening, while the council was assembled, the *Cbinese* set fire to the suburb without the gate of *Utrecht*, supposing that the gates would have been immediately opened, to afford people a passage to assist in putting out the fire, when they intended to have attacked the town on one side, while those within the city, laying hold of this opportunity,

* *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. cxi. p. 116.
were sent at that time as well from *Holland* as the *East Indies*.
le mois d'*Octobre* 1740.

† Collected from the several private relations that
‡ *Relation des troubles arrivées à Batavia dans*

- a " might rise, and fall upon the *Dutch* behind. This scheme, though well laid, did not suc-
 " ceed ; the gates were kept fast shut, and the guards doubled. At eight o'clock, two coun-
 " seillers went to each of the gates, in order to give directions. About nine, the *Cbinese*, who
 " were now increased to between forty and fifty thousand men, advanced with trumpets,
 " drums, and brass basons, with which they made a most terrible noise, in order to excite
 " their countrymen to exert themselves within ; which if they had done, it is not easy to con-
 " ceive how the *Dutch* could have defended the place, since their whole force consisted but of
 " three thousand men ; but, as they were well armed and disciplined, the *Cbinese* within were
 " so dispirited, that they kept their houses, and did nothing. Those without carried two
 " advanced posts, and slaughtered all that were in them : they likewise attacked a third with-
 " out the gate of *Utrecht*, which was defended by sixty men, who made a very gallant resist-
 b " ance ; and the *Cbinese*, in attacking, being exposed to the artillery of the town, which made
 " a continual fire, they were at length obliged to desist. The *Dutch* then made a sally with
 " one hundred and sixty men, to relieve and strengthen the advanced posts ; and tho' this was
 " hazarding that handful of people, yet they durst not employ a greater number, for fear of
 " what might happen within. Such were the operations of that fatal night, which the *Cbinese*
 " had fixed for a general massacre, and in which, by the vigilance and valour of the inhabit-
 " ants, they were disappointed."
- " About day-break the *Cbinese* abandoned the suburbs ; and then, the council assembling,
 " an order was published for putting the *Cbinese* within the city to the sword, women and
 " children excepted, as the only means left to secure the public safety. Upon this order their
 c " houses were broke open, the men killed without distinction, and the women and children
 " conveyed to the *Cbinese* hospital. In a small space of time the streets, the rivers, and canals,
 " were covered with dead bodies, and in several places the blood ran over people's shoes,
 " affording in all respects the most dismal and horrible spectacle imaginable. It was next found
 " requisite to erect a battery on the other side the *Rocmalake*, to fire upon the *Cbinese* captain's
 " house, in which there were about eight hundred men. When a sufficient breach was made,
 " they attacked and carried it by assault, when about thirty women came running out, upon
 " promise of having their lives spared ; and amongst them the *Cbinese* captain, being disco-
 " vered in female apparel, was seized, and sent to the citadel. About noon the counsellors
 " *Imboff* and *Aerdens* returned into the city, with the detachment under their command. The
 d " people then began to breathe a little, and to console themselves with the hopes that the dan-
 " ger was now over : but the *Cbinese*, being now driven to a state of despair, barricadoed their
 " houses, and then set fire to them ; so that, about two o'clock, the city was in flames in dif-
 " ferent places, by which the greatest part of it, and more especially the *Cbinese* quarter, which
 " was the most populous, was reduced to ashes. It is impossible to express the consternation
 " this occasioned, when numbers of women were seen running to the citadel for shelter ; while
 " the men, their constancy overcome by the torments they endured, jumped also into the
 " streets, where they were shot or cut to pieces by the soldiers ; and with this bloody scene,
 " and the putting to death six hundred thirty-five prisoners that were in the citadel, the horrors
 " of the day ended. During the whole time it lasted, the riches of these people, which were
 e " immense, were abandoned as a prey to those who would take them ; and some there were,
 " among the sailors more especially, who got nine or ten thousand crowns to their share. In
 " the course of this dismal tragedy there fell, according to the confession of the *Dutch*, no
 " fewer than twelve thousand *Cbinese* of all ranks and ages, while the whole of their loss did
 " not exceed one hundred men."
- " THE *Cbinese* themselves confessed (at least it was so given out), that they meant to have
 " made their captain governor of the town ; and that they intended to have preserved the
 " *Dutch* governor and director-general to have carried umbrellas over their governor's and
 " governess's heads when they went abroad. All the counsellors of the *Indies* they meant to
 " impale alive, except Mr. *Imboff* and Mr. *Tedens*, whom they regarded as their capital ene-
 f " mies, and of these they were to have made minced meat, and eat them. The old men they
 " would have burnt the next morning, and the old women in the evening ; the young women
 " were to have attended the governess, and the rest of the *Cbinese* ladies ; and such of the young
 " men as escaped the massacre were to have been made slaves. Amongst the plunder there
 " were five standards taken. On the first was written, in *Cbinese* characters, *October the second*,
 " *in honour of Joostje* ; on the second, *For our antient liberty* ; on the third, *For the deliver-*
 " *ance of the oppressed* ; on the other two, *GOD shall be our aid*. As soon as things were a
 " little settled in the city (for the *Cbinese* continued to waste with fire and sword whatever
 " they met with in the mountains), the governor-general set a price upon the heads of the two
 g " chiefs of five hundred crowns, for bringing either of them in dead, and a thousand to take
 " them alive ; two hundred for killing any *Cbinese*, and five hundred for bringing him in alive ;
 " but with a general pardon to all who should submit, and return before the twenty-second
 " of *November* : upon which, notwithstanding all that had passed, multitudes came in, and

“accepted of the terms offered.” This, as has been before observed, was the best account ^a given of this extraordinary transaction; in which though it was confessed that many particulars were omitted, and a more distinct relation promised, yet no such relation ever appeared.

The choice of a new governor held the first and most effectual expedient for restoring tranquillity.

This intelligence was brought to *Holland* in the month of *July* 1741, and, as may be reasonably supposed, raised a general apprehension of the consequences. Towards the close of the year, baron *Gustavus William d'Imboff*, who had been formerly governor of *Ceylon*, and, in that high employment, had acquired a great reputation, was by the *East India* company declared governor-general ^b; and, in the spring of the year 1742, embarked on board a vessel built by his own direction, and proceeded to *Batavia*, to which place the former governor was sent back from the *Cape of Good Hope*, where he arrived in one of the company's ships, that he might abide a trial in the place where he was accused of having, in many instances, ^b most shamefully abused his authority, and where he remained a prisoner ¹ to his death (H). Great expectations were raised of the administration of baron *Imboff*, from his known character for prudence, moderation, and courage; and though he found things still in great confusion when he arrived, yet, by his wise and firm management, he quickly brought them into order, provided for the rebuilding of the city, the repressing the mutineers in the mountains, and restoring the tranquillity and commerce of the island, where he administered the supreme authority to the time of his demise, *November* 1, 1750, with universal applause ².

^a *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. cxiii. p. 355.
^b *Annals of Europe* for the year 1743, p. 555.

¹ These facts are taken chiefly from private information since that time.

(H) In some accounts that were published about that time, it was said, that the governor's effects, that were seized on board the homeward bound fleet, consisting of nineteen sail, amounted to five millions of florins, or half a million sterling; and that not only himself, but two of the counsellors of the *Indies*, who had concurred with him, together with the fiscal, or attorney-general, were deprived of their offices, and imprisoned (98). Instead of explaining, these circumstances serve only to cloud, and render still more obscure, a transaction dark and ambiguous, and which, it is to be feared, will never be brought to the public view in its true colours. This apprehension appears still to be better grounded, when we consider, that the *Dutch* have allowed the *Chinese* to settle again at *Batavia*, and did this even when the disturbances, occasioned by the massacre, were far enough from being suppressed; a circumstance that does not seem to speak such a dread and apprehension of these subtil, plotting, and vindictive people, as they had heretofore expressed. Secondly, the *Chinese* themselves have resorted thither

again, and settled there in great numbers, notwithstanding all the outcries they made of violence and cruelty, and notwithstanding the hardships they are put under for the security of those, who, after what has happened, cannot but be very diffident of their conduct (99). These are facts that cannot be disputed, and which, if they prove nothing else, will at least prove this, that the thirst of gain is the ruling passion in some nations, both in *Europe* and *Asia*. It will be proper likewise to observe in this place, that a person was sent in a public character from the company, to apologize for this conduct to the *Chinese*; which commission was executed with as much success as could well be expected, the court of *China* having but little regard for those people, who forsake their country from the desire of acquiring riches, and put themselves under the protection of a foreign power; so that, contrary to what might have been looked for, this melancholy event produced very little interruption in the correspondence between the *Dutch East India* company and the people of *China* (100).

(98) *Annals of Europe*, 1743, p. 555.
 since.

(99) From the information of persons who have been at *Batavia* since.

(100) These facts are also grounded on particular informations.

S E C T. XV.

Description of the great government of Batavia, the city which is the capital of the Dutch Indies, the countries adjacent, together with their produce. An account of the natives that are subjects to the company; and of the Chinese, and other foreign nations, under her protection; concluding with a sketch of the extent of her dominions.

The next branch of this chapter is the description of the countries in the possession of, or in a settled correspondence with, the Dutch East India company.

AS we have now brought down the history of the *Dutch East India* company, with as much ^c perspicuity as was in our power, to the present time, it is next incumbent upon us to describe the dominions of which she is in possession; to shew the manner in which they are governed, the principal commodities she draws from them, and the number of inhabitants that are settled in the places under her obedience; which will abundantly justify our occasional remarks in the course of this history, and afford the reader a comprehensive view of the noblest empire that ever arose on the basis of commerce, or that ever was acquired and maintained by maritime power. Let us then, without further introduction, proceed to the execution of this necessary part of our task; and begin with that great city which is the capital of her dominions, and which, as we have shewn, has been so lately rescued from the hands of her enemies, and risen, like a phoenix, with fresh strength and beauty, out of her ruins; a city of the highest utility, from its happy situation in the center of the countries which it commands; a city

a city that does honour not to the company only, but to the *Dutch* nation, by its magnificence; and a city distinguished in all other respects from many cities by a variety of circumstances.

THE noble mart of *Batavia*, in the island of *Java*, lies in the latitude of six degrees south, ^{The situation and outworks of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Indies.} and is the capital of the vast dominions belonging to the *Dutch East India* company. It serves also for the emporium, where all the merchandize and riches that great company possesses are laid up (1). It is surrounded by a rampart of one-and twenty feet thick, covered on the outside with stone, and fortified with twenty-two bastions. This rampart is invironed by a ditch about forty-five yards over, and full of water, especially when the tides are high in the spring *. The avenues to the town are defended by several forts, each of which is well furnished with excellent brass cannon. Among these forts there are six which deserve to be particularly mentioned; viz. those of *Ansool*, *Anke*, *Jacatra*, *Ryswyck*, *Noordwyck*, and *Vytbock*. The fort of *Ansool* is seated on a river of the same name, eastward from the sea, and at the distance of about twelve hundred yards from the city: it is built intirely of square stone, and has a strong garrison. The fort of *Anke* is on a river of the same name, to the westward of the coast, and distant from the city about five hundred yards; built, like the former, intirely of square stone. The fort of *Jacatra* lies also on a river of the same name, is exactly like the other two forts, and lies also at the distance of about five hundred paces from the city. The road thither is between two rows of very fine trees regularly planted, with very beautiful country-houses, and gardens on each side. The other three forts are built in the same manner, and of the same materials, lying all on the land-side of the town, and at a very small distance from it *. By this disposition, the two first serve to secure the city on the side of the sea; and the other four defend its entrances on the land-side, and at the same time protect the houses, plantations, and gardens, of the inhabitants. In virtue of these prudent measures, it is easy to comprehend, that no enemy can ever surprise this city, because, on which ever side they should endeavour to attack it, they would be sure to meet with a strong resistance. They take, besides, another precaution, which is, the not suffering any person to go beyond these forts without a passport c.

THE river, which preserves still its antient name of *Jacatra*, passes through the midst of the town, and forms fifteen canals of running water, all faced with free-stone, and adorned with trees that are ever-green, and which consequently afford a most charming prospect. Over these canals there are fifty six bridges, besides those which lie without the town. The streets are all of them perfectly strait, and each of them, generally speaking, thirty feet broad. The houses are built of stone, after the manner of those in *Holland*, and are most of them very high, because the place has not, at least of late years, been exposed to hurricanes *. The city is about a league and an half in circumference: it is surrounded with a vast number of houses; so that there are ten times the number without that there are within it; and therefore, strictly speaking, they ought to be regarded as its suburbs. This city has five gates, including that of the port; near to which there is a barrier, regularly shut at nine o'clock in the evening, and at which there is posted, night and day, a strong guard of soldiers. There were formerly six gates, the last being called *Speelman's Gate*, because built by governor *Speelman*, who died *January* the eleventh, 1684, has been walled up since *. There is a very fine townhouse, and four churches for the use of those of the reformed religion, that is to say, the *Calvinists*. The first of these was built in the year 1640, and is called *Kruisbikirk*, i. e. *Cross-church*. The second was built in 1670. In both these they preach in *Dutch*. The third belongs to the Protestant *Portuguese*; and the fourth to the *Malayans*. Besides these churches, there are abundance of other places of worship for all sorts of religions. They have likewise in this city a *spin bays*,

* NIEUHOFF'S voyages in Churchill's collection, vol. ii. p. 321.

b CORNEILLE LE BRUN, cap. lxii.

NIEUHOFF. DE GRAAF.

c ROGGEWIN. NIEUHOFF. DE GRAAF.

d NIEUHOFF'S voyages, p. 304.

e L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, cap. xxi.

(1) One great advantage that this city possesses, and without which indeed she could hardly subsist, is that large and commodious bay, in the bosom of which she may be said to lie. There are seventeen or eighteen islands scattered along the mouth of the harbour, some within and some without it, by which the violence of the wind is so checked, and the force of the waves so broken, that it may be considered not only as one of the safest harbours in the *Indies*, but in the world; and so capacious, that it is thought a thousand sail of ships might be sheltered there (1). As for small vessels, they may lie close under the banks of the river, upon a bed of

soft mud. The sides of the river, as far as the boom, are faced with free-stone; and all the boats that pass up the river, pay a duty to the government, if loaded with salt, of one real; if loaded with stones, twice as much (2). It is inconceivable what great pains are taken here, and indeed in all the havens in the possession of the *Dutch*, to have the greatest plenty of naval stores, and materials for ship-building, as well as conveniences for repairing and careening all sorts of vessels, which greatly facilitates the trade of the company, and turns highly to the advantage of the inhabitants (3).

(1) Nieuhoff's voyages, p. 203. Voyages des Indes, par J. B. Tavernier, P. ii. liv. iii. c. 21. Le Brun.

(2) Voy-

ages de Fr. Leguat, vol. ii. p. 79.

(3) Geographie moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 688.

or an house of correction, in which women who behave loosely are confined; an orphan-house, a magazine of sea-stores, several for spices, wharfs, cord manufactures, and many other public buildings' (K).

Strength of
the garrison,
citadel, num-
ber of inha-
bitants, and
other particu-
lars.

THE garrison consists commonly of between two and three thousand men. Besides the great number of forts before spoken of, there is the famous citadel of *Batavia*, which is a very fine regular fortification, situated at the mouth of the river facing the city, and flanked with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town. This citadel hath two great gates, the one called *The Company's Gate*, which was built in 1636, with a bridge of square stone, consisting of fourteen arches, each twenty-six yards long, and ten feet broad; the other called *The Water Gate*, built in 1630^a. All the keepers of the magazines have their lodgings in the citadel, along both sides of the curtain. There are besides, two posterns, one in the east curtain, the other in the west, which are never opened but for the service of the garrison. It is in this citadel that the governor-general of the *Indies* has his palace, which is built of brick, two stories high, with a most noble front after the *Italian* manner. Over-against this palace is that of the director-general, who is the next person to the governor. The counsellors, and other principal officers of the company, have also their apartments there, as have likewise the physician, the surgeon, and the apothecary. There is a little church, which was built in 1664, remarkably neat and light. There are, besides, in the citadel, arsenals, and magazines furnished with ammunition for many years. In a word, this citadel is the general factory where all the archives are kept, and where all the affairs of the company are transacted^b. The city of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by *Dutch*, but also by a vast number of *Indians* of different nations. The former, that is to say, the *Dutch*, are all of them either free burghesses, or in the service of the company. There are likewise abundance of *Portuguese*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, established here on account of trade. These *Portuguese* are, for the most part, descendants of those who lived here formerly, or at *Goa*, and who, finding their account in settling under so mild a government, did not think fit to remove, when the sea-coasts of the island of *Java* were reduced under the dominion of the *East India* company (L). They are at present, at least a far greater part of them, of the established, that is to say, of the Protestant reformed religion. As for the *Indian* inhabitants, they are *Javanese*, or natives of the country, *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Negroes*, *Amboyne*, *Armenians*, natives of the isle of *Bali*, *Mardykens*, *Macassars*, *Timors*, *Bougis*, &c^c.

The state and
employments
of all the In-
dian nations
which live
there under
the Dutch.

THERE cannot be any thing more curious, or any spectacle more entertaining, than to see, in so large a city, such a multitude of different nations living all of them at their own dwellings, after their own manner. One sees every moment new customs, strange manners, variety of habits, and faces of different colours, viz. black, white, brown, olive-coloured. Every one lives as he pleases; every one speaks his own tongue. Notwithstanding such a variety of customs, so opposite to each other, one observes an union very surprising among these citizens, which is purely the effect of commerce, the common soul that actuates this great body of people; so that they move uniformly and harmoniously in every respect, and live easily and happily under the gentle and prudent laws established by the *East India* company. With regard to liberty of conscience, all the inhabitants of this city enjoy it, let them be of what sect they will; only they have not the public exercise of their worship^d. It is not permitted here, more than in the *United Provinces*, that priests or monks should walk the streets in the habits of their respective orders; yet all are allowed to live there in peace, except the jesuits, and they are excluded, not on account of their religion, but for fear of their intrigues, and their

^a Relation de la ville de Batavia. DE GRAAF. cap. xxi. LE BRUN. DE GRAAF.

^b NIEUHOFF. DE GRAAF. LE BRUN.

^c L'expedition de trois vaisseaux.

^d Relation de la ville de Batavia. LEGUAT.

^e L'expedition de trois vaisseaux.

(K) The wisdom and public spirit of the *Dutch* is not more conspicuous in any thing than in the choice of proper places for their public buildings, the great neatness and beauty of those structures, the skill with which they are adjusted to their respective uses, the revenues appropriated for their maintenance, and the pains taken to prevent any corruption or negligence in the conduct of those establishments to which they are destined. As this contributes greatly to the splendor, so it is of no less consequence to the safety and prosperity, of *Batavia*, where, if things were not regulated in this manner, and a wise order not only settled, but steadily maintained, there could be no defence against the inveterate malice of foreign enemies, or to resist the force of that propen-

sity to luxury, which is naturally produced by the immense estates which private persons quickly raise upon their extensive trade (4).

(L) As these descendants of the *Portuguese* are become Protestants, and have consequently the same common interest with the *Dutch*, so they are treated in all respects in the same manner as if they were of that nation; and have shewn, by their unalterable fidelity, that they have merited this confidence. There are amongst them some that are very rich, and many in good circumstances, which they derived from their great application to trade, there being very few that apply themselves to any other profession excepting such as desire to qualify themselves for the service of the church (5).

(4) Relation de la ville de Batavia. Tavernier. Le Brun.

(5) Voyages de François Leguat, vol. ii. p. 82.

exciting troubles and disturbances here, as they have done in most places where they are already established. As for the *Chinese*, as their religion is an abomination, they are not allowed a pagoda in the city; but they have one at a place about a league off, where they likewise bury their dead¹. Every *Indian* nation at *Batavia* has its head, or chief, who takes care of its interests; but he has not the power of deciding any thing that is considerable, and his function, properly speaking, regards only the affairs of their religion, and any slight controversies that may arise among his countrymen². In order to give a clear idea of the manner in which these people live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to say somewhat of each of these *Indian* nations, and of their different manners of employing themselves.

THE Javanese addict themselves chiefly to agriculture, fishing, and ship-building. They commonly wear no other habit than a kind of short petticoat reaching to their knees; all the rest of their bodies naked: they have likewise across their shoulders a sort of sash, or scarf, in which hangs a little short sword: on their heads they wear a little bonnet. Their cabins are remarkably neater than those of other *Indian* nations, built of split bamboos, with a large spreading roof which hangs over the house, and under which they sit and take the air. Temper, customs, and manners, of such of the Javanese as remain at Batavia.

THE Chinese inhabitants are very numerous; it is reckoned, that, in the city and suburbs, they are at least fifty thousand³. These people seem naturally born for trade, enemies to idleness, and who think nothing hard or laborious, if doing it is attended with a certainty of gain. They can live upon very little, are bold, enterprising, have a great deal of address, and are indefatigably industrious. They have a penetration and subtilty very extraordinary, inso-
much that they seem to make good their own saying, that *the Dutch have one eye, and they have two*⁴; but, with all this, they are deceitful to the last degree, take a pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boast of that cunning of which they ought to be ashamed. In husbandry and navigation they very far surpass all other *Indian* nations. Most of the sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them; and the distillery of arrack is intirely in their hands⁵. They are the carriers of *Asia*; and the *East India* company itself frequently makes use of their vessels⁶. They keep all the shops, and most of the inns, in the city; and are likewise the farmers of the duties, excises, and customs⁷. An account of the Chinese who live at Batavia, and elsewhere, in the territories of the company.

THE Chinese are, generally speaking, well-made men, of an olive complexion, their heads very round, their eyes small, and their noses short and flat. They do not cut their hair, as those who remain in *Cbina* are obliged to do since the *Tartars* became masters of their country. As often as any come from *Cbina*, they immediately suffer their hair to grow, as a token of their freedom, and curl and dress it to great advantage, their priests only excepted, whose heads are always close shaved. These people are always bare-headed, with an umbrella in their hands to keep off the sun. They likewise suffer their nails to grow to an immoderate length, which gives them prodigious dexterity in flight of hand, an art of great extent, and of considerable consequence, as it is managed by these people. Their dress differs pretty much here from what they wear in their own country: their robes are very ample, and their sleeves, which are of cotton cloth, very large; underneath they have a pair of breeches, which reach to their ancles; they wear no shoes, but a kind of little slippers, and go without stockings intirely. Their women also wear very long cotton robes, are brisk and lively, very impudent, and extravagantly debauched⁸. The *Chinese* in general have not the least notion of any distinction of meats; on the contrary, they eat, without ceremony, the flesh of any animal that comes to hand, let it be dog, cat, rat, or what it will. The *Chinese*, like the *Javanese*, are extravagantly addicted to gaming; and this humour drives them sometimes, especially at the cock-matches on the new-year's feast, into downright madness. They will then not only lose all their money, houses, and goods, but will stake their wives and children; and, after these are lost, their beards, their nails, and the winds; that is to say, they bind themselves not to shave their beards, cut their nails, or to go on board of any ship to trade, till they have paid what they have lost. They become by these follies the most miserable creatures in the world; and, when in this condition, are forced to let themselves out as the slaves of some *Chinese*. Under such misfortunes they have but one resource, which is, that some of their relations either here or in *Cbina*, will, out of mere tenderness and compassion, pay what they have lost⁹ (M). Description of their persons, manners, habits, pastimes, vices, and extravagances.

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¹ LE BRUN, chap. lxii. NIEUHOFF. DE GRAAF.

² NIEUHOFF'S voyages, p. 314. LE BRUN. DE GRAAF.

³ Relation de la ville de Batavia. Voyages aux Indes, DE GRAAF.

⁴ Relation de la ville de Batavia. LEQUAT voyage aux Indes.

⁵ NIEUHOFF'S voyages, p. 317. LE BRUN. DE GRAAF. Geo-

graphie moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 690.

⁶ Histoire de l'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii.

⁷ Relation de la ville de Batavia. LE BRUN, cap. lxii.

⁸ JANICON etat present de republique des Pro-

vinces Unies, tom. i. p. 347.

⁹ Relation de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

¹⁰ JANICON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 351, 352. L'Expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii.

p. 65.

(M) It is a very difficult matter to give the reader a

distinct notion of these eastern nations, as they inhabit

among the *Dutch*, because different writers speak in very

different terms of them, and more especially of the *Chi-*

nese. It may, however, be affirmed upon the whole,

that they are equally distinguished by good and bad qua-

lities,

*See account of
the Malayan,
Negroes, and
Amboynele,
which are set-
tled at Bata-
via.*

THE *Malayans*, who live at *Batavia*, employ themselves chiefly in fishing: their vessels are very neat and shewy, and their sails very ingeniously made of straw. They are a most wicked and profligate people, and often commit murders for very trifling gains. They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but are absolutely void of morals; so that, instead of having any scruple, they make a merit of cheating Christians. The habits they wear are either silk, or cotton stuff: the men wear a piece of cotton cloth about their heads, with their black hair tied up in a knot behind *. The negroes who live at *Batavia* are most of them *Mohammedans*. They come from the coast of *Bengal*, dress in the same manner as the *Malayans*, and live also in the same quarter; some of them work at trades; others are a kind of pedlars. The most considerable of them trade in stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring islands. The *Amboynele* addict themselves to building of houses with bamboos, the windows of which are made of split cane, neatly wrought in different figures. They are a very bold, boisterous people, and so turbulent, that they are not suffered to live in the city, but have their quarter near the *Chinese* burying-ground *. They have a chief, to whom they pay the greatest submission, and he has a very magnificent house in their quarter, and well furnished after their manner. Their arms are, for the most part, large sabres, and long bucklers. The men wear a piece of cotton cloth round their heads, letting the two corners of it hang behind; and adorn this kind of turban with abundance of flowers *. The women wear a sort of habit close to their body, wrapping a cotton mantle round their shoulders, which leaves their arms naked. Their houses are built of boards covered with leaves, two or three stories high, and the ground-floors particularly divided into several apartments.

*Of the Mar-
dykers, or
Topasses,
their employ-
ments, reli-
gion, customs,
&c.*

THE *Mardykers*, or *Topasses*, are idolaters composed of divers nations of *Indians*, and are of different trades and professions: their merchants carry on a great commerce in all the neighbouring islands: some of them are gardeners, others breed cattle, and some fowls. The men generally dress after the *Dutch* fashion; but the women go like other *Indians* *. They dwell both in the city and country. Their houses are much better built than those of the rest of the *Indians*, being, generally speaking, either of stone or brick, several stories high, and very neat * (N).

*Macassars,
Armenians,
and other orien-
tal nations, in
the company's
district.*

THERE are also at *Batavia* some of the *Macassars*, famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk. This poison is made of the juice of a certain tree, which grows in that part of the island of *Celebes* called *Macassar*, and also in the *Bougie* islands: they dip the points of their arrows in this juice, and then let them dry: the wound they give is absolutely mortal. The *Bougies* are the inhabitants of three or four islands near that of *Macassar*; and, since the conquest of this last island, have settled themselves at *Batavia*. They are very hardy, bold fellows, for which reason the company use them as soldiers: their arms are bows and arrows, sabres and bucklers *. The *Armenians*, and some other *Asiatics* who reside in *Batavia*, come thither purely on the score of trade, and stay no longer than their occasions call them. The natives of the country who are established in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a tract of about forty leagues along the mountains of the country of *Bantam*, are immediately subject to the governor-general. The company sends *drossards*, or commissaries, amongst them, who administer justice, and take care of the public revenues. The principal men amongst these people resort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an account how these commis-

* Relation de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 66.
* JANIÇON état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 352, 353. * L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 68. * JANIÇON, ubi sup. p. 353. * L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 69.
* NIEUHOFF's voyages, p. 316.

lities; the former strangely cried up by some, and the latter as odiously represented by others. It is, however, on all hands agreed, that, without the help of these people in their different capacities, the *Dutch* could hardly support themselves, much less manage that extensive commerce, from which they are become so amazingly rich at *Batavia*. On this account they favoured them formerly very much, not from tenderness to them, but for their own sakes; for, at the same time, they impose on them excessive taxes, such as a capitation of a dollar per head a month; and, if they will wear gold pins in their hair (a vanity to which they are much inclined), they must pay another dollar for every pin; but notwithstanding these, and some less considerable duties, they find so many ways to get money, that the bulk of them are, generally speaking, excessively rich; and such as are not so are relieved by their own people (6).

(N) As these people are not only common here, but

over all the *East Indies*, it is necessary to observe, that they derive the name of *Topasses*, not, as some have imagined, from the precious stone of the same name, but from a verb in the *Malayan* language, which signifies to imitate the manners, and to accommodate one's self to the dress and customs of other people (7). In short, the *Topasses* are of different nations, various complexions, and several religions, being Pagans, *Mohammedans*, and Christians; but they all agree in this circumstance of imitating the dress, and, as far as they can, the manners and inclinations of the *Europeans*, amongst whom they live, or to whom they are subject. Thus, at *Batavia* they wear jackets and trunk breeches, speak broken *Dutch*, and are either soldiers, servants to the merchants, or pedlars on their own account. At *Goa* they look like the *Portuguese*; and at *Fort St. George*, and other *English* settlements, they endeavour to resemble us as much as is in their power (8).

(6) Nieuhoff's voyages, p. 314. Relation de la ville de Batavia, par Nicolas de Graaf. Janiçon état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 336. (7) Nieuhoff's voyages, p. 316. (8) Janiçon, ubi sup. p. 353. Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 377.

- a saries behave with respect to what they call the low country, which is immediately about the city, where those in the government, and rich merchants, have their country-houses. It is inexpressibly beautiful; and one may without exaggeration affirm, that art and nature seem to contend which shall adorn it most. The air is temperate and sweet, the soil rich and fruitful, pleasantly diversified with hills and dales, and wonderfully delighting the eye with its perpetual verdure^b. On the other hand, that excess of moisture, which formerly nourished useless woods, from whence arose infectious exhalations, is now diverted into canals, that serve at once for profit and pleasure. Rich and regular plantations appear on every side, to most of which belong mansion-houses, that fall little short of palaces; and every thing is kept in so good order, as to do honour to their possessors^c (O). The company's territories are not however
- b confined within these narrow bounds; her authority extends itself into different parts of the island, and therefore, to form a just notion of it, we must look abroad through its whole extent.

THE island of *Java* may be about three hundred leagues in circumference, divided into abundance of kingdoms and principalities, all of them dependent on the emperor, who resides at *Kattasura*. We must however except out of the number of these tributary princes the kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who do not acknowledge his authority. The country produces not only all things necessary for the subsistence of man, but large proportions of those valuable effects which form the commerce of the country. It is divided by many rivers, woods, and mountains, in all of which nature has very bountifully bestowed her treasures^d. It is certain, that in some

c parts of the island there are gold mines. The regency at *Batavia*, in hopes of profiting by them, wrought for some years the mountains of *Parang*; but it fell out that the marcasites were not full ripened, so that the company were at the expence of a million to no purpose. Such as had the direction of this enterprise, were very much censured, and the works have been long since discontinued. There are people who are, notwithstanding, thoroughly persuaded that the natives of the country find, in many places, considerable quantities of gold; which places, however, they carefully conceal from the *Europeans*. During the war in *Java*, which lasted from the year 1716 to 1721, the inhabitants of some parts of the country were so often and so miserably plundered, that they were reduced to absolute beggary; yet it was observed, that in the space of one year's peace these very people grew excessively rich, and had

d not only great quantities of gold in dust, but also in ingots^e. The mountains are many of them so high, as to be seen at the distance of three or four leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain* is by far the highest of them all, and seen the farthest off at sea. They have frequent and very terrible earthquakes in this country, which shake the city and places adjacent to such a degree, that the fall of the houses is expected every moment. The waters in the road are excessively agitated, insomuch that their motion resembles that of a boiling-pot; and in some places the earth opens, which affords a strange and terrible spectacle^f.

THE inhabitants are of opinion that these earthquakes proceed from the mountain *Parang*, which is full of sulphur, salt-petre, and bitumen, all which, taking fire, cause a prodigious struggle in the bowels of the earth, and of consequence an earthquake; and they assure us, that

e it is very common, after such an accident, to see a large cloud of smoke hanging over the top of the mountain^g. Many years ago General *Ribeck*, who then commanded in the island, went with a considerable number of attendants to the top of that mountain. On his arrival there he perceived a large cavity, into which he caused a man to be let down, that he might examine the inside. The man, when he returned, reported that the mountain was hollow within; that he had heard a most frightful noise of torrents of water on every side, and that here and there he had seen flames burst out, so that he was absolutely afraid of going far, from an apprehension of being either stifled by the vapours, or of falling through some of the

^b Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé CHOISY, p. 175, 176.
p. 114, 115.

^d HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 126.

^f NIEUHOFF's voyages, p. 302.

^c L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii.

^e L'expédition de trois vaisseaux,

^g L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p.

116, 117.

(O) If the reader is inclined to be farther informed upon this subject, he may easily gratify his inclinations by consulting and comparing *Nieuboff*, *Le Brun*, *Graaf*, and others who have visited this celebrated island. It may not be amiss to add such lights as may be received from *English* and *French* writers, because they are apt to mention many things, that, from being familiar to the *Dutch*, find no place in their writings (9). It will be proper also to consider, that though two authors contradict each other flatly, yet neither of them may be absolutely

mistaken, because there are few countries in the world that have suffered greater alterations than this, or where art has made more encroachments upon nature; so that it is no wonder at all if writers at a considerable distance of time differ widely from each other, and yet without any disregard to truth. In reference, however, to the fruits and other natural productions of the *Dutch* territories in the island of *Java*, *Nieuboff*, allowing for the time in which he was there, is the most copious and the most exact writer.

(9) *Atlas géographique*, vol. iii. p. 795.

many chimms. It is certain, that the waters in the neighbourhood of this mountain are very far from being wholesome; and that even those that come to *Batavia* are impregnated with sulphur. Such as drink much of them contract various distempers, but chiefly a dysentery; yet this water, when boiled, does no sort of hurt, though drank ever so copiously.^a

Of the fruits, anim. &c. in this noble island of Java, as improved by the Dutch.

THE fruits and plants in this island are all, in their respective kinds, excellent, and almost out of number. There are abundance of forests scattered over the island, in which are all kinds of wild beasts, such as buffaloes, tygers, rhinoceroses, and wild horses, with an infinite variety of serpents, some of them of an enormous size. Crocodiles are prodigiously large in *Java*, and are found chiefly in the mouths of rivers; for, being amphibious animals, they delight most in marshes and savannahs. This creature, like the tortoise, lays its eggs in the hot sands, without taking any farther care of them, and the sun hatches them at the proper season, when they run instantly into the water. There is, in short, no kind of animal wanting here: fowls they have of all sorts, and exquisitely good, especially peacocks, partridges, pheasants, wood-pigeons; and, for curiosity, they have the *Indian* bat, which differs little in form from ours, but its wings, when extended, measure a full yard, and the body of it is of the size of a rat. They have fish in great plenty, of different sorts, and very good; so that for the value of three pence, there may be enough bought to dine six or seven men. They have likewise a multitude of tortoises, the flesh of which is very little inferior to veal, and there are many who think it better. As the flat country abounds in this manner with all sorts of provision, there are daily great quantities brought to *Batavia*; and to prevent any danger of scarcity, the vessels belonging to the company are continually employed in bringing, from the most distant parts of the island, provisions, spices, and other necessaries, such as indigo, rice, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, &c. There are also laid up in the magazines at *Batavia*, all the various kinds of rich and valuable commodities, not of *Java* only, but of all the *Indies*, ready to be transported thence, either to other ports of the company's dominions, or in the ships that in great fleets return annually to *Holland** (P).^b

A general view of the state, fertility, and populousness, of the whole island.

UPON the whole, if we may depend on the concurring testimony of the *Dutch* writers, and more especially such as have visited the *Indies*, and resided in the city of *Batavia*, we must believe, that the company have fixed the seat of their empire not only on the spot most commodious for their commerce, but in one of the fairest, most fruitful, and best peopled countries in the universe. This will sufficiently appear, from what has been already said, as well as from the following facts, which they affirm from their own knowledge; viz. that there are in *Java* upwards of forty great towns, which, for the number of their inhabitants, would, in any other part of the world, merit the title of cities, and more than four thousand five hundred villages, besides hamlets and straggling houses lying very near each other, upon the sea-coast, and in the neighbourhood of great towns: so that, upon a fair and moderate calculation,

^b Voyages de FRANÇOIS LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 86. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 117. NIEUHOFF'S voyages, p. 321—363. Voyages de FRANÇOIS LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 88—97. ^c JANISON état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 339, 340, 341. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 121, 122, 123.

(P) One would be tempted to think, that the affairs of a government so mixed and complicated in the very nature of its constitution, and swelled to so great a height, as well as embarrassed with such a variety of circumstances, must be liable to much confusion, and that it would be a thing impossible to keep them in any tolerable degree of order, much less in that exact and accurate method that is the source of reputation and prosperity in the management of a private estate. But, if we reflect a little, we shall find, that if this was not done, the administration of the company's affairs would become impracticable, and the government be dissolved. The truth of the matter is, as, from the very singular circumstances attending it, will hereafter appear, that the whole secret of this stupendous direction consists in suffering nothing to run into arrear (10). The general and the particular plan of government is exactly the same. Every officer in the company's service has his particular function, which he is obliged to execute in person; and, of the discharge of this he gives an account, from day to day, to his superior, who does the like; and, at certain periods, these journals and accounts are transmitted to *Batavia*; where they are inspected, comptrolled, and reported to the council of the *Indies*, with the same punctuality.

It must, indeed, be allowed, that this requires a most fatiguing attention, more especially from the superior officers: yet, what from a zeal for the service, a long continued habit, a natural passion for superior power, and the desire of rising to a state of honour and independence, after a temporary scene of labour and application, it has been hitherto so well performed, that scarce any apparent disorder has ever appeared. It may, perhaps, seem a paradox, but it is certainly true, that the extraordinary difficulties with which this administration is pressed, have contributed more than any thing else to that success which has been so visible in its execution; for where men have little leisure, they are least inclined to pleasure; and where they are sensible, that one day lost can never be recovered, they are sure not to lose a day (11). The smallest irregularity would be productive of such consequences as could be hardly remedied; and the fear of this has hitherto impressed such an attention, as to prevent the slightest relaxation in a discipline, which, if experience did not demonstrate the contrary, we could scarce expect should subsist for any time; and which, as it has now subsisted so long, leaves no just apprehensions of its suffering any check, unless from unforeseen causes in time to come.

(10) Janison état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, p. 363. aux Indes, p. 314.

(11) Voyages de Nicolas Graaf

there

a there are within the bounds of the whole island, taking in persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, more than thirty millions of souls: so that it is thrice as populous as *France*, which, though twice as big, is not reputed to have more than twenty millions of inhabitants. How surprising soever this may seem, yet, if we consider it attentively, it agrees very well with the accounts given us of the wonderful fertility of *Java*, and of the numerous armies that have been set on foot by princes that had but parts of it under their jurisdiction ¹ (Q).

But, after all, what most astonishes wise men is, that the *Dutch* company should be able, ^{By what a sudden and surprising growth the Dutch company rose, from being subjects, to the rank of sovereigns over the Javaneſe.} in so short a space of time as sixteen years from her first incorporation, to establish a settlement on the ruins of a royal city, and, in the space of a few years, afterwards defend that settlement against the united force of this whole island. It is very true, that not less than forty years were spent in bringing the city of *Batavia*, and all its fortresses, to perfection; and yet, during this space, the company undertook, and effected, very great designs, conquered vast countries by their arms, and obliged many rich and potent princes not only to court her favour, but to place their safety in seeking her protection ². We have shewn, in the foregoing history, though in the most succinct manner we could, how all these wonders were achieved, sometimes by art, sometimes by dint of alliances, sometimes by plain force, in maintaining numerous armies, and equipping great fleets, year after year, at an immense expence of blood and treasure. This, without all doubt, must have greatly lessened the profits of their trade, and must have laid them open to very severe reflections, not only from such as smarted under the weight of their power, or envied their constant prosperity, but from those upright and unbiassed patriots who considered things only as they were useful or prejudicial to the interests of their mother-country (R).

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, and notwithstanding that many things in their conduct may not be reconcileable to the nice rules of equity, or the maxims of strict justice; for when did great fortune arise from a close attention to those rules and maxims? In what age, in what country, have there arisen statesmen without vices, or heroes without crimes? Did *Rome*, did *Carthage*, nay, did *Sparta*, grow to be great and famous without censure, without blemish? Notwithstanding therefore all that may be justly said, and all that has, whether right or wrong, been imputed to the *Dutch* company, as flowing from a spirit of ambition, tyranny, and oppression, this must be allowed, that she has no parallel in ancient or in modern

¹ *Memoires de Dr. Garçin.*

² *NIEUHOFF's voyages*, p. 320.

(Q) As the best *Dutch* writers are unanimous in their reports upon this head, it deserves so much the more credit, especially when we consider, that the emperors of *Java* have been consulted upon this subject, who never fail to be well acquainted with the exact number of their subjects, receiving distinct accounts from all the pangarangs, or governors of provinces, of which there are seven maritime, and five inland (12). An instance of this may be acceptable to the reader (13). About the year 1664, the reigning emperor found some *Mohammedan* priests were engaged in a conspiracy against him, and not being thoroughly acquainted how many of them might have embarked in this intrigue, he thought it safest, as knowing well their interest among the people, to be rid of them all; and therefore gave private orders, to have a list made of every priest in his dominions; which was accordingly done; and he found them upwards of six thousand; all of which, upon the firing of a cannon from the palace, which was repeated from fortress to fortress, were put to death, as it were in an instant. It is not easy to say, whether, since the *Dutch* have settled in that island, the number of people therein has increased or decreased; but the former seems to be more probable, since, for near a century past, wars have been far less frequent; and though it be true, that the naval power of the *Javaneſe* was much greater when they first settled at *Batavia*, than in succeeding times, yet it is universally allowed, that they have still a great quantity of shipping; and that, in all their great towns and villages, they have a prodigious number of shops, in which all sorts of commodities are sold; and that industry has been rather promoted than lessened, by the settling so many *Dutch* factories, as, in their proper places, the reader will be informed, still subsist in different parts of the island (14).

(R) What is said in the text will convince the reader, that the affairs of the *Dutch East India* company are here very candidly represented, and serve, at the same time, to reconcile certain passages that might seem otherwise a little discordant. We are far from pretending to decide the dispute between those great men, who think that this commerce with the *Indies* might have been carried on more to the advantage of the subjects of the States General, if it had not been intrusted in the hands of an exclusive company; though we take occasion sometimes to state their sentiments, and at others, to mention what has been or may be alleged in favour of the company. But whatever becomes of this dispute, that is, on which side soever truth lies, the progress of the company, in point both of commerce and power, is certainly very extraordinary, and even amazing. Yet, though we grant and explain this, we are far from denying, that this commerce has been sometimes extended, and this power sometimes exerted, to the prejudice of their neighbours; neither have we dissembled our sentiments in particular cases, where the thread of our history obliged us to disclose them (15). There is a wide difference between admiration and adulation; and we may consider, with some degree of astonishment, how this company has grown, in a manner imperceptible, to such a height, as to form the single exception to that otherwise general rule, that the current cannot rise higher than the source; whereas the chief governors of this company, who are but subjects in *Europe*, and receive with submission the orders of the States General, exercise an absolute sovereignty in the *Indies*, and have several considerable princes for their tributaries and vassals.

(12) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin.*

(13) *Voyages de Gantier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 361.

(14) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux. Jacton etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies.*

(15) See the disputes we have mentioned between them and the Portuguese, English, and Dutch.

history. Her glory is as singular as her influence is extensive; and such a succession of wise managers at home, and of gallant and great officers abroad, is to be found only in the records of her rise and progress, which cannot be transcribed without exciting reverence, or be read but with amazement*. All this may be collected from what is past, from tracing the efforts of this company from its infancy to the present times, relating the difficulties it has overcome, and the acquisitions it has made. Yet, to gain a clear conception of it really is, to frame a true notion of its dominion and power, to know what countries are in its possession, what trade it carries on, and how such a mixed and mighty empire is managed, requires much more to be said, and, indeed, a new field to be opened. We must, to make ourselves masters of this, be content to inquire diligently into the scheme of her foreign policy, and to collect carefully what has been written concerning her governments, directions, commanderies, establishments, and factories; for without doing this, we can have only superficial and confused sentiments of that grandeur, which, as it arose from, and is maintained by, naval power, ought (for our own sakes) to be clearly and particularly understood.

The only probable method of doing this, which is also pursued thro' the remaining part of this chapter, and is taken from the most authentic writers.

We will therefore try what may be done towards attaining a short and true description of the rest of those provinces, which, with *Batavia*, make up the eight great governments that belong to the company, in each of which they are, in some measure, sovereigns, as having at least the executive power in their hands, without controul; for the company give the title of governor only to him who administers justice to their own subjects, in countries where no other European nation has either settlement or trade, but by their permission. After this, we will run through the lesser jurisdictions, some of which, however, are of very great consequence; and, after having thus represented to the reader's view a kind of political map of the company's territories, we will next, as far as we are able, explore her general system of government, by which these parts are connected, and her civil, ecclesiastical, and military establishments, so balanced as to contribute to the preservation of the whole; and lastly, we will add a brief detail of the correspondence between the government in *India*, and the directors of the *East India* company in the United Provinces, who are, and have been always, the first movers in this great machine, giving weight, imparting vigour, and deriving motion to the whole. These points being examined, in a manner as full as the bounds to which we are confined will admit, may contribute to set this subject, at least in some degree, in such a light as it deserves, and in such a light as will effectually demonstrate, that nothing we have advanced has any tincture of exaggeration, but proceeds entirely from the impression made by the contemplation of what this society has achieved, as it arose in compiling and digesting the materials requisite to the composition of this chapter. An undertaking so much the more necessary, as those succinct and imperfect representations that are commonly met with, contribute very little to fill the mind with any just notion of so wonderful a power as this is, and which, for many reasons that need not be enumerated here, deserves to be so distinctly described, as that we may clearly and perfectly comprehend the whole system, without which, it is impossible to have an adequate conception of any particular branch of its œconomy.

* NIEUHOFF, WICQUEFORT, NEUVILLE, BASNAGE, LE CLERC, JANICON, RICARD, &c.

S E C T. XVI.

A view of the government of Ceylon. Some attempts of the Dutch governors to render themselves independent. The profits accruing to the company from their possession of the coasts of this valuable country; and their singular precaution in excluding all other nations.

Ceylon, or Ceilan, the first government after Batavia; and has peculiar prerogatives.

THE first and best government after *Batavia*, is that of the island of *Ceylon*. The governor is usually one of the council of the *Indies*, and has council appointed to assist him, framed in the same manner with that of *Batavia*, only the latter are not quite so great men as the former. Though the governor of *Ceylon* is dependent on the council at *Batavia*, he is at liberty to write immediately to the directors in *Holland*, without asking the permission of the governor-general, or without giving an account of his conduct in that respect*. This singular prerogative has had bad effects; because it has tempted the governors of *Ceylon* to withdraw

* BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 124, 125. Mémoires de Dr. GARCIN.

their

a their obedience, in order to become absolute sovereigns of the island (S). There have been several examples of this kind ; but it will be sufficient to dwell here on the two last, which have made so much noise in *Europe*. These *Indian* commotions were owing to the tyranny of two governors, who immediately succeeded each other, the one named *Vuist*, and the other *Versluys*. The whole transaction fell out thus :

As soon as Mr. *Rumpf* left his government of *Ceylon*, Mr. *Vuist*, his successor, began to act the barbarian towards all who were not in his good graces. He persecuted the *Europeans* as well as the *Indians* ; and having, from the beginning, this project in his head, he pursued it steadily, and by methods that were fittest for accomplishing his purpose. In the first place, he thought it necessary to rid himself of the richest persons in the island, and of such as were of reputation for experience and penetration. In order to save appearances, he thought it requisite to forge a plot, and caused informations to be preferred against such as he intended to ruin, for a conspiracy to betray and deliver up the principal fortresses in the island to some foreign power ; which scheme served him doubly ; for, first, it seemed to manifest a great zeal for the company's service, and next, it gave him an opportunity to convict those he hated of high treason, which deprived them at once of life and fortune. To manage this more effectually, he thought fit to change his council, and bring into it such as he could depend on. The confiscation of the estates and effects of a number of innocent persons he condemned, and murdered, under colour of his attention to the public welfare, put it in his power to oblige many, and to raise a vast number of creatures. This modern *Cataline* was born in the *Indies*, of *Dutch* parents, had naturally a strong capacity, which he had improved by an assiduous application. His dark brow, and cloudy air, sufficiently shewed the cruelty of his disposition, and that flintiness of heart, which distinguished him from other men. He loved and protected the *Indians*, either from natural inclination, as they were his countrymen, or because he thought them less capable of penetrating, and less willing to traverse, his designs. In order to gain them intirely to his devotion, he preferred them as often as any vacancies fell in his government, and this in direct opposition to the repeated instructions of the company, directing him to bestow the principal posts in the island on *Dutchmen*, or other *Europeans*. He carried on his designs for a long time with the greatest dexterity, acquiring, by gifts, and other artifices, a prodigious number of dependents, who were ready to support him even in the blackest designs ^P.

THIS, however, he could not do, without giving umbrage to some of the company's faithful servants, who sent over to *Holland* such clear and perfect informations of his behaviour, as gave sufficient light into his real intentions, in spite of all the arts he made use of to conceal them. At last, therefore, the company sent Mr. *Versluys* directly to *Ceylon*, to succeed him, with orders to send *Vuist* prisoner to *Batavia*, where he was called to an account for his conduct. As soon as he came thither, abundance of informations were preferred against him, for a variety of crimes, of a private as well as public nature ; into all which, the council of justice caused the strictest inquisition to be made, and took care to be furnished with every kind of proof. In fine, after abundance of examinations, he freely confessed, that he had caused nineteen innocent persons to be most cruelly put to death ; adding, that as he had, to keep up a shew of justice, put them all to the torture, so, by the severity of this proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a confession of crimes, none of which had ever so much as entered into their heads. Such flagrant offences certainly deserved the severest punishment the laws could inflict ! The sentence passed upon him was to this effect ; That he should be broken alive upon the wheel, his body immediately quartered, and those quarters burnt upon a pile of

^P L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 126, 127.

(S) This noble island enjoys so many prerogatives from nature, is of such prodigious consequence to the power, as well as the commerce, of the *East India* company, and is so much the object of envy to the rest of the *European* nations, that there is no wonder to be made at the singular concern expressed for the security of so valuable a country. In this respect all imaginable precautions have been taken to enlarge the governor's power in regard to what concerns his correspondence with the directors at home ; and to circumscribe it, on the other hand, in reference to the places which lie within his government, so that he may be influenced both by hope and fear to the due performance of so great a charge, which commonly recommends him to the post of general of the *Indies* (16). At all events a governor has it

in his power to raise a prodigious fortune in a very short space, and this without running any risque or hazard ; which circumstance will certainly have a great effect on the mind of any man who is desirous of returning home, and spending the latter part of his days in *Holland* ; but cannot have so great an effect, or at least will not operate in the same manner, upon one who has never been, and who has no desire ever to be, in *Europe* (17). Such a one will consider all things in a different light, and must have a strong repugnance to part with that splendor and authority with which he has been once clothed ; and therefore it is not at all strange if he contrives how to keep them ; for wheret the treasure is, there will the heart be also (18).

(16) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 209.
(18) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 193.

(17) *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 127.

wood; after which, the ashes were to be put in a cask, and thrown into the sea, as unworthy of any other interment. Which sentence, without the least mitigation, was put in execution, within a few days after it was pronounced ^a.

Mr. Versluys, who succeeded him in the government, embarks also in pernicious designs. As Mr. *Versluys* succeeded *Vuist* in his government, so he imitated him also in his behaviour, instigated, however, by avarice rather than ambition. This man had by no means the cruelty of *Vuist*, and therefore he shed no blood, but acted as despotically as the other. The great point he aimed at was not the possession of the country, but the possession of all that was valuable in it. As soon as he was settled in his post, he raised the price of rice, which is the bread of that country, to such an extravagant height, that, in a very short time, the people were not able to purchase it, so that they were, by degrees, reduced to starving. Their humble representations of the misery which reigned among all ranks of people, throughout the whole island, made no manner of impression upon him; but things went on from bad to worse, till an account of his conduct was sent over to *Holland*. The States General were no sooner informed of the distress of the inhabitants of *Ceylon*, than they appointed a new governor, one Mr. *Doembourg*, and gave him particular instructions to repair past errors, and to treat the subjects of the *East-India* company with all the tenderness and indulgence possible, that they might be convinced their grievances proceeded from the wickedness of particular men, and not from any disposition in their sovereigns to oppression.

The States General interpose and send over a new governor, who seizes Versluys. ON the arrival of Mr. *Doembourg*, things assumed a new and unexpected face; for *Versluys* took it into his head that they would defend him against his masters, and therefore refused to surrender the government, and even had the insolence to fire upon the company's ships, as they lay in the road of *Columbo*. But all this signified nothing; Mr. *Doembourg* landed; his authority was immediately acknowledged by all in the company's service, and by the people. He caused *Versluys* to be arrested and sent prisoner to *Batavia*, where a long criminal prosecution was carried on against him, but with indifferent success; for he had taken care to cover himself so effectually, that it was found impossible to obtain other than circumstantial proofs. At last he thought proper to lay down a very large sum of money, to attend the event of the suit; and was set at liberty, that he might be the more able to defend himself. This was certainly a better escape than he deserved; and these instances sufficiently prove the truth of *John de Witt's* observation, that the settlements, by being absolutely under the power of the company, are continually exposed to the greatest dangers, from which their escaping so frequently is at once a mark of their good fortune and their insecurity, since the seeds of this mischief can never be removed ^d.

A short account of the condition of this island, as divided between the natives and the Dutch. THE island of *Ceylon* is justly esteemed one of the fairest and richest in the world, and, for that reason, is considered with jealous eyes by its possessors, as well as with envy by their neighbours. The principal places therein are *Jasanapatam*, *Trinkenemale*, *Materolo*, *Punta de Galo*, *Columbo*, *Nijombo*, *Scitavaca*, and *Candy*. The *East India* company are possessed of the island, of the country, ten or twelve leagues within land; and of most of the towns before-mentioned. The *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, built abundance of forts for their own security, so that it was a very difficult matter to dislodge them; but when once the *Dutch* had contracted a secret alliance with the king of *Candy*, who was sovereign of the best part of the island, they suddenly found themselves attacked on all sides by land and sea; and were, as has been related, by degrees driven totally out of all their possessions. As the *Dutch* have ever since taken great pains to keep up a good correspondence with that monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded ^e.

Instances of the good correspondence between the emperor of Ceylon and the Dutch East India company. THE company send every year an ambassador to him, with various presents; in return for which his majesty sends the company a cabinet of jewels, of so great value, that the vessel which carries it home is looked upon to be worth half the fleet. The governor-general takes care himself to have it so packed among the rest of the merchandize, that not only none of the ship's company, but even the captain of the vessel that carries it, knows not whether it be on board his ship; which shews the immense wealth the company draws from her dominions in the *Indies*, and at the same time the wise and prudent measures she employs to secure the riches she obtains. The two principal Places in this Island are *Punta de Galo* and *Columbo*. This last place is the residence of the governor and his council; and the other is properly no more than the port of that city. The air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is notwithstanding esteemed to be tolerably wholesome. The country abounds with most excellent fruits of all kinds. They have likewise great plenty of rivers, of sea-fish of various sorts, fowls wild and tame, as also animals, particularly elephants, much larger than in any other country of the ^f

^a BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 128, 129. ^f Ibid. p. 130, 131. ^e Ibid. p. 131, 132. ^d GRONDEN en maximen van de republiek van Holland, 1 deel, cap. xxvi. ^e JANIGON état de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 369. ^f Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. ^e L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 139. ^f Voyages de NICOLAS GRAAF, p. 113.

a *Indies*, tygers, bears, civet-cats, apes, &c. Such is the dominion of the company in this important island, abounding with all good things, but abounding to them only ^a (T).

But that for which this island is most famous, is its cinnamon, esteemed by far the best in all *Asia*. Cinnamon is, properly speaking, the inner bark of a tree which is not unlike that which bears oranges; the flowers differ but little from those of the laurel-tree in their size and figure. There are three sorts of cinnamon, the finest, which is taken from young trees; a coarser sort, taken from the old ones; and wild cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in *Malabar*, *China*, and of late years in *Brazil* ^a (U). The company likewise drives a great trade in the oil which is drawn from this spice, and which is of very great value; and gains also very considerable by the precious stones that are found in this island, which are rubies, **b** sapphires, white and blue topazes, &c. ^b (X). There is likewise between *Manar* and *Tutocorin*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, a fine pearl-fishery, which brings in a prodigious profit. This is let

The vast riches of this island, in cinnamon, precious stones, and pearls.

^a *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 207. *JANISON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 371. ^a *Histoire de Ceylon*, par RIBEYRO, p. 10, 11. ^b *Dictionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. p. 852.

(T) The emperor of *Ceylon* still remains in all respects a very powerful prince, his territories being of a vast extent, his revenue immense, his court splendid, and his subjects so numerous, that he can bring two hundred thousand fighting men into the field; and though his credit may be in some measure hurt, by being so much as he is under the influence of the *Dutch*, yet his authority is better supported, and his revenue not at all the less for what they possess in this island (19). On the other hand, they are pretty secure, and have no reason to apprehend any sudden danger from so powerful a neighbour, since they have so many excellent fortresses on all sides of the island. That of *Jafanapatam* lies in the north, where the land is broke into several islands; and, as the *Dutch* fancy that the whole country resembles a ham, so this must pass for the knuckle of it, and thence they give it the name of *Hambeel*. To this fortress, one of the best and most regular in the island, all the adjacent country and little islands are subject, and are all of them well inhabited (20). *Columbo* stands on the west-side of the island, looking towards *Cape Commorin*, on the side of a bay into which small vessels may enter, but cannot ride with any great safety, because it lies exposed to the north wind (21). The city was very large and beautiful when in the hands of the *Portuguese*; at present smaller in compass, but neater and stronger, being still the capital or place where the *Dutch* governor resides. *Ponte de Gallo* is seated on the south-west of the island, which is the best port, and in that respect esteemed the most important place of all; and therefore, as the reader will see hereafter, is in some measure exempted from the jurisdiction of the governor. The town stands on an eminence, surrounded with a deep fosse well fortified, and commanding the port, which is capable of receiving the largest vessels (22). *Trinquimala* is on the east side of the island, and has a safe and spacious port. The *Dutch* when they first drove out the *Portuguese*, put it into the hands of the emperor; but they have now a triangular fort, and a good garrison, for the defence of that part of the country. In these places they have good garrisons, composed of regular troops, magazines well supplied, and no want of artillery. In case of a civil war, they could bring many thousands of their Christian subjects into the field, as brave troops, and better disciplined than those of the emperor; and, as to the attempts of other *European* nations, they are in too good a posture of defence to entertain any apprehensions at present; and in case of any danger, they might be speedily supplied with necessary reinforcements of all kinds from *Batavia* (23).

(U) The cinnamon-trees do not grow all over the island of *Ceylon*, or at least not in any great plenty, or

of the best sort. The natives, it is said, distinguish nine or ten different kinds; but, since the *Dutch* have been masters here, they propagate only the best sort, and prohibit the rest. The woods that furnish this precious spice lie mostly to the north of *Columbo*; and it is the importance of this commerce that has preserved to that place the residence of the governor, as well under the *Dutch* as the *Portuguese*. According to the common opinion, after these trees are barked, they, in the space of a few years, recover that injury, and are in a condition to be barked again: but the best writers affirm quite the contrary; and that when a tree is once barked, it is cut down to the root, from whence in a few years rise one or more stems that are fit to bark again (24). These trees are likewise propagated by the fruit; and, as they grow both ways with very little cultivation, so the cinnamon plantations might be vastly extended, if the company did not find it more for their interest to keep these woods within bounds. The management of the cinnamon is entirely in the hands of a particular race of people called *Chialias*, who are subdivided again into four different casts or tribes: the first of these are the *Coronde-Hutais*, who are, properly speaking, the cinnamon-barkers, that is, they take off the inner bark from the branches of the tree, and spread it in the air, that it may dry and curl. The next are the *Coulis*, who are, properly speaking, the porters; who, after they have made up the cinnamon, carry it in bundles to the sea-side, from whence it is transported to *Negambo*, and laid up in the magazines, after it has been tied up in faggots, and weighed. The *Lascarins* are the soldiers who guard the workmen while they are employed; and the *Ilandarias* sort and tie up the cinnamon, and perform other offices in the management of this spice. All these people serve under their proper officers, subject to the direction of a *Dutch* commander in chief; and each family have a house and lands, which they hold by rendering this service to the company. The cinnamon harvest is sometimes in the months of *June*, *July*, or *August*, according as the season is more or less favourable, and lasts commonly three weeks or a month. It is computed in round numbers, that this harvest amounts, one year with another, to a million of pounds weight (25).

(X) If we may rely upon the concurrent accounts of several persons of great veracity, who have lived long in, and were perfectly acquainted with the product of, this island, there is no country in the world that surpasses it in point of natural riches. There are mines of several metals; and, in a mountain not far from the capital, there is one of gold, which the emperor will not suffer to be wrought. As for precious stones they are found sometimes in the earth, but more frequently in the rivers

(19) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (20) *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 12.
 (21) *Les voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes*, p. 113. (22) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 200.
Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 342. (23) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 209.
Janison etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 369. *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (24) *Ribeyro*
bistoire de l'isle de Ceylon, p. 12. *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (25) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. i. col. 649.

let twice to farm to certain negro merchants. The oysters, in which the pearls are found, lie at the bottom of the sea. This fishery is carried on only in fair weather, and when the sea is extremely calm. The diver has a cord which passes under his arms, and is fastened to the boat; he has a large stone fixed to his feet, that he may descend the quicker; and a sack or bag about his waist, into which he puts his oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the bottom of the sea, he takes up as many as lie within his reach, and puts them into his bag as fast as possible. In order to ascend, he pulls strongly a different cord from that which is tied about his body; upon which signal those left in the boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the stone at his feet, that he may rise the faster. When these boats are full of oysters, the negro merchants carry them all over the coasts, and sell them at so much an hundred. This kind of trade is very hazardous for those who purchase the oysters, since sometimes they find pearls of great price, and sometimes none at all, or such as are but of little value ^c.

Prudence and policy of the Dutch in their conduct towards the natives.

THE company draws also a considerable profit from the manufactures of muslin, chintz, and other cotton cloths; yet the greatest part of the muslins sent into *Europe* come not from hence, but from the coast of *Malabar*. The *Chingulays*, or native inhabitants of the island of *Ceylon*, are generally speaking very tall, of a very dark complexion, their ears excessive large, which is owing to the large and heavy ornaments which they wear in them. They are men of great courage, live very hard, and therefore make good soldiers; generally speaking, of the *Mohammedan* religion, but there are also amongst them idolaters, who worship cows and calves. They do not pay much respect to the *Dutch*; but treat them rather with contempt, and scornfully stile them their *Coast-keepers*. But the *Dutch* do not trouble themselves much about this; but, like good politicians, take all the care in the world to keep up a perfect correspondence with the king of *Candy*, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and refuse them his assistance, which would effectually destroy the most valuable part of their commerce. This, however, that monarch might do if he thought fit, without being under any great apprehensions from their power; since his dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid river, and by forests so thick, that it is simply impossible to penetrate them ^d.

The remains of the Portuguese, and Chingulays by them converted, very numerous in Ceylon.

His subjects are particularly remarkable for their great skill in taming elephants, which they use as beasts of burden in time of peace, and in time of war make them very serviceable against their enemies. They are also of great value, considered as commodities; since the *Mogul*, the kings of *Pegu* and *Siam*, and indeed all the eastern princes in general, are willing to purchase them almost at any rate. It seems there are still remaining in this island, as well as in the countries possessed by the king of *Candy*, or, as it is frequently spelt, *Gandy*, as in the territories of the *Dutch*, numbers of the descendants from the *Portuguese*; since we find, that so lately as the treaty of *Utrecht*, a very warm application was made to the States General, by the *Portuguese* ambassador, that they might have leave either to assemble for the celebration of divine service in private houses, or be allowed to resort to the churches in the frontier villages belonging to that prince; which, notwithstanding all the services rendered by the king of *Portugal* to the maritime powers in the preceeding war, was in very rough terms absolutely refused ^e.

^c *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 159. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 141.
^d *Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN. RIBEYRO. GRAAF.* ^e *Memoires de LAMBERTI.*

and rivulets, that roll with great rapidity down the sides of the mountains, in the centre of the island; of these there are four sorts, excellent in their kind, and of great value. First, rubies, which are found no-where else in the *Indies*, except in the kingdom of *Pegu*, which some very able judges prefer to those of *Ceylon*, while others of equal skill affirm those of *Ceylon*, to be superior to the rubies at *Pegu*. Upon a strict examination, it will be found that they are both in the right; for the rubies of *Pegu* are in general brighter, and more perfect, than those of *Ceylon*; but then they are much smaller; and, amongst the larger rubies found in this island, there are some as bright and perfect as those of *Pegu*, and consequently of a much greater value (26). The second are sapphires, white as well as blue; some large, without veins, and exceedingly hard, which are of great value. Topazes are the third kind of precious stones, and those of *Ceylon*

are the fairest and finest in the *Indies*. The fourth are cats-eyes, wonderfully beautiful, and very much esteemed for that surprising mixture of vivid colours which they derive from nature, and exhibit to the eye without the assistance of cutting or polishing (27). To these some good authors have added diamonds, but they were mistaken; for the truth of the matter is, that the natives are rather better acquainted with precious stones than the *Europeans*, and have an art of despoiling both sapphires and topazes of their colour, which they frequently sell to strangers, who are not so good judges as themselves, for diamonds. It is said the emperor prohibits his subjects from selling any of these precious stones to the *Dutch*; notwithstanding which, they find ways and means of procuring them in considerable quantities; and amongst these, there are some of very great price (28).

(26) *Tavernier histoire des Indes. Ribeyro histoire de l'isle de Ceylon*, p. 163. (27) *Ramusio*, vol. i. fol. 321.
Ribeyro histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, p. 158, 159. (28) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin. Histoire des Indes Orientales*, &c.

S E C T. XVII.

Nature and consequences of the Clove trade, and the manner in which it has been translated to Amboyna from the Proper Moluccas, and the motives which induced the company to take this method, as the most effectual for preserving this valuable branch of trade.

- a** **T**HE second government is that of *Amboyna*, one of the *Moluccas*. This island was formerly the seat of the governor-general, before the building of *Batavia*, which was transferred to that city on account of its advantageous situation in the midst of all the company's settlements; whereas *Amboyna* lies too far to the east. This island, however, is one of the biggest of the *Moluccas*. It is situated in the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, between the third and fourth degrees of south latitude, one hundred forty-five degrees of longitude from the *Canary Islands*, and one hundred and twenty leagues to the eastward of *Batavia*. The fort here was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch* in 1605; but they did not render themselves entirely masters of *Amboyna*, and the adjacent countries, till the year 1627, when they had ridded themselves of the *English* also (Y). This conquest put the clove trade wholly into their hands: whence the *Moluccas* are stiled the gold mine of the company; and so they have proved, if we consider the profit they draw from them, and how little fear there is of their being ever exhausted^f. In order to convince the reader of this, we need only observe, that a pound-weight of nutmegs, or of cloves, costs the company not above an halfpenny, and every body knows at what rate they are sold in *Europe*.

Amboyna the second government under the Dutch East India company.

- b** This island of *Amboyna* is the centre of this rich commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her hands, the company takes care to have all the clove-trees in the adjacent islands grubbed up and destroyed; and sometimes, when the harvest is very large in *Amboyna*, part of the produce there is burnt likewise. A few days after the fruit is gathered from the tree, they collect the cloves together, and dry them before the fire on hurdles, by which means they lose the beautiful red colour they derive from nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black, which is perhaps occasioned by their being sprinkled with water. It is pretended that this sprinkling is necessary to hinder the worm from getting into the fruit; but it is thought a better reason may be assigned for it, which is, adding weight to the cloves^g.

The manner in which cloves are gathered, collected, and cured, in Amboyna.

^f ARGENSOLA, NIEUHOFF, SCHOUTEN, HAMILTON, DU BOIS. *dition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 145, 146, 147.*

^g Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN. *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 145, 146, 147.*

(Y) The islands that are in the neighbourhood of *Amboyna*, and are distinguished by particular names, are seven; viz. *Oma*, *Uleaster*, *Nojlaru*, *Onime*, *Maffalon*, *Mulana*, and *Ostava*, according to some memoirs, which is the reason that we have placed them here in a note (29). But, in reality, the islands which are under the *Dutch* governor of *Amboyna* are ten, taking in the extent of about five degrees of longitude, that of *Amboyna* being farthest to the south; we shall give the names of these likewise in their order. 1. *Ceram* which is the largest in the whole government, indeed larger than all the rest, taking *Amboyna* into the number. 2. *Ceram-Lavut*, a small island four leagues to the east of the former. 3. *Bouro*, the largest next to *Ceram*, and which lies west of all the rest. 4. *Amblau*, which is the smallest, and three leagues from *Bouro*. 5. *Manipa*, between *Bouro* and *Ceram*. 6. *Kelang*, two leagues to the north-east of *Manipa*. 7. *Bonoa*, still farther north. 8. *Orna*, lying east from *Amboyna*, at the distance of two leagues. 9. *Honimoa*, a league to the east of *Orna*. 10. *Noussa-Laout*, a league south-east from the last mentioned island (30). These three islands, *Orna*, *Honimoa*, and *Noussa-Laout*, are stiled all together *Ulaassers*, which was formerly mistaken by *French* writers for the name of a particular island. It is in *Amboyna*, and in these three islands only, that cloves are now cul-

tivated; whereas formerly they grew in all the islands, more especially in *Ceram*. These are the islands the circuit of which the governor of *Amboyna* makes once in three years, in order to see that the company's injunctions are complied with, and that no cloves are suffered to grow (31). The island of *Amboyna* is divided into two parts, that is, a lesser and a greater peninsula. The former is called *Hitou*, twelve leagues in length, and two and a half broad: In this the *Dutch* have no less than five forts, or rather strong redoubts, mounted with cannon; the other is called *Leytimor*, five leagues in length, and one and a half broad, which is the southern part of the island; on this stands the fort of *Victoria*, which is the residence of the governor and his council, composed of fifteen gentlemen, or merchants. The fortress is a square, the ramparts mounted with sixty pieces of brass cannon, and the garrison usually composed of six hundred men (32). The inhabitants of *Amboyna* are computed at seventy or eighty thousand, of which but a small number are *Dutch*; and this obliges them to be continually upon their guard, and to keep a competent number of troops in each of their forts, particularly in that of *Middleburgh*, which stands upon the isthmus that connects these peninsulas (33). There are also redoubts and garrisons in all the other islands of this government.

(29) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois* p. 192. *Janicon etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 365. *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 801. (30) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (31) *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 17. *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 805. *Histoire des Indes*. (32) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (33) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 193. *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 887.

Very difficult to gain a distinct account of these matters, which are also liable to alterations.

It is very difficult, even with the greatest care, and after comparing the best memoirs that are to be met with upon this subject, to speak of it with that certainty and precision we could wish; because these accounts frequently contradict each other, and it is very difficult to distinguish where the truth lies. Besides, the *Dutch* are continually making alterations in their methods of managing the spice trade, so that the most exact account of it becomes in the space of a few years very imperfect. One ought to attribute to this a great many things set down by writers of credit, which are not at all agreeable to truth at this day. As for instance, that the cloves are shaken or beaten off the trees, whereas they are gathered very carefully with the hand; and it, by chance, any of the twigs are broken, it is no small prejudice to the tree. It has been said by some, that cloves are gathered but once in several years; by others, that they are gathered several times in one year. Both may be true if spoken of different places, and in different periods of time: at present there is but one great harvest, which is between the middle of *October* and the middle of *December*, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according as the fruit comes to its maturity. Some years the produce is four, five, or six times as much as in others; but taking it at a medium for seven years, and it may be well fixed at a million of pounds; and it is computed, that, one with another, this is four pounds from every bearing tree ^a.

Method taken to destroy all the clove-trees in the Moluccas by the East India company.

THERE is a vulgar error prevails in respect to the hot nature of this plant, which is reported to be so great, that it suffers nothing to grow under it. The fact is, that nothing is permitted to grow under or about it, which is one great point in its cultivation. The *East India* company have published a long ordinance for the improvement and security of the clove plantations, which are divided into five districts, through all which the people are obliged to comply, under severe penalties, with what is directed in that order. The wild clove is larger, and more spongy; the cultivated clove less, harder, and much more aromatic in smell and taste. It is out of question that the *Dutch* have been at very great pains to extirpate the cloves in all the ten isles dependent upon that of *Amboyna*; and even in *Ceram*, where formerly the best cloves grew; and it is now highly penal for any to be found out of those districts which have been before mentioned. To prevent this, the governor of *Amboyna* makes the tour of his government with a fleet of curricuries, consisting sometimes of twenty, and at others of thirty, forty, or fifty sail; which expedition is made with all the pomp imaginable, in order to gratify the pride and folly of the *Indian* chiefs. The true reason of their taking all this pains is, because experience has shewn, that no contracts, however solemn, could restrain the inhabitants of those islands from selling their cloves to strangers; and even now frauds are so frequently practised by the *Dutch* themselves, though the company is inexorable in punishing them, that the common people call them *Galken-kruid*, that is, the gallows-spice ^b.

The strength of the company in Amboyna, and the additional advantages of that establishment.

As to the force the company has in *Amboyna*, it consists in the garrison in their great fort, which is very numerous, seldom less than six hundred, composed of their best troops, and kept constantly in excellent order. The fort itself, called *Victoria*, is so strong from art and nature, that it is in a manner impregnable; and so effectually commands the harbour, that it is impossible for a vessel to go in or out without being sunk by the cannon of the fort, if the governor give orders for that purpose. One would imagine, that so rich a commerce as that of cloves might be a sufficient return for the expence the company is at about this island. But such is their care to improve every thing to the utmost advantage, that of late years they have caused coffee to be planted, which is like to turn to great account ^c. Under the government of Mr. *Barnard*, however, there was a discovery made of a commodity still more valuable than coffee or cloves; for, through his vigilance, it was found that in some of the mountains there were considerable quantities of gold-dust washed down by the torrents; and this discovery he pursued with such effect, as at last to find out the mine; so that the wealth of these *Indian* countries is ever increasing when in the hands of those who know how to make the best use of every thing ^d. There is one thing more of which we must take notice, before we leave *Amboyna*, and that is, a kind of red wood which grows in this island, that, besides the beauty of its colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and, which is still more extraordinary, is naturally embellished in its grain with abundance of beautiful figures. Of this wood they make tables, cabinets, escritaires, and other pieces of furniture, for the principal persons in the government, and the rest is sold all over the *Inaies*, at a very extravagant rate; so that this article is to be added to those already mentioned, of the riches in *Amboyna* ^e (Z).

S E C T.

^d Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 888.
vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 148, 149.
rion de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 152.
vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 153.

^e Memoires de Dr. GARCIN. L'expedition de trois
L'expedition de trois
L'expedition de trois

(Z) If we may yield intire credit to those who have taken pains to examine most closely into the affairs of the *Dutch East India* company upon the spot, and while in their service, we must believe that things are every day

day improving in that part of the world, where their governors are become now quite another sort of men than they were; and, instead of following the barbarous practice of the natives, or paying any deference to antique notions, or vulgar superstitions, they prefer the dictates of good sense, and the lights of experience, by which they have entirely changed the face of things, produce many more trees upon a less spot of ground, collect from them much greater quantities of spice, and that spice better in its nature, better cured, and better

packed, than formerly. Amongst other governors, Mr. *Schaghen*, who had the direction of affairs in the *Moluccas* from 1691 to 1696, when he was removed by death, is still famous for the improvement which he introduced in the culture and curing of cloves. His example has been followed by succeeding governors; and these plantations are now so regular, so beautiful, and the air so odoriferous and wholesome, that they contribute no less to the health and pleasure of the inhabitants than to the profit of the company (34).

(34) *Memoires de Dr. Gargin.*

S E C T. XVIII.

The government of the islands of Banda; state of the nutmeg trade; precautions taken to secure the monopoly of spices in the Indies, as well as in Europe; how far this hath hitherto succeeded.

- a** **T**HE next government is that of the isles of *Banda*, which are in number six, lying in the latitude of four degrees thirty minutes south, and at the distance of about four hundred and fifty leagues from *Batavia*. The first of these was called by its inhabitants *Bandan*; but, when the *Dutch* came thither, they established their factory at a place called *Lonthor*; and though that has been long ago destroyed, yet the island bears its name still, and is the largest of the isles of *Banda*, and produces most nutmegsⁿ. The island of *Neira* is next in size, where the *Dutch* have two forts; that of *Nassau*, which commands the narrow strait between this island and *Lonthor*, and the other *Belgica*, on the top of a hill in the midst of the island. The governor commonly resides in this island, and for the most part in *Fort Nassau*. *Gounong-api*, that is to say, the mountain of fire, in the *Malayan* language, lies to the west of *Neira*, with a very narrow chanel between them. It derives this name from a large burning hill, which throws out from time to time vast quantities of ashes, and has thereby corrupted not only the air of that island, but of all in its neighbourhood, to such a degree, that scarce any will inhabit them that are at full liberty, and have it in their power to subsist any-where else^o. *Poulo-ay* is a small island to the west of the three former; but the soil and climate are better than any of them; and in it the company has a good fort. *Poulo rhon* is that island about which they have had so many disputes with the crown of *England*, under the name of *Poleron*; and perhaps it may not be amiss to observe, that the word *Poulo*, in the *Malayan* language, signifies an island^p. This, of which we are speaking, is very small, barren, and almost destitute of inhabitants: and this description may likewise serve for the remaining island of *Rosingein*; so that they are no otherwise considerable than by their situation, which has induced the *Dutch* to erect a blockhouse on each of them, where they keep a serjeant's guard, in order to prevent the few miserable inhabitants there are, from having any intercourse with their neighbours or strangers^q (A).

Of the government of Banda, and the islands dependent on the government.

THIS is a true and fair representation of the state of these islands at this day; notwithstanding which they are of infinite consequence to the *Dutch*, and not inferior in value to *Amboyna*, into which, through policy, they have crouded all the wealth of the *Moluccas*. This arises from the important commerce in nutmegs, which grow there in such prodigious quantities, as to

The nature, culture, and advantages, of the nutmeg plantations in these isles.

ⁿ *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 190, 191.

^o *Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 274, 277, 278, 279.

^p *Dictionary de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 877, 878.

^q *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p.

(A) The reader may perhaps receive some satisfaction from being made acquainted with the true state of things in these islands, and knowing the exact distribution of the nutmeg parks in each of them. The island of *Lonthor*, which is the biggest, contains twenty-five parks, some larger and some less; but which, all together, are thought to comprehend about seventy thousand toises square. The island of *Neira* is the next in size, as has been observed in the text; yet in this there are but two nutmeg parks, containing five thousand four hundred

toises square. The island of *Poulo-ay* is very small, but exceedingly fruitful, containing no less than six nutmeg parks, comprehending more than one hundred and forty thousand toises square. It is also generally observed, that both the mace and nutmegs produced in this island are preferable to those of the other two, which is entirely owing to the richness of the soil; for as to the air, it is just as bad here as in any of the adjacent isles, of which there has been enough said in the text (35).

(35) *Dictionary de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 878, 879, 880.

enable the *Dutch* to supply all the markets in *Europe*. The tree, which produces this excellent fruit, in size very much resembles a pear-tree; but its leaves are like those of a peach, except that they are larger. The nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty near the size of a walnut; and is covered with two skins, or shells, the first is very tough, and of the thickness of a man's finger, which falls off of itself as the fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine taste. The second is of a red colour, and has a very odoriferous smell. On the opening of this, the fruit appears with a little flower at the top, which is very beautiful, and in its form resembles the lily of the valley. They gather the nuts, and dry them; but, in the first place, they are thrown into quick lime, for otherwise worms would breed in and destroy them.

Fast pains
taken by the
company's or-
ders to prevent
the propagat-
ing nutmegs
elsewhere.

THERE are, besides those above-mentioned, several islands in the neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which nutmegs would grow, if the company did not take care to have them destroyed every year; which at first sight may seem extraordinary, since one would imagine, that their being thoroughly rooted out once might prevent their growing again. But this difficulty is easily solved, when it is known that the birds carry them annually into all these islands; whence the *Dutch* call them properly enough the gardeners of the spice-trees. It is not agreed how this is performed by the birds, though almost all travellers allow that it is performed by them. Mr. *Tavernier* tells us, that the nutmeg being ripe, several birds come from the islands towards the south, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digested. That the nutmeg, then besmeared with a viscous matter, falling to the ground, takes root, and produces a tree, which would never thrive if it was otherwise planted. Mr. *Thevenot* again informs us, that the tree is produced after this manner: There are, says he, a kind of birds in the island, that, having picked off the green husk, swallow the nuts, which, having been some time in their stomachs, they void by the ordinary way; and they fail not to take root in the place where they fall, and in time grow up to a tree. This bird is shaped like a cuckoo; and the *Dutch* did formerly, as we are told, prohibit their subjects, under pain of death, to kill them * (B).

The manner of
the Dutch
plantations
more largely
described.

IN a long series of time the servants of the company have discovered in respect to this, as well as in regard to cinnamon and cloves, the best methods of cultivating and improving nutmegs, which we shall represent to the reader's view as concisely as it is possible. They grow now only in the three first islands; and, being very tender and delicate, are planted in parks, some larger, and some less. These are so called, not because of their being inclosed by walls or pallisades, but from their being fenced with other trees, taller and stouter than the nutmeg, in order to cover and protect the plantation from the winds to which those islands are subject. In these parks a great many slaves are constantly employed in weeding and keeping the ground clear, and in picking up the fruit that falls of itself, which is commonly the most perfect and valuable. The great harvest is in the months of *June* and *August*, which being the rainy season in those countries, accompanied also with strong gusts of wind, is frequently attended with great disasters, such as beating down and bruising the fruit green and ripe, before it can be gathered; which, however, is not lost, but is preserved in sugar, and becomes, either wet or dry, an excellent sweetmeat.

Account of the
nutmeg bar-
vests, and
some guess at
the produce
and value of
this spice.

IN the month of *November* there is a kind of latter harvest, or gleaning, consisting only of such fruit as was left to ripen; but in the month of *April* they visit the trees again; and, tho' the nutmegs gathered at this time be very few, yet they are by far the finest, as the fruit at that time hangs but thin, and has not been exposed to any bad weather. One year with another, it is computed that in these three islands there grow eight hundred thousand pounds weight of nutmegs; and, if the common opinion be right, about a fourth part of the same quantity of mace, in the following proportions: The island of *Lontor* produces six hundred

* *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 191, 192.
dition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 155.
Indes Orientales, vol. v. p. 329.
moires de Dr. GARÇIN.

* *Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN*.

* *Voyage des Indes*, part iii. liv. ii. p. 299.

* Sir THOMAS POPE BLOUNT's natural history, p. 48.

* *L'expedition*

* *Voyage des*

* *Me-*

(B) It is a little difficult to say whether there might not be some truth in these accounts formerly, that is, in respect to the kindness shewn for these spice-planting birds, but at present they are in a quite different situation (36). There are in the islands of *Banda*, and at *Amboyna*, several sorts of birds, but more especially a kind of turtle-doves or pigeons, that, by swallowing cloves and nutmegs, and voiding them again, propagate wild trees over all these islands, which the company

oblige the inhabitants to pull up and destroy; and the birds also have no quarter given them in the plantations (37). As to the silly notion that these trees will grow no other way than by this kind of plantation, it has been long ago banished from all rational heads; for the fact is, that these trees are but too easily propagated, and it is this circumstance alone that makes the *Dutch* so jealous and uneasy about them (38).

(36) *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 148.

(38) *DiCTIONNAIRE de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 878, 879. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 21, 22.

(37) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*.

a thousand; the island of *Neira* eighty thousand; the island of *Poulo-ay* one hundred and twenty thousand: the slaves that are employed in attending the trees, and curing the fruit, are between two and three thousand ^a. There is a wild nutmeg, as well as wild cinnamon and wild cloves, but of very little value, and easily distinguished from the genuine spice, which is long like a small egg. Wild nutmegs are very seldom, if ever, brought into *Europe*, because they will not keep, the worm breeding in them, either from their natural moisture, or from their not being treated in a proper manner at their being first gathered, in which it is said some niceties are observed, that the company's servants keep very secret. It is allowed, that, when ripe, the taste of this fruit, that is to say, of the pulp between the two outer coats, is harsh, rough, hot, and, upon the whole, disagreeable; and yet nothing more pleasant, when either pickled or candied. There are, among the inhabitants of this island, a sort of burgesies, who have the sole right to keep parks for the cultivation of nutmegs, for which they receive a very moderate gratification, and yet live at their ease. There grows here, as well as at *Ambony*, a sort of tree called *Caliputte*, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary oil, which is sold at a very high price ^a (C).

THE castles and blockhouses in the islands of *Banda* are exceedingly well fortified; yet, to prevent any accident that might happen in case an enemy should get into the port under *Dutch* colours, there is always a squadron of small vessels plying round the coast, which, upon the first appearance of a strange ship, immediately surround her, and examine whence she comes, whither bound, and of what strength. The garrison is numerous, but in a much worse condition than any other in the company's service; which arises from the want of victuals, the islands being in general of a barren, sandy soil, producing very little food of any sort, which is the reason that the soldiers eat cats, dogs, and any other animals that come to hand ^b. The rest of their provisions is tortoise, of which they have a reasonable plenty for about six months in the year; and, after this, they think themselves very happy if they are now-and-then able to get a little sorry fish. They make their bread of the juice of a tree, which resembles, when first drawn, the grounds of beer, but, when dried, it grows as hard as a stone; yet, when put into water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, that is, in a country where there is nothing else. As for butter, rice, dried fish, and other eatables, they are all sent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the soldiers to have any plenty of them. To speak the truth, as the inhabitants are none of the happiest, so they may be said to live full as well as they deserve, since there hardly ever was an honest man upon these islands ^c.

THE natives were such a race of cruel, perfidious, and untractable people (at least as the *Dutch* say), that the company was forced to root them out for their own security, and to send a *Dutch* colony into the islands; but then it is such a colony as hath not much mended the matter, being composed intirely of a worthless rascally people, that, not being able to live any-where else, were content to come, or were otherwise sentenced to be sent to starve here. The best is, that their misery is of no long date; for in a very short time they are destroyed by the dry gripes, or twisting of the guts, which is the epidemic distemper of the country. It is for this reason, and because young fellows that are wild are sometimes sent thither by their relations, that the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, generally speaking, call *Lontor*, or *Bandan*, the *Island of Correction* ^d. The only people who live tolerably there are the negroes, who were settled in it before the *Dutch* conquest, and have lived quietly ever since in their mountains. Some

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom ii. col. 877, 878.

^b HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142.

^c Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 191.

^a L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 156.

^c L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 157, 158.

(C) It is not a little strange, that before the coming of the *Europeans* into these countries, the natives themselves made no use of spices in the manner we do; but endeavoured to extract from them oils or balsams, which they held very salutary in pains in the head, gripings in the stomach, or numbness in the limbs (39). The emperor of *Ceylon* causes the flowers of cinnamon to be boiled, and, the oil being skimmed off the water, and suffered to dry in the shade, becomes white and hard, of which candles are made, that are burnt only in his presence (40). His subjects, however, are allowed to extract an oil from the tree mentioned in the text, which they burn in lamps, and use also externally with great success (41). What is stiled *Oleum Malabarabri* is an oil

drawn from the leaves of the cinnamon-tree, which is thick and bitter, and tastes very like the oil of cloves mixed with a small quantity of the true oil of cinnamon, and then it serves both for external and internal uses (42). In *Ambony* the natives use the oil of cloves in the same manner, but chiefly against cold diseases; they sometimes mingled a little powder of cloves with their tobacco, but, as this exceedingly disturbed the head, it was rarely practised. In the islands of *Banda* oil of nutmegs was used in case of cramps or numbness after sleeping in the open air; an accident common in all these countries (43). By degrees the oil mentioned in the text, being cheaper, and full as odoriferous, is grown more into use than any, or indeed all the rest (44).

(39) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par l'abbé Guyon, vol. ii. p. 198.

(41) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*.

(43) *Voyage de Gantier Sebenten*, vol. i. p. 148.

(40) *Dictionnaire de commerce*,

(42) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. i. p. 647.

(44) From particular information.

of the latest accounts from this part of the world inform us, that the company have begun to make trials at *Amboyna*, whether nutmegs might not be cultivated there to a degree of perfection, with a design, it is believed, of transferring that spice thither intirely, as they have done the clove, as the eruptions of the vulcano before-mentioned become more and more frequent, and consequently the climate of the isles of *Banda* grows worse and worse.

* Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 838.

S E C T. XIX.

Account of two great governments; of Macassar in the island of Celebes, and of the Molucca Islands, out of which the cloves are extirpated, though in most geographical descriptions these are still called the spice islands.

City and fortrefs of Macassar, the fourth government in the company's dominions.

TH E city and fortrefs of *Macassar*, in the island of *Celebes*, is considered as the fourth government in the *East India* company's disposal. This island lies between *Borneo* and the *Moluccas*, at the distance of about one hundred and sixty leagues from *Batavia*. Its form is in a manner circular, and its diameter about one hundred and thirty leagues. It is called, and with good reason, the key of the spice islands. The form of government here is pretty much the same as in the other islands. Since the time the *Dutch* drove out the *Portuguese*, they have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the sea-coast, and have always a very numerous garrison in the fort of *Macassar*, where the governor resides; which is so much the more necessary, because this island is very populous, and the people are beyond comparison the bravest and best soldiers in the *East Indies*. This nation, as we have already shewn, for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexpressible trouble, and rendered their commerce very precarious. Yet at last they were totally subdued; and, in consequence of the measures taken since the last treaty, stand at present as much in fear of the company as any other nation in that part of the world. The expence, however, of maintaining the troops, and the other charges of the government, are so large, that, till very lately, the company were no great gainers by their conquests, though the slave trade is here very beneficial. The reason that the company laid out such large sums, and took so much pains, to possess themselves of this island, was, in order to render it a bulwark to the *Moluccas*: for, before the last war of *Macassar*, which ended in the complete ruin of the power of the prince of that country, he found means to procure great quantities of mace, nutmegs, and cloves, which he sold to the *English*, and other nations, at a much more reasonable rate than the *Dutch* company; and therefore, as we hinted, they ought, in good policy, to have supported him (D).

Products and importance of this part of the noble island of Celebes.

TH E island is very fruitful, especially in rice, which is a commodity of great value in the *Indies*. The inhabitants are of a middle stature, of a yellow complexion, but good features, and are extremely brisk and active. They are said to be naturally thieves, traitors, and murderers; and that to such a degree, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture, after it is dark, without the wall of the *Dutch* forts, or to travel at any time far into the country, for fear of being robbed and murdered, than which nothing is more common. Yet there live under the protection of the *Dutch* forts abundance of the natives, who are free burgessees, and carry on a considerable trade; as do also the *Chinese*, who sail from hence in their own vessels into all the ports of the company's dominions, deriving immense wealth from their extensive

^f L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 160, 161.

^h HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 153.

^g Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p.

(D) It is universally agreed by all who have visited the *Indies*, that the *Macassars* are in all respects much superior to the inhabitants of the other islands. Their complexions are of a light olive, their features regular and agreeable. They are, generally speaking, a middle-sized people, active, brave, ingenious, courteous, and well disposed to strangers. If well used, there are no people more faithful, or more obedient; but, if ill treated, they are very revengeful, and very seldom discover their resentment but by its effects (45). It is from this island that the *Dutch* company draw their best sol-

diers, who, as we have before observed, use little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk. Since the *Dutch* became masters here, other nations, instead of repairing to *Celebes*, go to *Gilolo*, where they sometimes get considerable quantities of cloves and nutmegs; but, whether they grow in that country, or are smuggled thither from *Amboyna* and *Banda*, is more than these adventurers themselves pretend to determine (46). The *Dutch* are indefatigable in their endeavours to prevent this clandestine trade.

(45) Nieuboff, Tavernier, Graaf, &c.

(46) Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.

a commerce, which they manage with a dexterity peculiar to themselves. The inland country is under the dominion of three different monarchs, who, very happily for the company, live in a constant bad intelligence with each other; and, if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the island ¹.

ONE of these princes is also stiled the company's king, because he lives in a good correspondence with them, and promotes their interest as far as lies in his power. They make him from time to time presents of gold chains, coronets of gold set with precious stones, and other things of value, in order to keep him steady to his alliance, and prevent his inclining to a good understanding with the other two monarchs, which might be attended with consequences very fatal to their power and commerce ². About the year 1720 there happened an extraordinary event, which, it was thought, would have given a great turn to the company's affairs, and this was, the discovery of a rich gold mine, conceived then to be of so great consequence, that not only a great number of workmen, but a director, was also sent from *Batavia*, to carry on the work there ³. How far this has been attended with success, we are not able to say, and perhaps it is a secret that never will be known in its full extent, since it is a maxim with the *Dutch East India* company never to boast of her power or riches, but rather to lessen both in representations she makes from time to time to the States General; which is a caution very necessary to be remembered, in order to have a just notion of those accounts, in which they do not state the affairs of the company as they really are, but as they would have them understood to be, the better to intitle themselves to the favour and protection of the state ⁴.

c THE fifth of the company's great governments is that of the *Moluccas*, or, as it is generally called, from the governor's residence in that island, the government of *Ternate*. The very mention of this is sufficient to shew us, that there is nothing so fluctuating as power. This very island, which makes now but a part of a single government, bestowed by the directors of a trading company, was once the mistress of many nations; and its monarch boasted of having seventy two, or, as others affirm, ninety-two, tributary princes, who were at the same time sovereigns of as many islands ⁵. There is still a king, who has the honour to be stiled the chief ally; which is only a civil expression for the first subject of the *Dutch East India* company. It is true that the force of this island was in some measure exhausted before the *Dutch* arrived in these parts; first, by the revolt of several of those tributary princes, and afterwards by the long and bloody wars they maintained against the *Portuguese*, who sometimes held them in subjection. Neither did they tamely submit to the *Dutch* company, but defended themselves as well and as long as they could, till, by a conjunction of arts and arms, or, in plainer *English*, by force in some measure, and in some measure by fraud, they were compelled to submit, and, by the treaty of 1638, engaged to have no commerce with any other nation, or even with any *Dutch* ships that did not come with a passport from the governor and council at *Batavia* ⁶ (E).

BUT it is not only the power of the king, and the condition of his subjects, but the very state of the country, that is altered, and that in the highest degree. We have seen in the foregoing sections, that the *Moluccas*, strictly taken, that is, the five islands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Bachian*, *Motir*, and *Makian*, which are precisely the places within the extent of this government, were the great objects of the *Portuguese* ambition, when they began to erect their empire in the east. We have seen what a high dispute was raised about them between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; we have seen what prodigious efforts the united forces of those two crowns made to preserve them from the *Dutch*; and we have also seen with what pains, with what expence, with what danger, and with what difficulty, the *Dutch* carried their point at last, so

¹ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

² Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 873.

³ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 161.

⁴ Mémoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 195.

⁵ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 875. Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 20.

⁶ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. p. 876.

(E) The king of *Ternate* was a Christian in 1722, and in all probability his successors will follow his example; but the kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, as well as all their subjects, are *Mohammedans* (47). The reader will not be displeased if we inform him that these three monarchs are fully persuaded, that it was their predecessors who went to visit our Saviour, upon the appearing of the star in the east; and it is very remarkable, that the *Mohammedans* are as warm in support of this fact as the Christians;

affirming, that an account of this transaction is preserved in an ancient oriental chronicle still remaining at *Mecca*. However this matter may be, the *Dutch* sailors, upon the feast of *Epiphany*, find their account in carrying painted stars, which they present to each of these monarchs, and are handsomely rewarded; that feast being celebrated with much solemnity, and a little too much superstition, both by *Mohammedans* and Christians (48).

(47) Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 351. p. 18, 19.

(48) L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii.

as to become absolutely masters of them^p. Let us now inquire to what end? These five a little islands were esteemed the most valuable possession in the world, because in them, and in them only, grew cloves, and this it was that made such a stir about them. But, after the Dutch had held them about twenty-six years, they conceived it for their interest that cloves should grow no longer there. Accordingly by a treaty made in 1638 with the king of *Ternate*, and the other petty princes, they stipulated that all that kind of spice should be extirpated in every one of the islands, and not a clove-tree permitted ever to raise its head in one of them again. This treaty has been renewed twice since, and in consideration of annual pensions granted to the king and to the nobility of *Ternate*, and to the rest of the princes, which, after being twice augmented, do not amount, in the whole, to three thousand pounds sterling^q. This article is very punctually performed: for the company's farther security in b this particular, they maintain three strong forts; viz. *Orange*, *Holland*, and *Williamstadt*, with good garrisons, in the island of *Ternate*, and eight or nine more in the rest of the islands, where they vend a kind of cloth from the coast of *Guiney*, which brings them back most part, if not all their money; and, with other merchandize of small value, purchase rice and tortoise-shell, the only commodities that are now to be met with in the *Moluccas*^r (F).

^p ARGENSOLA conquista de las Islas Malucas. *vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 22.

^q Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN. L'expédition de trois *Memories sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 193, 194.

(F) After all this pains taken, and expence in maintaining so many garrisons, it is very doubtful whether the Dutch company would be able to preserve their monopoly, if these seas were visited by any other ships than their own; which seems to be the true reason why they will not suffer even Dutch vessels to enter their ports without certificates from *Batavia*. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that some hints are to be met with, as if the free burghes in *Ternate* and

Tidre made sometimes trips to the country of *Neto Guiney*, where, for bits of iron, small looking-glasses, and other trifles, they obtain excellent nutmegs, mace, and cloves, birds of paradise, and gold dust, which are carried to *Gololo*, and there, except the two last commodities, sold to the *Chinese*; who, either by the permission of the Dutch, or by stealth, carry on a great trade among these islands (49).

(49) *Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 354, 355. *Hamilton's account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 142, 143. *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 14, 15, 16.

S E C T. XX.

The government of the Cape of Good Hope. Detail of the vast improvements made there; and a brief view of the present condition of the Hottentots, their subjects. The method of the company's fleets touching here, and other curious particulars.

Of the Cape of Good Hope, the sixth government in the East India company's dominions.

THE sixth government bestowed by the company in the *Indies* is that of the *Cape of Good Hope*. The governor is always one of the counsellors of the *Indies*, and has likewise a council to assist him in the administration of affairs, as the rest of the governors have. The *Cape* is situated on the coast of *Caffres*, and is the most southern point of the continent of *Africa*; and in the year 1653 it was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch*. It is justly esteemed one of the most important places in the hands of the company, though it is certain that the profits they draw from it are not comparable to those arising from some of the islands in the *East Indies*; and formerly things were in a worse situation, the revenues from that settlement falling short of its expence^s. Yet it would be impossible to carry on their trade to the *East Indies*, if they were not possessed of this place; because at the *Cape*, and only at the *Cape*, they can meet with fresh water, and other refreshments, in their outward and homeward-bound voyages, which are absolutely requisite, especially for such as are eaten up with the scurvy, who seldom fail to be recovered by the helps they meet with here. d

The vast abundance of provisions at the Cape, and the prodigious advantage of this to the company.

THERE is such an abundance of all sorts of provisions at the *Cape*, that, notwithstanding this vast annual demand both by outward and homeward-bound ships of all nations, never any scarcity arises, but all ships meet with the succours they expect at a moderate rate. In order to have a just notion of the great importance of this place, it will be proper to observe, that, in the space of a year, at least forty outward-bound ships touch there from *Holland* alone, and in these there cannot be less than eight or nine thousand people^t. The homeward-bound ships from the *Indies* cannot be fewer, in the space of a year, than thirty-six, and on board these there

^s P. KOLBEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 17. 21. 22. *merce*, tom. ii. col. 672.

^t Dictionnaire de com-

a are usually three thousand souls; not to speak of foreign vessels that likewise put in here, and have also all kinds of refreshments. This must appear very surprising, when one considers what vast quantities such numerous fleets must require. But this is not all; these ships do not enter the port, and sail again directly, but continue there for some time, inasmuch that there are always ships in the road, except in the months of *May, June, and July*, when it is dangerous on account of the north-west wind, that blows with the utmost violence during these three months ^u.

The description of this country, as it is situated in *Africa*, belongs to another place; and therefore here we shall confine ourselves only to what immediately concerns the port, and the œconomy of the company's government, in what we have farther to add upon the subject. ^{By a strange fatality this country was abandoned by the Portuguese and English, and long neglected by the Dutch.}
 b But, previous to this, it will be requisite to observe, that this country had not only been rejected by the *Portuguese* and the *English*, as not worth the pains of keeping, but was actually fifty years in the hands of the *Dutch* before they judged it capable of any improvements ^(G). That they changed their sentiments in this respect, and, of a wild and waste desert, rendered it the fairest, finest, and fruitfulest spot upon the globe, was intirely owing to the judicious foresight of a private man, and to the ready acceptance his project met with from the company's directors. The name of this extraordinary person was *Mr. Van Riebeeck*, a surgeon on board one of their ships; who, being some time on shore, conceived in his mind the plan of almost all that has been since done ^x.

In his passage home he digested his thoughts in writing; and, having laid his scheme before the directors, they not only approved it, but fitted out immediately a squadron of four ^{The whole settlement made, and all its consequences, due to the jealousy of Mr. Van Riebeeck.} c of large ships, laden with every thing requisite for putting it in execution, giving the sole command of them to *Van Riebeeck*, with instructions drawn from his own papers. This man laid the basis of his new establishment in equity; he purchased the country he resolved to settle in from the natives, and gave them for it such goods as they chose, to the amount of fifty thousand florins: he did not oblige them to remove, nor did he put the least constraint upon their freedom. When they were disposed to work, he paid them; when they were sick, he relieved them. As they had not the use of letters, there could be no written agreement between them; he took no advantage of this: he performed his promises punctually, by which the *Hottentots* came to have a confidence in the *Dutch*. It quickly appeared that his notions d were perfectly well founded, and that the country was every way capable of improvement; but, as all things necessary for that purpose were to be brought from *Europe*, these improvements could not be made but at a vast expence, from which however there could not be expected any immediate return. The company considered this in a very right light; they comprehended presently the importance of the design, and cheerfully furnished at the rate of a million *per annum* for twenty years; that is, in plain *English*, they spent two millions sterling to make this country and colony what they are ^z. In this, beyond all doubt, they acted a wise

^u L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, 171.

^w Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col.

672. ^x P. KOLBEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 23. ^y Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 673.

^z P. KOLBEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 27, 28, 29.

(G) The fortune of this country is so extraordinary, that the reader will be certainly pleased to find the hints given in the text somewhat more fully explained. We have before shewn, that a famous *Portuguese* sea officer, *Bartholomew Diaz*, was the first *European* that doubled the *Cape*, *Anno Domini* 1493, by whom it was called the *Stormy Cape*, which was changed into that it now bears by the *Portuguese* monarch *John* the second. It was certainly a capital fault in his subjects, for which they have paid very dear, that they did not make a proper settlement here; which, if they had done, might have been of great consequence to their establishments in the *Indies*. Instead of that they were continually squabbling with, and destroying the natives, whom they represented as the basest, most cruel, and perfidious barbarians in the world; which is a character they by no means deserved; and at the same time gave them so bad an impression of white men, that they looked upon them with abhorrence (50). In the reign of queen *Elizabeth* several

English ships touched at the *Cape*, and at length took possession of it with the usual forms, three condemned persons being sent to remain there. Accordingly they stayed some years, and were then brought off by another ship, to whom they made a dismal report of the country and the people, begging heartily to go home and be hanged, rather than stay there any longer. Upon this representation all thoughts of fixing a colony there were given up; though the necessity of having some place of refreshment for outward and homeward bound ships to and from the *Indies* was so apparent, that the island of *St. Helena* was fixed upon, and has served for that purpose ever since (51). The *Dutch* began to touch at the *Cape* as early as 1600, and very prudently built a fort there, the ruins of which are still visible; but the first project of a settlement was in 1648; of the rise and progress of which the reader has a succinct account in the text, which it is hoped these dates and remarks will render sufficiently clear (52).

(50) P. Kolben description du Cap de Bon Esperance, vol. ii. p. 17. 21. *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(52) *Voyage de Siam*, lib. ii. p. 59.

(51) *Hamilton's account of the*

and

and great part, worthy not only of praise and imitation, but of that prodigious success with which Providence has been pleased to bless their prudence and perseverance (H).

Bay at the Cape exceedingly spacious, admirably secured, and wonderfully advantageous. THE bay is very fine and large, of an oval form, and entering two or three leagues within land; about nine miles in circuit, and is capable of holding one hundred sail of large ships very commodiously; yet it must be allowed, that the anchorage is not every-where alike good, and near the shore there is some danger. The middle of this bay is commanded by a very strong fort, which is a regular pentagon, each bastion mounted with twenty pieces of heavy cannon. The fort and the town are both situated on the edge of a plain, three leagues in extent, at the bottom of three very high mountains; the first is stiled the *Lion Mountain*, because it has the resemblance of a lion couching upon his belly; the next is the *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, so that in a clear day it may be seen twenty leagues; the third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not so remarkable as either of the former. The houses of which this town is composed are very neat, yet not above two stories high, because of the furious south-east winds that sometimes blow here. The people who dwell at the *Cape*, and on the coast, are for the most part Christians, and are stiled *Africans*; those who inhabit the country farther within land are called peasants. They are all of them either *Europeans*, or descended from *Europeans* ^a.

State of the inland plantations; and of such as in this country the Dutch stile peasants. THERE are some who are settled three hundred leagues from the coast; notwithstanding which, they are all obliged once a year to appear at a place called *Stellenbech*, where the *Droffard*, or magistrate of the country, resides. The design is, that they may pass in review; for the peasants, as well as the townsmen, are formed into companies commanded by proper officers. After the review is over, they return to their respective dwellings, and generally carry home such tools as they have occasion for in their country work. These people cultivate their ground, and sow rye, barley, beans, &c. They likewise plant vines, which produce very fine grapes, of which they make excellent wine. There are some of these peasants that are in very happy circumstances, having, besides large and well cultivated plantations, great quantities of sheep and cattle. Amongst other colonies, there is one at the distance of eight leagues from the town, intirely composed of *French* refugees, who have there a large tract of country very well cultivated. The place where they live is called *Drachonsstein*, and they are allowed churches and ministers of their own nation ^b. Part of the inhabitants of the town are in the service of the company, and the rest are free burgeses. They have their proper magistrates, who decide causes of small consequence, and regulate little disputes that happen amongst them; but, as to matters of any importance, they are carried before the governor and his council, who determine finally, and without appeal. It is pretty much the same in the flat country, where the *Droffard* terminates all things of small consequence; but any thing of importance is always carried before the governor and his council, by whom it is determined; and their sentences, in civil and criminal affairs, are executed without delay. As for the military establishment, it is exactly on the same foot as at *Batavia*; the officer who commands in chief has the rank and pay of a major-general. The officers under him are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, who take care to keep their companies always complete, and well disciplined; so that, in case of an attack, they can draw together at least five thousand men well armed, and as good as any regular troops; every peasant knowing whither to repair, in order to range himself under his proper standard ^c (I).

THE

^a L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 228, 229. ^b P. KOIBEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. ii. p. 52. ^c L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 231.

(H) There are few persons who have left posterity clearer memorials either of their virtue or ability than this ingenious surgeon; and it is very happy for the *Dutch* nation that the principles he laid down have been steadily pursued in the management of this country ever since; because it would be no difficult thing to shew, that this system could never have been changed for a better. The company have now a vast territory, the soil of which is fruitful, the climate wholesome and pleasant, the country wonderfully improved, and daily improving, and this in the way most to their advantage, that is, by agriculture, vineyards, and feeding of cattle; so that their provisions and their people increase in the same proportion; and this colony, in the space of a few years, will become so populous, and the people, from their manner of living, so vigorous and hardy, that they will not only be secure from any attempt that other nations

might make, but be also in a condition to furnish supplies of well seasoned and serviceable men for the protection of any of their settlements in the *Indies*, in case of emergencies; a point of true policy, which the *French* have very wisely begun to imitate (53).

(I) It must be admitted, notwithstanding some imperfections and mismanagements to which the *Dutch East India* company, as well as all other great bodies, must be liable, that they are in many respects better served, and have their affairs managed with more oeconomy, than perhaps any other company in *Europe*; of this the establishment we are now speaking of is a sufficient proof. The company have there a governor and council, with the civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishment, the ordinary and extraordinary expence of which is borne by them in a very honourable manner; so that upwards of twelve hundred persons are maintained at their charge,

(53) See our account of their settlements in the isles of Bourbon and France.

exclusive

- a THE country round the town, at the *Cape*, is full of vineyards and gardens; the company have two, which are perhaps the finest in the world, the one lies at the distance of two hundred paces from the fort, between the town and *Table Mountain*; it is about fourteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred thirty-five in breadth: a fine rivulet from the mountain runs through the midst of it: it is divided into quarters; and they cultivate therein, with the utmost success, the fruits and flowers of all the four parts of the world. The other garden is at the distance of two leagues, in that which is called the *New Country*, and is likewise kept in the best order that can be by the slaves of the company, which are seldom less than five hundred^d. The country thereabouts is mountainous and stony; but the valleys very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The climate is the best in the world, for cold and heat are never felt there in any excessive degree; and the people live to great ages without diseases, which are never known but when produced by intemperance. The very mountains, besides contributing to the wholesomeness of the place, are supposed to be full of gold, and other valuable metals: some essays have been made, but as yet no mines have been discovered in such a situation as would permit the working of them to advantage. The late Mr. *Van Steel*, when he was governor of the *Cape*, travelled over the country, and examined it with great care and attention. He caused gardens to be laid out, and pleasure-houses to be built, in several places; but the peasants, who were employed in building these houses, and cultivating these gardens, sent over a complaint to the company, alleging, that it was prejudicial to their private affairs, and put it out of their power to maintain their families. Upon this, the governor was recalled immediately. His discoveries, however, were of very great consequence, inasmuch as they made known not only the inner parts of the country, but the nations who inhabit them^e.

- THESE, so far as they are yet discovered, consist of seven different nations, all comprehended under the general name of *Hottentots*. The first of these, and the least considerable, are without a chief, live in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, and are most of them in the service of the company, dwell with townsmen, or are employed by the peasants and farmers in cultivating their lands. The second inhabit the mountains, or, to speak with greater propriety, live in the caverns of the mountains. They are thieves by profession, and draw their subsistence intirely from plundering the peaceable *Hottentots*, with whom they are in continual war. There is one thing, however, that is very singular with regard to this thievish nation, which is, that they never rob or molest a Christian. The third nation is called the *Little Macqua*; the fourth the *Great Macqua*; the fifth the *Little Kricqua*; the sixth the *Great Kricqua*. These words *Macqua* and *Kricqua* signify king or chief. They are constantly engaged in war with each other; but, when any nation is in danger of being ruined, two or three nations immediately join them; for the balance of power is a maxim as well understood and supported by the *Hottentots* as by the potentates in *Europe*^f.

- PART of these *Hottentots* have submitted themselves, and are therefore stiled the company's *Hottentots*. The *Dutch* send annually about fifty or sixty persons to trade with these people, who purchase their cattle, and give them in exchange arrack, tobacco, hemp, and such seeds as they have occasion for, by which means a good understanding is preserved. These *Hottentots* of the company are very often attacked by the other nations; and, when they find they have so far the worst of it that they are no longer able to defend themselves by their own force, the king puts himself at the head of a small body of troops, and marches down to the *Cape* to demand assistance. As soon as he arrives, he goes to the governor, with the principal people of his nation, holding the commanding staff in his hand, given him by the company, and which has their arms upon it; and, extending it towards the governor, desires he would grant him succours. If the governor does not think fit to yield to his request, but contents himself with giving him good words, he, without more ado, throws his staff at the governor's feet, and tells him in bad *Dutch*, *Voor my niet meer compagnies Hottentot*, that is, *For me, I will be no*

^d Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé de Choisy, p. 81. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 234.
^e P. KOLSEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. ii. p. 35. ^f L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 235. P. KOLSEN description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 109.

exclusive of a numerous militia, both horse and foot, that serve at their own charge, or that of the colony. The company likewise defrays the necessary expence of her ships outward and homeward-bound, and maintains an hospital for diseased seamen; all of which, taken together, comes within the sum of forty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, which is answered by the sale of goods at the *Cape*, and by the customs and excises; so that,

upon the whole, they are little or nothing out of pocket, tho' near one half of their disbursements ought not to be placed to the account of this colony; so that in this sense they may be said to draw from thence a clear revenue of twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, with this additional advantage, that their income is constantly increasing (49).

(49) P. Kolsen description du Cap de Bon Esperance, vol. ii. p. 83.

more the company's Hottentot. The governor, however, generally sends an escort of troops^a back with him : for it is the interest of the company to be upon good terms with this sort of a prince, because he is always ready to do whatever they desire of him².

Some account
of the Caffres,
a nation more
martial and
more barbar-
ous than the
Hottentots.

THE seventh nation is that of the *Caffres*. These are properly the *Antropophagi*, who have made so much noise in the world. The *Hottentots* are exceedingly afraid of them ; and take all the care they can to keep out of their way, for fear of being roasted or boiled if they should be taken prisoners. This abominable nation would never enter into any sort of commerce with the Christians ; but, on the contrary, take all the pains they can to entrap them, in order to murder, and, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported of late years, that they are grown somewhat more tractable, and entertain some sort of trade with those who will venture to have any dealings with them. They are a very potent and warlike nation, being^b all of them strong well-made men ; and, though their hair is curled and black, like that of other negroes, yet they have better faces, and a much more manly appearance^b (K).

^a L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 236, 237.
L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 240, 241.

^b HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 5.

(K) What is said in the text of the *Caffres* is taken from the *Dutch* writers in general, who perhaps have given a little too much credit to the *Hottentots* ; for, after all, there is some reason to doubt whether these people are men eaters, or void of civility and virtue (50). An author, whose veracity is justly esteemed, informs us of an *Englishman*, that a *Dutch* captain, who went into this country to trade, found living there à la mode de *Caffre*, who had two wives, and was very rich. The captain exhorted him to leave his family, which was very numerous, and return to the *Cape* ; to which the *Englishman* was easily persuaded. But the king of the *Caffres*, having intelligence of these conferences, sent for his white *Caffre* ; represented to him the baseness, ingratitude, and inhumanity, of such a behaviour ; told him that his wives and children must starve and perish ; that it was a wicked and profligate return for that humane

and generous treatment which he had received amongst them ; and that he ought to consider that as his country, where, by choice, he had taken wives, by whom he had many children. The *Englishman*, says this author, was so wrought upon by the eloquence of the black monarch, that he not only abandoned his design, but prevailed upon one of the *Dutch* captain's seamen to remain in that country, and bear him company. A writer of our own country gives us much the same account of these *Caffres* ; and adds a remarkable instance of their honesty and humanity (51). It is true that the accounts given here and in the text contradict each other, but there is no help for that ; and it is much better to give the reader notice of these contradictions, than to make choice of either account as certain, when in reality this cannot be affirmed of any hitherto received. The utmost that can be said, is, that the latter seems to be the more probable of the two.

(50) Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 5.
vol. i. p. 136, 137.

(51) P. KILLEN description du Cap de Bon Espérance,

S E C T. XXI.

The government of the fortress and territory of Malacca, the last, but not the least considerable, of the company's first-rate governments. The difficulties of reducing it, which fixed them in the Indies ; and the great importance of this settlement, from its admirable situation.

THE last government is that of *Malacca*, which city is the capital of a small kingdom^c of the same name, the inhabitants of which are called *Malayans*. The governor here is a merchant, and the establishment much the same with those in the other governments. The kingdom of *Malacca* makes the south part of the peninsula of *India*, beyond the *Ganges* ; and is divided from the great island of *Sumatra* by a streight, which bears the name of the *Streights of Malacca*. The *Dutch*, after several attempts, took this place from the *Portuguese* in 1641, and have maintained themselves in the possession of it ever since. It may not be amiss to describe the manner in which they acquired this strong fortress. They were informed that great disputes subsisted between the garrison and the king of *Johore* ; from which they immediately conceived hopes of reducing it. With this view they fitted out from *Batavia* a strong fleet, with a great body of land-forces on board : and at the same time concluded an alliance with the king of *Johore*, offensive and defensive, as long as the sun and moon gave light to the world. On which the king of *Johore*, with twenty thousand men, laid siege to the fort by land, while the *Dutch* distressed it by sea ; and yet, for all that both the fleet and army could do, they could not have taken it but by reducing them thro' famine, which would have taken up a great deal of time ; so what they could not effect by force they did by fraud^d. THEY heard that the *Portuguese* governor was sordid and avaricious, for which ill qualities he was much hated by the garrison ; the *Dutch* therefore tampered with him by letters, pro-

Of the city
and fortress of
Malacca, the
last in order of
the company's
governments.

By what
means, after
various un-

^d HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 76. Histoire de la conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 317.

a mising him mountains of gold if he would contribute towards their reducing the fort. At length the price was set; 80,000 pieces of eight were to be the reward of his treachery, and he was to be safely transported to *Batavia* in their fleet, and be made a free denizen there. Upon this he gave secret instructions to the *Dutch* to make an attack on the east side of the fort, and he would act his part; which was accordingly done. He next called a council, and told the officers he had a mind to circumvent the *Dutch*, by letting them come close to the fort-walls; and then to fire briskly from all quarters, and destroy them at once. In consequence of this, the *Dutch* made their approaches without molestation, and placed their ladders^k. The garrison sent message after message, to acquaint the governor what danger they were in for want of orders to fire or sally on the *Dutch*, as was agreed on in council; but he delayed so long, till the enemy got into the fort, and drove the guard from the east gate, which they soon opened, to receive the rest of the army; who, as soon as they were entered, gave quarter to none that were in arms, marching directly towards the governor's house, where he thought himself secure by the treaty; but they forthwith dispatched him, to save the eighty thousand dollars.

THE city is large, and drives a great trade in consequence of its excellent situation, which renders it the storehouse and magazine of all that part of *India*; but there is one great inconveniency at *Malacca*, and that is, the scarcity of provisions; and even what little is to be had consists only of different kinds of fish. The inhabitants are of a dark complexion; a brisk, cunning, active people, and great thieves. Some of them are idolaters, but, generally speaking, they are *Mohammedans*. The *Portuguese* had no less than three churches and a chapel within the fort, and one without. That which the *Dutch* now use for their worship stands conspicuously on the top of an hill, and may be seen up and down the streights at a good distance; and a flag-staff is placed on the steeple, on which a flag is hoisted on the sight of any ship^l. The fort is both large and strong; the sea washing the walls of one part; a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the west side; and a broad deep ditch the rest of it. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient; and there are several other good houses in the fort, and in the town without the fort; but the road is at too great a distance for ships to be defended by the fort, the shallowness of the sea obliging them to lie above a league off, which is a very great prejudice: for, in 1709, the *French*, coming into the streights with a squadron of three or four sail, and seeing a large ship in the road from *Japan*, stood in; and had certainly carried her out, if the wind had not failed them when but a musket-shot from her^m. At *Malacca* the streights are not above four leagues broad; for though the opposite shore on *Sumatra* is very low, yet it may be easily seen in a clear day; which is the reason the sea is always as smooth as a mill pond, except when ruffled with squalls of wind, which are commonly accompanied with lightning, thunder, and rain; yet, though they come with great violence, they are soon over, seldom exceeding an hourⁿ.

THE country produces nothing for a foreign market, except a little tin, and elephants teeth; but several excellent fruits and roots for the use of the inhabitants, and strangers who call for refreshments. Yet, after all, this is a matter but of small consequence, and would by no means compensate the charge, or justify the prudence of the *Dutch* company, in taking so much pains, and being at so large an expence, for the preservation of this small district. It is the importance of its situation that makes *Malacca* so much regarded. It stands as it were in the midst of the sea; and, if one may be allowed the expression, divides *India* from *India*; that is, there can be no commerce safely carried on from the coasts of *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, or the *Bay of Bengal*, to *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Java*, or the rest of the islands, or to *China* and *Japan*, without the leave of such as are masters of it^o. This was a thing known before the *Europeans* found a passage in these seas by the *Cape of Good Hope*; it was a just sense of this that put the *Portuguese* upon taking it; in which however they found more difficulty than in almost any of their conquests. It was this that made the *Dutch* so restless till they had it, and this makes them so cautious and so jealous in the preservation of it. They know that if ever a war should happen, its importance would quickly appear; and they very well know, that it is the sense that both *Indian* and *European* nations have of this that in a great measure contributes to their enjoying peace. These are the arguments, therefore, that have prevailed upon them to make it one of their principal governments; and these are the arguments which all competent judges of the trade of *India* must necessarily approve^p (L).

S E C T.

^k HAMILTON's voyage to the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 77, 78.^l HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 79.^m TEN, tom. ii. p. 134, 135.ⁿ de commerce, tom. ii. col. 803.^o Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii.^p Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN.^q Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 201.^r Dictionnaire

(L) What is said in the text will give the reader a general sense of the situation and consequence of this for-

trefs, in which there are about three hundred *Dutch* families, and a much larger number of *Chinese*, *Malayans*, and

S E C T. XXII.

An account of the secondary governments, or, as the Dutch stile them, directions, on the coast of Coromandel, in Bengal, at Surat, and at Gombroon, ; as also of the commandants on the coast of Malabar, and elsewhere.

Directors, tho' inferior in rank and appointments, have the same power with governors.

WE have now done with the *Dutch East India* company's governments; and the reader will observe, that, as we hinted before, these are confined to those places of which they are absolute masters, and where other nations have no trade at all, or none but by their permission. But, as they carry on a prodigious commerce to places that are not immediately in their own possession; so those who have the superintendency of their concerns in these places, are distinguished by different titles. The directories of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, and *Persia*, are all of great consequence, and the direction attended with great profit. The directors have, within the extent of their jurisdictions, the same power with the company's governors. The sole distinction is, that the director cannot execute any criminal sentence where he resides, but must cause it to be done under the company's flag; so that all criminals are executed on board a ship^a.

The first direction is that of the coast of Coromandel; the residence of the director fixed to Negapatam.

THE directory of *Coromandel* is the first of the four, and he who presides there has the fort and factories belonging to the *Dutch* under his inspection; as, in the commerce on this coast, the *English* and *Danes* have a share, and have built several good fortresses for its protection. The company have, notwithstanding, a very considerable interest in this part of *India*. Besides *Negapatam*, which lies on the southernmost point of *Coromandel*, and the fort of *Guedria*, in which the director resides, they have the factories of *Guenepatnam*, *Sadrespattam*, *Malispattam*, *Pelecol*, *Datkorom*, *Benispattam*, *Nagernauty*, and *Golconda*. The whole extent of the coast from *Negapatam* to *Masulipatan* may be about one hundred leagues. The *Dutch* director has a council; and, if he discharges his office with reputation, he is commonly, after a few years, chosen one of the counsellors of the *Indies*. This is a very wise provision in the management of the company's affairs, that the honour and rank of a counsellor of the *Indies*, though a post of much less profit than that of a director or governor, makes it aspired to by such as are already in more profitable employments; for it is not a very extraordinary thing in the *Indies* for a governor, in the space of a few years, to acquire an estate equal to the original capital of the *East India* company, that is six millions and an half of guilders, which amounts to upwards of half a million sterling^b. Messieurs *Disboek*, *Heilman*, *Swaardekroon*, *Patras*, and *Van Cloon*, within memory, acquired prodigious fortunes. There are also places at *Batavia* so very profitable, that, when the principal merchants are possessed of them, they sometimes decline the dignity of counsellor of the *Indies*, because, however honourable it may be, the profits are but small in comparison of these lucrative employments; such as the *Shabander* or chief of the custom-house, the *Fiscal* of the sea, the *Drossard* of the flat countries; all which bring in prodigious sums^c.

An account of the present condition and importance of this commerce.

HERETOFORE the country of *Coromandel*, being divided into a great number of principalities, these little princes or chiefs laid such high duties, and gave such interruptions to trade, as made the *Dutch* very uneasy; but, after the war of *Golconda*, which cost the company a great deal of money, but ended at last to their advantage, these princes grew more tractable

^a L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 175. GRAAF, p. 300, 301.

^b Ibid. p. 176.

^c Voyage de NICOLAS

and other *Indian* nations (52). Besides their governor, who has the supreme direction of civil and military affairs, the *Dutch* company has another officer here, who is intirely independent, and is charged with whatever regards customs, licences, and duties; from whence the best part of the company's revenues spring. He is still distinguished by the title of *Shabander*, which is the usual title of this officer in all oriental ports; was borrowed from the natives by the *Portuguese*, and is still retained by the *Dutch* (53). This was formerly the place to which the company's ships repaired on their return from *Japan*; and here there cargoes were landed, and new assortments made for the different ports of *India*. But this method has been laid aside for many years, upon account of the

great frauds to which it was exposed; and those ships now return to *Batavia*, that the distribution of their cargoes may be made under the eye of the general and council of the *Indies* (54). This must certainly have diminished the commerce of *Malacca*, which however is very far from being so inconsiderable as it is generally represented; since, as the countries behind it abound with gold, so it is well enough known that the company's servants find ways and means to come in for a share, and very seldom fail of raising good fortunes in a few years, notwithstanding all the complaints made of the vast decay of commerce, and the great expence the company is at for its preservation and defence.

(52) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandais*, p. 201. *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 803. (53) *Janiçow* etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 369. *Memoires de Dr. Garçin*. (54) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 803.

a than formerly. At present the kings of *Bijnagar* and *Narsinga*, who are the most powerful in *Coromandel*, live on pretty good terms with the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans* (M). The chief trade carried on there is in cottons, muslins, chintzes, and such kind of goods; in exchange for which the *Dutch* bring them spices, japan, copper, steel, gold dust, sandal and siampan woods. The inhabitants of the country are some of them pagans, some *Mohammedans*, and not a few Christians. During the east monsoon the weather is exceedingly hot, yet the country is very fertile in rice, fruits, herbs, and whatever else is necessary for the support of man. All the manufactures of this country are transported in the company's ships to *Batavia*, from whence they are sent home to *Holland*, and thence, with great profit, distributed throughout all *Germany* and the north.

b THE seats of the second and third directions are fixed, the former at *Ougli*, on the *Ganges*, The second direction, seated at Ougli, in the Bay of Bengal, now in the Mogul's dominion. thirty-six leagues from the mouth of that river; the other in the city of *Surat*; both in the territories of the *Great Mogul*. Those marts are the most considerable for trade in all *Asia*. The *Dutch*, *English*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, traffick to both, and have erected factories and magazines for their security and convenience. The best part of the trade is carried on by negro merchants, who deal in all sorts of goods, such as opium, diamonds, rich stuffs, and all kinds of cotton manufactures. The empire of the *Great Mogul* is of a prodigious extent, and the countries under his dominion are esteemed the richest in the world. The air is tolerably pure: and yet the head-ach, and a kind of malignant fever, are common diseases here. The latter generally attacks strangers, and is a kind of seasoning sickness, in which if the patient escapes the third day, he generally recovers. Most of the inhabitants of this country are tall, black, robust men, and of a gay, lively disposition. In point of religion they are many of them idolaters, more *Mohammedans*, and some Christians; but that of *Mohammed* is the prevailing religion. As for the idolaters, they are split into abundance of sects, some of which believe firmly the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and for this reason they will not take away the life of any living creature. They employ themselves, when they reside in towns, in the silk, cotton, and linen manufactures; and in the country, they cultivate their plantations, with the utmost diligence: so that they annually transport prodigious quantities of grain from hence to *Batavia*.

d SURAT is a town of no very great antiquity, but very large, and immensely rich. It is in compass about five miles within the walls, and the number of inhabitants are computed at two hundred thousand. The *Moorish*, and even the *Indian* merchants, are many of them prodigiously rich. The former addict themselves chiefly to the diamond trade, which is very precarious; for, with some, a small stock produces an immense fortune, whereas others waste prodigious sums, without finding stones of any great value; for at the diamond mines, they purchase so many yards square at a certain price, pay the slaves who dig and sift the earth, and take whatever stones are found in that spot, which sometimes are of great value, and sometimes so small and so few, as not to quit costs. Other *Moorish* merchants deal largely in foreign trade; and, as the *Mogul* is a very easy master, so there are some who arrive at prodigious wealth, and carry on such a commerce, as can scarce be credited in *Europe*. About 1720, there died a *Moorish* merchant at *Surat*, who fitted out annually twenty sail of ships, from three to eight hundred ton, the cargoes of which ran from ten to twenty thousand pounds; and he had always goods in his magazines equal in value to what he sent abroad. The customs of *Surat* amount every year to upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and, as the merchants pay there, at a medium, three *per cent.* the value of the goods imported amounts to upwards of five millions. It is fit to observe, that, at this port, and indeed thro' all the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, *Europeans* deal chiefly for gold and silver, with which they find they purchase commodities on the easiest terms; and in this the *Dutch*, who settled

* Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 205, 206.

† Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 30.

‡ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 181.

§ Miscellanea curiosa, vol. iii. p. 242.

¶ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii.

‡ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 181.

§ HAMILTON'S history of the

East Indies, vol. i. p. 149.

(M) In consequence of the company's success in the war mentioned in the text, they not only freed themselves from all the hardships to which their trade had been exposed from the ambition, injustice, or caprice, of the king of *Golconda*, but likewise obtained some great privileges, which they still enjoy, though that country is now under the dominion of the *Great Mogul*. The first is, that no merchant or trader among the natives, with whom their servants have any dealings, shall be liable to have his goods seized, on any pretence whatever, till the debts of the company are first satisfied. Next, that

whatever weavers, painters, or other manufacturers, are employed by the company, shall not be compelled to undertake any kind of work till they have intirely complied with those contracts. Lastly, that the company shall be at full liberty to employ what brokers they please, and not those of the government, or of the *Rajah's*: and, besides these, they enjoy, in common with the other *European* nations, an intire exemption from the duty styled *Chappa dellala*, for marking their cloths, which the natives are obliged to pay, and amounts to twelve *per cent.* (55).

(55) Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 204, 205. Jançon etat present de la republique de Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 378, 379. Dictionnaire de commerce, vol. ii. col. 791.

here about 1616, have a considerable advantage; for, instead of coin or bullion, they bring a fine silver from *Japan*, which bears a better price, as the *Indians* consume most of the rich metals they obtain in vast services of plate, very rich brocades, or in gold and silver stuffs, of which much is worn in their own country, and not a little transported into *Persia*, and other places; so that the common opinion of their hoarding up and burying silver is not over well founded ^a (N).

The fourth and last direction fixed at Gambroon, or Bandar-Abassi, on the coast of Persia.

THE fourth and last establishment under a director, is that at *Bandar Abassi*, on the coast of *Persia*. The director has a council, and a fiscal, to assist him. As this city stands on the gulf of *Balsora*, and is the only port which the *Persian* monarchs have on the *Indian* sea, it lies at a great distance from *Batavia*; which is one reason why this direction is not so much sought as others: but there is another more potent, which is, that the heat is greater there than in any other place, and the air excessively unwholesome. To balance these inconveniences, the director of *Gambroon* has an opportunity of making, in a short time, a vast fortune; so that some, who have been in that direction four or five years, have acquired such estates, as rendered it unnecessary to concern themselves any farther in commerce ^b. There are other *European* nations settled there besides the *Dutch*; but they have by far the best factory, and have fortified it so effectually, that though the highlanders in its neighbourhood, who are a crew of bold and barbarous robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could master it. This city is but a disagreeable place to live in, since in *August* it is so hot, that there is no bearing it, and in winter so cold, that they not only wear *English* cloth, but line it with furs ^c. They have here black cattle, sheep, goats, fowl, and fish, very good in their kind, and tolerably cheap; grapes, melons, and mangoes, in the utmost perfection; excellent wine, esteemed by the best judges superior to that of all other countries; and, as a proof of this, it is asserted, that it will bear four times its quantity of water, and still preserve a very rich flavour. In those troubles which have now for many years disturbed the whole dominions of *Persia*, all trading nations have had their share, and the *Dutch* amongst the rest; neither is it possible to say in what state their affairs stand in this empire at present (O).

AFTER

^a *Histoire des Indes*, vol. ii. p. 46. *HAMILTON's* account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 149. ^b *Dictionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 709, 710. ^c *HAMILTON's* account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 94, 95.

(N) We find it very positively asserted, in some books of travels which are in good repute, that the *European* factories at *Surat* are very strong, and well fortified, particularly that of the *Dutch*; which, however, is directly contrary to truth. If the reader is desirous of knowing how this can possibly happen, since it is a point about which an eye-witness can hardly be mistaken, it may afford him some satisfaction, when he is told, that many of these writers, and some of note, to render their books more complete, describe places where they never were, according to the best accounts they can get, and receiving these from persons that speak very indistinctly, fall into great mistakes. The *Dutch* settled here about the year 1616; and their factory is nothing more than a large house in the midst of the city, at a good distance from the river; and so far from being fortified, that it is really out of repair; not through any neglect in the company and their servants, but for want of a licence from the *Mogul*, his ministers being rather more jealous of the *Dutch* than of any other *European* nation (56). When their ships arrive in the road of *Surat*, their goods are brought on shore, and placed under a great tent at the foot of the castle, and under the command of the guns of that fortress, with a small guard of the company's soldiers, where they remain during the fair monsoon; before the end of which, the best part of them are sold, and sent away, and what remain, on the approach of foul weather, brought to their magazines, which are very far from being large. The three great commodities in which they deal are spices, sugar, and elephants teeth; upon all which, but more especially upon the last, they have a prodigious profit, since ivory sells no where better; they likewise vend copper, tin, tortoise-shell, camphire, vermilion, and *European* cloths of all sorts; their

returns are made in a variety of goods, which would take up more room than we can spare to mention; and we shall therefore only remark, that they carry from hence great quantities of silver coin, viz. *roupies*, with which they purchase goods in the bay of *Bengal*, and also rough diamonds. Upon their factory at *Surat* depend the establishments they have at *Amadabad*, and some other places in the dominions of the *Mogul* (57).

(O) Though the *Dutch* came later into the *Persian* trade than the *English*, yet, by their indefatigable industry, and their extraordinary address, in the management of commercial affairs, they came very soon to have a considerable share in this traffick, and went on improving it continually. At first, the company were not a little uneasy on the score of the superior privileges granted to the *English*, in return for the services they had rendered to the *Persian* government. But, in the year 1652, they found means to indemnify themselves, by a treaty which they made with the *Persian* court, by which they were allowed to bring in a certain quantity of goods, without paying any duties outward or inward; in consideration of which, they obliged themselves to take annually six hundred bales of silk, amounting, in the whole, to near seventeen thousand pound weight, at the price set by the officer of the *Shah* (58). By this bargain they would have been no great gainers at any time, and must have suffered often very much, if they had not been wise enough to take certain precautions. In the first place, they lived very handsomely in the factory, where the *Shah's* officers were elegantly entertained, and received, from time to time, valuable presents. In return for these, they sometimes procured an abatement in the number of bales, and permitted, at all times, twice the quantity of goods to enter duty-free, that had been stipulated in the treaty. In

(56) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 423, 424. p. 208, 209. *Ovington's voyage to Surat*.

(57) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandais*, sur le commerce des Hollandais, p. 209, 210. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

a AFTER directors, the next rank in the *Dutch East India* company's service is commandant, *Commandants* or chief. In some places, where military skill, and a strict attention to the safety of the place *and chiefs, officers of the* committed to his care, is chiefly required, the power is intrusted with an officer, who has the *third rank in* title of commandant; and in other places, where almost the sole concern is trade, a merchant is at the head of the company's affairs, who is stiled the *Dutch* chief. As directors are *the company's* restrained from causing criminals to be executed, except under the company's flag, on board one of their ships; so there is a farther restriction upon a commandant, or chief; for his sentence is not valid, till revised, and confirmed, by the general and council at *Batavia*. This employment, though in the third rank, is very considerable, and the person raised thereto is respected within his jurisdiction, and his orders are as punctually obeyed, as if he had a superior *service.*

b title; but in case he exceeds the bounds of his authority, like the rest of the company's servants, he is liable to be called to an account; by the civil magistrates, if he be a chief; and by a court-martial if a commander; which keeps them pretty well to their duty⁴. We shall take the same method in speaking of these that has been pursued in giving an account of the governors and directors, as, indeed, there is no other method by which the power and influence of this company in the *Indies* can be thoroughly shewn, or an adequate idea given of its present state and strength.

THE coast of *Malabar* extends about an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth about twenty. The climate, though very warm, is very wholesome; the soil also is fertile in rice, fruit, and all sorts of herbs. This country is divided into abundance of small principalities; among which, the following have the title of kingdoms; viz. *Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, Couchin, Calicoulang, Porca, Coulang, and Travankor*⁵. As the capital of the *Dutch* possessions in this country is the city of *Couchin*, where the commandant resides, we shall particularly describe that little kingdom. It reaches from *Cbitwa*, about twenty-four leagues to the southward, and, on the coast, is divided by the rivulets that run from the mountains of *Gatti*, into a multitude of small islands; and these rivers have two great mouths, or outlets, one at *Couchin*, the other at *Cranganor*. The *Portuguese* built, at the first of these, a fine city, on the river side, about three leagues from the sea; but the sea gaining on the land yearly, it is not distant now above one hundred paces, which makes it strong by nature; but art has not been wanting to fortify it. The city built by the *Portuguese* was a mile and an half long, and a mile broad. The *Dutch* took it about the year 1662, when *Heitloff van Gbonz* was general of their forces by land and sea, and the king of *Couchin* assisted with twenty thousand men⁶.

Couchin, the residence of the company's commandant upon the coast of Malabar.

THE *Dutch* had scarcely invested the place, before *Van Gbonz* received advice of a peace between *Portugal* and *Holland*; but that he kept a secret. He therefore, having made a breach in the weakest part of the wall, proceeded to an assault for eight days and nights, without intermission, and relieved his men every three hours; but the *Portuguese* keeping theirs continually upon duty all the while, and finding the city, at last, in danger of being taken by storm, delivered up the place. In the town there were four hundred *Topasses*, who had done good service, but were not comprehended in the treaty. As they knew the cruelty and licentiousness of the *Dutch* soldiery, they drew up on a parade, within the port at which the *Portuguese* were to go out, and the *Dutch* to enter, and swore, that if they had not the same favour granted as the *Portuguese*, they would massacre them all, and set fire to the town. The *Dutch* general knew his interest too well to deny what they desired, and offered moreover, to take those who had a mind to serve into *Dutch* pay; which many of them accepted. The very next day came a frigate from *Goa*, with the articles of peace; and the *Portuguese* complaining loudly of the general's unfair dealings, were answered, that the *Portuguese* had acted the same farce towards the *Dutch*, at their taking *Fernambuco*, in *Brazil*, a few years before⁷.

The manner in which the Dutch reduced this place when under the Portuguese.

f THE *English* had then a factory in *Couchin*; but the *Dutch* ordered them to remove, with their effects, which they accordingly did, to *Pennary*. The *Dutch*, thinking the place too large, contracted it to one-tenth of it. It is about six hundred paces long, and two hundred broad, fortified with seven large bastions, and curtains so thick, that two rows of large trees

Upon this revolution, the English, who had a factory

⁴ L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 188, 189.
784, 785.

⁵ HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 323.

⁶ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 783.

⁷ Ibid. p. 329, 330.

consequence of these relaxations, the *Dutch* were very considerable gainers; which induced them to build a new factory here, much handsomer, and more convenient, as well as much more spacious, than their old one (59). Upon this depended their house at *Ispahan*, and another in *Kirmen*. But, as we intimated in the text, it is not

easy to say how things stand there at present, since the trade of all the *European* nations has suffered severely, during the civil wars that have so long distressed that empire, and from which it is as yet far from being recovered (60).

(59) Dictionnaire de commerce, vol. ii. col. 709, 710.

(60) L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 185.

there, were
obliged to
withdraw.

are planted on them, for shade in the hot season. Some streets built by the *Portuguese* are still a standing, with a church for the *Dutch* service, and the cathedral, which is now turned into a warehouse. The commander's house, a stately structure, is the only house built after the *Dutch* mode, and the river washes some part of its walls. Their flag-staff is placed on the steeple of the old cathedral, on a mast of seventy five feet high, so that the flag may be seen above seven leagues off. The garrison here generally consists of three hundred effective men: and from hence to *Cape Comorin*, are allowed for garrisons, in all their forts and factories, five hundred soldiers, and one hundred seamen, *Europeans*, besides some *Topasses*, and the militia. They have their rice from *Barfalore*; because the *Malabar* rice will not keep above three months out, but in the husk a year. The country produces great quantities of pepper, but lighter than that which grows more to the north. Their woods afford good teak for building, and angelique b and pawpeet for making large chests and cabinets, which are carried all over the west coasts of *India*. They have also iron and steel in plenty, and bees-wax, for exporting. The sea affords them abundance of good fish, of several kinds, which, with those that are caught in their rivers, make them very cheap ^b (P).

A considerable
settlement of
the Jews at
Cranganor,
from the time
of the capti-
vity.

CRANGANOR lies a league up the river from the sea, and the *Dutch* have also a fort there. This place is remarkable for having been formerly the seat of a *Jewish* government, that nation having been once so numerous there, that they could reckon above eighty thousand families, but at present are reduced to four thousand. They have a synagogue at *Couchin*, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper-plates, in *Hebrew* characters; and when any of the characters c decay, they are new cut: so that they can shew their history from the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to this present time ¹.

A succinct his-
tory of this
Jewish mo-
narchy, pub-
lished by Mr.
Van Reed,
from their
own records.

MYNHEER *Van Reed*, about the year 1695, had an abstract of their history translated from the *Hebrew* into *Low Dutch*. They declare themselves to be the tribe of *Manasseh*, a part whereof was by *Nebuchadnezzar* carried to the most eastern province of his large empire, which, it seems, reached as far as *Cape Comorin*; which journey twenty thousand of them travelled, in three years from their setting out from *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar* country, they found the inhabitants very civil and hospitable to strangers, giving liberty of conscience in religious matters, and the free use of their abilities, and industry in commerce. There they increased in number and riches, till, in process of time, either by policy or wealth, or both, d they made themselves masters of the little kingdom of *Cranganor*; and one family among them being much esteemed for wisdom, power, and riches, two of the sons of that family were chosen by their senators to govern the commonwealth, and reign jointly. Concord, the strongest bond of society, was, in a short time, broken, and ambition took place; for one of the brothers inviting his colleague to a feast, and, picking a quarrel with his guest, basely killed him; thinking, by that means, to reign alone. But the deceased leaving a son, of a bold spirit, behind him, he revenged his father's death, by killing the fratricide; and so the state fell into democracy, which still continues (Q). But the lands have many ages since, returned

^b L' Expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190, 191. HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 330, 331. ¹ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 784.

(P) We have in the former part of this chapter, shewn how the *Dutch*, in virtue of their conquests upon the *Malabar* coast, have engrossed, in a great measure, the trade in pepper and cardamoms, by exclusive treaties with most of the petty princes; upon which advantageous footing that commerce still continues, and by which, consequently, they are very great gainers. It is true, that sometimes attempts are made to throw off their yoke, but they have hitherto been so far from having had that effect, that they have, on the contrary, contributed to make it more heavy. The *Samorin*, who was so great a prince when the *Portuguese* came upon this coast, retained some appearance of grandeur, and, which was much better, a real independency, till, about the year 1714, he engaged in a war with the *Dutch* company. It seems they had begun to build a fort at *Chitava*, on the frontiers of the *Samorin*'s dominions, which, without any previous complaint, or declaration of war, he surprised, and put a garrison into, which brought on a war. As the *Dutch* have, in their several fortresses upon this coast, a body of at least a thousand *European* troops, and a considerable maritime force besides, they

distressed the *Indian* monarch exceedingly; and, in the end, obliged him to conclude a peace, upon very disadvantageous terms: for he agreed to rebuild the fort which, soon after the war began, he had demolished, at his own expence; to pay all the charges of the war, which amounted to a large sum; and which was infinitely the worst part of the bargain, granted the *Dutch* company a duty of seven *per cent.* upon all the pepper exported out of his territories, for ever; so that he is now a vassal as well as the rest, though not altogether so much under their dominion (61).

(Q) In the travels which go under the name of *Benjamin de Tudela*, there are some passages which have been believed to relate to this kingdom of *Cranganor*; but that writer is so obscure, and his relation so confused, that, if his credit was better than it is, it would be no easy task to discover his meaning (62). Other authors of the same nation, but much later in point of time, have spoke of this country more clearly, but, at the same time, have swelled their accounts with such unconnected and incredible fables, that if we had no other evidence, we should scarce suspect they contained any truth. For, instead of

(61) Hamilton's account of the Indies, vol. i. p. 715, 716, 717.

(62) Ben. Tudela's travels, cap. 19.

a returned into the hands of the *Malabars*, and poverty and oppression have made many apostatise ^k.

BETWEEN *Cranganor* and *Couchin*, there is an island called *Baybin*. It is four leagues long, *Island of* but no part of it is two miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all vessels or boats to enter at *Cranga-Bayhin*. *nor* and at *Couchin*. The chanel is about a quarter of a mile broad, but very deep, though the bar has not above fourteen feet water at spring-tides. It is from the large extent of country, and the considerable body of troops, over which he has an intire command, that the officer who presides at *Couchin* is looked upon as the first of his rank ^l.

b THE second commandery in the company's service is that of *Ponte de Gallo*, in the island of *Ponte de Gal-Ceylon*; the first fortress of consequence that fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, and a place, both ^{lo on the island} from its situation and strength, of very great importance. The port is more capacious, and ^{of Ceylon, the} much more commodious, than that of *Columbo*, but it is somewhat exposed to the west winds ^{second post in} The commander is subject to the orders of the governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without ^{which the} his approbation. The reason of preserving this distinct command is, that, before the rest of ^{Dutch have a} the coast was reduced, this officer was at the head of the company's affairs in the island, and it still remains a post both of honour and profit; from whence, in process of time, such as discharge it with reputation are frequently raised to be governors ^m. It is here that the greatest part of the trade of the natives is carried on; and it may not be amiss to observe, that, as amongst the *Chingualeys*, every trade, and every profession, is confined to a particular tribe, or, as they style them, casts; so those who exercise merchandize are divided into four casts; which are thus distinguished; the *Chittays*; that is to say, Merchants who deal in drugs of all kinds, ^c linens, and other manufactures, and who are sometimes also concerned in shipping. The *Caver-chittays*, who deal in gold, silver, and other metals, in which they make assays, and ^a are very skilful. The *Cometi-chittays*, who vend grain, roots, herbs, and other kinds of provision. The *Valigi-chittays*, whose traffic consists in jewels, crystals, toys of their own making, and all sorts of minerals. Each of these casts live distinct and separate, never intermarry, nor so much as eat and drink one with another; which is also an inviolable rule amongst the casts of other professions; so that every branch of business remains precisely in the same hands, from one generation to another. Some writers say, that there is also a commander established in the fortress of *Jasanapatan*, in the same island; but whether this is an ^d old regulation, and is since laid aside, or whether it be still kept up, we cannot take upon us to decide ⁿ (R).

THE fourth commandery is that of *Samarang*, in the island of *Java*, which stands at the distance of sixty-eight miles from *Batavia*, and is one of the most considerable towns in that great island. It is very agreeably seated in a fine and fertile plain, with a large river running through it, navigable for small vessels. It is computed that the town does not consist of fewer ^{The last officer with that resident at Samarang in the island of Java.}

^k HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 324, 325. tom. ii. p. 190.

^m Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 851. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 192. ⁿ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 851. HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 337, 338.

one kingdom, they make many, and those very populous and powerful, and this at a period when, in fact, this very kingdom of which they speak was much sunk and decayed (63). The famous traveller *Marco Polo* ment ons them in his writings; and though, at first, this was looked upon as an improbability, yet it has been since considered as a proof of the authenticity of his relations (64). The learned *Spanheim* takes notice of the several countries of the east through which the *Jews* are scattered (65). The famous Mr. *Du Pin* mentions a long letter, written by the *Jews* at *Couchin* to the synagogue at *Amsterdam*, in which was contained a short history of their establishment at *Cranganor*, to which he doubts what credit should be given (66). But that this letter was really genuine, there does not seem to be any good ground to doubt. It was from this country that numbers of *Jews* went to *Goa*, in the time of its prosperity, where they were received, had large privileges granted them, and were exempted from the power of the inquisition.

(R) The *Dutch* writers are not very distinct in what they report concerning the authority of the commandant at *Ponte de Gallo*, who is sometimes represented as dependent upon, and sometimes as free from any subjection

to, the governor of *Ceylon*. The truth seems to be, that they are checks upon each other; for the commandant is not appointed by the governor, nor can he remove him. On the other hand, the commandant cannot go out of the road of his ordinary functions, without giving advice to, and receiving the approbation of, the governor general. As this is the chief and proper port of the island to which the *Dutch* fleets constantly resort, it is impossible to conceive, that any considerable defection could be made, while the commandant here remained firm to his trust, to which he must be necessarily excited, by the first appearance of want of fidelity in the governor, as his pursuing a contrary conduct would be the most probable method of becoming his successor. As for the governor of *Jasanapatan*, it seems very likely that he should have the like title, and enjoy the same privileges, with the commandant of *Ponte de Gallo*, as he has a large tract of country under his direction, particularly the island of *Manaar*, which lies opposite to the coast of *Coromandel*, in which the company keep their state prisoners, and where they have sometimes had several *Indian* princes confined at a time (67).

(63) *R. Gersom ben Elizer, Sepher Gilloth Eretz Israel. Spanheim. introductio ad sacram geograph. cap. 7. p. 67. ton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 337.*

(64) *Marc. Paul. lib. iii. cap. 43.*
(66) *Histoire des Juifs, liv. v. c. 26*

(65) *Fred'*
(67) *Hamil-*

than twenty thousand houses. The *Dutch* factory is very large and commodious, the fort ^a strong, well fortified, and held by a garrison that is always complete. The commander has under his direction all the adjacent coast. And the commerce here is very considerable, as well with the *Chinese*, who resort thither in great numbers, as the natives of the island of *Java*, who are continually bringing great quantities of provision and merchandize thither. It is from hence that the *Dutch* correspond with the emperor of *Java*, who holds his court at *Cartasaura*, which is distant from thence about four days journey, and is a city consisting of about thirty thousand houses, some built of stone, some of wood, and some of bamboo-canes. He resided formerly at *Mataram*, which is a days journey farther from *Samarang*, being without comparison the largest city in the whole island, two full leagues in length, and containing upwards of sixty thousand houses. The commander of *Samarang* is always an officer of distinction, one upon ^b whose judgment, activity, and fidelity, the company can intirely rely; for otherwise, any mistake or omission of his might be very fatal to their affairs, in a country where the people are restrained only by an apprehension of superior force; which, however, seldom keeps them from carrying on secret intrigues, and dark contrivances ^c.

^c Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 865. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190.

S E C T. XXIII.

The third order of governments under those who are stiled only chiefs; viz. Bantam, in the isle of Java; Padang, Puclambam, and at the river Bencalis, in the island of Sumatra, than which, no country in the Indies is more abundant in gold, though no great sums are brought to the company's account.

First chief established at Bantam, in the same island, which is an office of great emolument.

^c **A**T *Bantam*, on the same island, the head of the factory has the title of chief. There is a very strong fort there, and a numerous garrison, to keep the people in awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The king has also a fort, at the distance of some hundred paces from the company's fort, in which he has likewise a good garrison, for the security of his person. The only commodity of the country is pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thousand tons. The bay of *Bantam* is very safe and pleasant, in which are many islands, that still retain the names given them by the *English*, who had formerly a very fine factory at this place, from which they were expelled in 1683 ^d. The *East India* company oblige the king to furnish them with a certain quantity of pepper; in all other respects they treat him kindly enough, because it is their interest so to do. He is the sovereign of a great country well peopled, and his subjects are a hardy enterprising nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Christians to the last degree. After giving this character of the people, the reader will know what to think of the dexterity and address of the *Dutch*, who are able to constrain such a nation, and to make them submissive, though not obedient. At the same time, however, we may take notice, that they are kept continually upon their guard; no private person, nay, no company of a score, or better, dare stir from under the cover of their fortifications; if they did, the first *Javanese* that had it in his power would infallibly deprive them of life ^d.

Dangers to which the Dutch are exposed.

At first sight, this seems to be a terrible inconvenience, and such as scarce any nation would support, for any consideration. But do the company consider things in this light? It may be not. This villainous disposition in the natives keeps the company's servants always upon their guard, confines their thoughts to their business, that it may be thoroughly and punctually dispatched, and themselves so much the sooner released from a place where they must live in continual disquiet. One may the more readily conceive this to be the case, because it seems to correspond with other maxims of the company's policy, very different in that respect from the *Portuguese*, who, by associating to much with the natives of the countries which they possessed, fell, by degrees, into all their customs, and began to forget the interest of their mother-country; which, whatever other faults they may have, is not to be reckoned among the vices of the *Dutch*, to which quality alone may be, in some measure, ascribed the stability of all their settlements in the *Indies* (S). ^e

THE

^p HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127. P. 194.

^q L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii.

(S) Though the company grants various privileges to remain and settle in the *Indies*, more especially in the the meaner sort of people, in order to engage them to island of *Amboyna*, *Banda*, and the *Moluccas*, yet they pursue

- a** THE second, who is stiled chief, resides at *Padang*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, otherwise called *The second post of chief fixed at Padang, on the coast of the island of Sumatra.* This chief has his council and fiscal, like the rest, and it is usually considered as a very profitable employment. *Sumatra* is a very large fine island, separated from the continent of *Asia* by the *Streights of Malacca*, and is justly regarded as one of the richest countries in the *Indies*. It is, according to the best accounts, upwards of four hundred leagues in circumference. The greatest and most powerful monarch therein is the king of *Achem*, or, as is written in the *Indies*, *Atcheen* *. It was formerly governed by a woman, and queen *Elizabeth* entertained a close correspondence with the queen of *Achem*, who was living in her time. It is not above forty years since the government fell into the hands of a man; and several attempts have been made since to restore the old constitution, under which the people
- b** were much happier than any of their neighbours. It is to this day a free port, to which *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, and in short all the nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, trade with safety. The goods which are brought thither are rich brocades, silks, muslins of all sorts, raw silk, fish, butter, oil, and ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in gold, the great commodity of the country, and remarkably fine. The country is mountainous, which is not looked upon as a great inconvenience, since almost all these hills abound with gold, silver, lead, and other metals; and the company is possessed of some mines of gold which are very rich, and great care taken both to secure and conceal the profits that are made of them. There are likewise great quantities of gold-dust found in the rivulets of this country, especially during the time the west monsoon reigns, because then the torrents roll from the
- c** mountains with great rapidity (T). There is also abundance of copper of which they make great guns; several sorts of precious stones; and a mountain of burning brimstone, which continually throws out flames, like mount *Gebel* in *Sicily*. There are not any of those sorts of corn that grow in *Europe*, but plenty of rice, millet, and fruits, which afford good and sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants. It produces likewise abundance of honey, bees-wax, ginger, camphire, cassia, pepper, &c. white tanlers, and especially cotton, of which the inhabitants make their garments, and a variety of manufactures †.

- There is no country in the *Indies*, where, during the western monsoons, the rains fall with greater violence, or are attended with more terrible storms of thunder, lightening, and earthquakes, than *Sumatra*; but the natives, being used to them, are not much alarmed, *Few countries richer in gold than this island of Sumatra, in different parts.*
- d** bear them patiently, and are seldom heard to complain of their climate. These people are generally speaking *Mohammedans*, and are very expert in making all sorts of gold plate with very few tools, and yet with such inimitable dexterity, that what is of their workmanship sells at a very great rate throughout all the *Indies* ‡. The company sends every year a great

* *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 202.
p. 685.

† *Geographie moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 198, 199. Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 21.
‡ *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 198, 199.

pursue a contrary policy with respect to those who attain to the first employments in their service, and acquire considerable estates, and frequently put them under such difficulties, as oblige them to return home. This, joined with that natural affection which the *Dutch* preserve for their own country, and the desire they have of displaying in *Europe* the effects of their good fortune in the *Indies*, is a matter of no small consequence, since it equally contributes to keep every thing quiet in the *Indies*, which would not be altogether so easy if there were many rich and potent families in each of their settlements, and proves the means of returning annually immense riches into the *United Provinces*; many of which, as they were acquired, would be spent in these, if their possessors could promise themselves that ease, independency, and security, which naturally becomes the wish of every man, who, after many years danger and fatigue, finds himself at last master of a large estate. A contrary conduct would certainly make their colonies more flourishing, but the advantages derived from them to their mother-country would not then be so great.

(T) Upon comparing the best accounts that can be had of this island, it very fully appears, that not only gold abounds in almost all parts of it, but, what can scarce be said of any other country, there are found in *Sumatra* all the different sorts of gold of which we find any mention made by such as are best acquainted with that precious metal, and the different methods in which

it is collected. We have, in the text, spoken of the more common ways of coming at gold in *Sumatra*; but, beside these, there are others not so generally known (68). Some of the servants in the *Dutch* factories have, at the proper season of the year, staked flannel waistcoats in the small rivulet running down from the mountains; and, by wringing them twice or thrice in twenty-four hours, have obtained considerable quantities of gold-dust. By washing the mud taken out of holes in the rock, they obtain bits of gold from the bigness of pins heads to pieces weighing a quarter of an ounce, and sometimes more, but the latter are very rare. Larger pieces of gold are sometimes taken out of a rich, black, soft, mould; but, except the gold dust, these are of a low touch, that is, are far from being pure. The high mountains in the centre of the island are inhabited by a race of wild and savage people, who exchange with their more civilized neighbours for necessaries, and more especially, when they can get them for arms and ammunition, a sort of rock gold, than which there is none finer in the world; and from these people are sometimes purchased pieces of the rock, which appears sometimes to be a kind of white solid marble, through which there run sprigs, or, if we may be allowed to call them, veins of pure gold, some scarce bigger than a hair, and others as large as a common quill. These rocky fragments are preserved as curiosities in the cabinets of persons of distinction at *Batavia* (69),

(68) *Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales*, p. 22. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 198. *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 203. (69) *Memoires de Dr. Garcin. Histoire des Indes par Guyon*, vol. ii. p. 212, 213. *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. iii. col. 1539.

number of slaves to work in their gold mines. The kings in that part of the country are very rarely upon good terms with the *Dutch*, and sometimes quarrel with the company, and draw all their subjects out of their service. The principal places where gold is found by the natives of the country are *Triou* and *Manincabo*. Their most usual method of coming at it is thus: they dig, at the bottom of the mountain, ditches, where the water being stopped as it pours down the sides of the mountain in the winter, in the summer they draw it off, and, by washing the mud which remains at the bottom, obtain from thence considerable quantities of gold-dust. It is generally believed that this island furnishes annually five thousand pounds weight of this precious metal; yet very little, if any, is ever brought to *Europe*, the *East India* company employing it in other places where gold is valuable, and where they can purchase other commodities which at home turn to a better account^t.

Another
Dutch factory
fixed at Pul-
lambam, on
the coasts of
the same island.

THE *Dutch* have a factory at *Pullambam*, about eight leagues from the coast, on the banks of a very large river, that empties itself into the sea by four different channels. The great trade carried on there is that of pepper, which the *East India* company would willingly monopolize in the same manner they do cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs: in order to this, they are at a very great expence to keep several armed barks cruising at the mouth of this river, to prevent what they are pleased to call smuggling. It must be allowed that they have made a contract with the king to take off all the pepper in his dominions at the rate of ten pieces of eight for a *Babaar*, or four hundred pounds, which is a very fair price. They have, however, a saving clause in their contract, by which it is provided, that half the purchase of the pepper shall be taken in cloth, at such a rate as greatly reduces the value of their cargoes; and it is for this reason that the *Dutch* are so much afraid of smuggling (U). Yet, in spite of all their armed barks, it is a thing notoriously known, that for a thousand florins to his majesty of *Pullambam*, and as much to the *Dutch* chief, a cargo of a thousand *Babaars* of pepper may be carried off the island without any great trouble^u.

A third, on
the river Ban-
calis, which
affords vast
profits to the
factors, tho'
little to the
company.

ON the banks of the river *Bancalis* they have another very considerable factory, which produces annually vast sums from the sale of cloth and opium, which are paid for in gold-dust. This was discovered by a factor in the company's service, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten years, and acquired by it upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum, prudently resolved to secure what he had got by making a discovery of this branch of commerce to the company. There are likewise several other *Dutch* plantations on this island, which are all together comprehended under the general title of the west coast^w. Besides these, and all the places before-mentioned, the *Dutch* have a strong fort and great factory at *Jambie*, and another at *Siack*, which is excessively unwholesome. It stands on the great river *Andraghira*, into which, at a certain season of the year, there come vast quantities of shads of a very large size, one third of which is owing to their roes, which are accounted a great delicacy; and therefore, after taking these out, the rest of the fish is thrown away, and, lying in great heaps, corrupt, and exhale pestilential vapours that infect the air. The persons,

^t Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 213.
vol. ii. p. 118, 119.

^w Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

^u HAMILTON's account of the East Indies,

(U) It may not be amiss to take this occasion of giving a general account of the pepper trade, so far as is consistent with the nature of a work of this kind. We have before observed, that this is the only sort of spice the *Dutch East India* company have not hitherto been able to monopolize, which has been chiefly owing to its being the produce of different countries, and growing very plentifully in all these countries. The pepper plant is a kind of feeble vine that grows to no great height, and is usually planted at the bottom of a large tree, that it may be the more conveniently supported. The leaves resemble in shape those of ivy, but are not near so green; on the contrary, they are generally speaking more or less yellow; the fruit hangs in clusters like our currans, and, like them, appears first green, then become red, and when dried in the sun black (70). There has been a great dispute whether there is not also white pepper; but, if we may rely upon the opinion of a skilful physician, who speaks of his own knowledge, there is really no such thing in nature; and what is sold under that denomination in *Europe*, is only black pepper blanché, either by rubbing the shell off before it is quite dry, or

by suffering it to take moisture afterwards in a degree sufficient to fit it for that operation (71). The pepper of *Ceylon* is commonly reputed the best in the *Indies*, but is not much cultivated in that island. The rest of the pepper the *Dutch* distinguish by the names of *Malabar*, *Jambe*, and *Bilipatan*. The greatest part of the *Malabar* pepper comes through their hands, and the rest falls to the share of the *English*. The *Java* and *Sumatra* pepper, which is the second sort, is transported in vast quantities into *Europe* by the *East India* companies of both nations. As for the last, which is a *Malabar* pepper, and derives its name from a great trading town in the kingdom of *Cananor*, the *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, all deal in it; but, being smaller, more wrinkled, and milder in taste, than any other pepper, there comes but little of it into *Europe*, where it is in no esteem; whereas it is preferred to all the other sorts over all the east, which makes it a very valuable commodity (72). It is said, that a great deal of the pepper from *Java* and *Sumatra* does not stand the *Dutch* company in above a farthing a pound prime cost (73), and is sold in *Europe* for twelve-pence.

(70) Sir Thomas Pope Blount's natural history, p. 49. Voyages de J. B. Tavernier, vol. ii. p. 289.
de Dr. Garçin. (72) Dictionnaire de commerce, vol. iv. col. 270, 271.

(71) Memoires
(73) Remarks on the trade

therefore

- a therefore, that are sent to *Siack*, are much of the same stamp with those that are sent to *Banda*; that is to say, men of abandoned characters and desperate fortunes *. To speak plainly, there is too much gold in this country, if any credit may be given to the accounts of the *Dutch* themselves, for honesty to take any deep root; the chiefs of the *Padang* being more exposed to suspicion, and falling oftener under prosecutions, than any other persons of their rank in the company's service; which is ascribed to some strange circumstances that attend the company's mines, which produce no great matters; though these chiefs, and all their under-officers, acquire great estates in two or three years, by methods which the general and council at *Batavia* are seldom able to discover (X). The company sometimes build ships at some of their settlements in this island, not for the sake of saving expences, but
- b on account of the excellency of the timber; those vessels lasting at least twice as long as ships of the same bulk built in *Europe* †.

* HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 122, 123.
landois, p. 202, 203.

† Memoires sur le commerce des Hol-

(X) We find in the few accounts that have been written of the *Dutch East Indies* by such as have resided long there, that frauds are as often committed by their servants as by those of other companies, notwithstanding that some severe examples are now-and-then made; and, if we may credit *Graaf*, who seems to be a plain honest man, it is no easy matter to put an end to these practices. He seems to think that men are more frequently punished for want of friends, or from a want of liberality, when they are become rich by dishonest means, than for their crimes. He likewise observes that the company gain so little by confiscations, after the fiscal, and other

officers have had their shares, and the expences of prosecutions are defrayed, that it is seldom worth while to proceed to extremities (74). In respect to the spice trade, and the gold mines, however, there are some exceptions; and, where clear proofs have been had, many have lost their estates, and some their lives, but without striking any great terror into their successors: tho', after all, it is not impossible that these gold mines may be more beneficial to the company than they are generally reputed, since there is no body of traders in the world more given to complain, or less inclined to boast (75).

(74) *Voyages aux Indes*, p. 303—312.
Braems, &c.

(75) *Report veritable fait aux etats generaux*, par *Danis*?

S E C T. XXIV.

A complete history of the commerce and state of the Dutch company at Japan. The manner in which their factors, officers, and seamen, are confined during their stay in that country, while they deal with the inhabitants, and make up their homeward-bound cargo. Immense produce of this trade, and how disposed of at Batavia.

- c THE third chief resides at *Japan*; he is always a principal merchant, and is assisted by some writers in the same company's service. The profit which they formerly made by this establishment was very considerable, amounting frequently to eighty or one hundred per cent. but is now sunk, as some writers affirm, to such a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great diminution is chiefly owing to the practice of the *Chinese*, who for some time past have purchased all sorts of goods proper for that market at *Canton*, and exported from thence to *Japan*. It is also said that they have contracted with the *Japone*se to furnish them with all sorts of merchandize at the same price as the *Dutch*. Another cause is a practice established by the *Japone*se themselves, which is, fixing the price of goods ². It is very possible that some improvements of this nature have been suggested to them
- d by the *Chinese*, who were treated in the same manner formerly at *Batavia*. The governor-general, *Van Zwol*, thought proper to set a price on all sorts of silks, and other goods, the *Chinese* brought to *Batavia*; and at the same time fixed the rate of the commodities and manufactures which the company were to give in exchange. This the *Chinese* looked upon as a prodigious hardship, and a thing incompatible with the nature of commerce. They represented this in the strongest terms to the general, but to no manner of purpose. They then addressed themselves to their sovereign; and complained of this innovation so warmly, that, after various expostulations with the governor, all commerce ceased between the two nations; and things continued in this posture till the death of Mr. *Van Zwol*. But his successor Mr. *Swaardekroon*, acting upon quite different principles, restored things to their former state, and put their commerce on the old foot ³. With no small difficulty things were brought to this pass also in *Japan*; and upon repeated applications, trade restored to its old channel. Yet not long after the court gave into a new project, to the full as oppressive; and this was,

² Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

³ L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, p. 202, 203.

fixing the quantity of goods which should be brought on board each sloop; that is to say, ^a the *Dutch* were left at liberty to bring what they would, to sell and buy at what price they would, provided they kept the whole of their dealings within the compass of a sum prescribed. Upon this they had recourse to fresh remonstrances; which were not altogether ineffectual, and yet did not procure an intire abolition of this troublesome edict ^b (Y).

No place in the Indies where the Dutch have so little authority as in Japan.

Upon the whole, there is no place in the *East Indies* where the *Dutch* have so little authority, and where their establishment is become of so little consequence, as in *Japan*. They have, it is true, a little island allowed them, where they have magazines for their goods; and a few ordinary houses, in which such persons live as are in the company's service. But then this is in effect a prison, in which they are shut up the time they stay here, and are not so much as allowed to pass the bridge that joins this island to the city of *Nangazaki*. The only ^b shadow of liberty that is left consists in the chief's going once a year, attended by two or three other persons, to the court of the emperor, in quality of ambassador, to renew the treaty of amity and commerce which subsists between that monarch and the company. One great cause assigned for the holding the *Dutch* to such hard terms, is, their having attempted familiarities with *Japone* women; but the true reason is, a well-grounded suspicion that the *Dutch* have an inclination to fix themselves by force, of which they have more than once given some very apparent tokens, the last of which notwithstanding it fell out many years ago, yet is like to be ever remembered ^c.

Mr. Carron, while chief at Japan, attempts, tho' unsuccessfully, an establishment by force.

It happened, as is reported, thus: Mr. Carron, their chief in *Japan*, was a person of great parts, and one, who, in several journies he had made to the emperor's court, had found ^c means to ingratiate himself with that monarch, by entertaining him with accounts of the state of *Europe* at that time, which that prince, and indeed all the *Japone* emperors, are very curious to know. Having by this means frequent access to the imperial presence, he, presuming on his credit with the emperor, begged permission to build a house on the little island where the factory stood, on his masters account; which the emperor granted. Accordingly the foundation was laid; the business went cheerfully on, till it grew into a handsome fortification of a regular tetragon. The *Japone*, being intirely ignorant of the art of fortification, had not the least suspicion of deceit, but suffered them to complete it. When it was finished, Mr. Carron advised the general and council at *Batavia* of the progress he had made; and desired, by the next shipping, to have some cannon sent him in casks filled with oakum or cotton, the ^d casks to be well bound with iron hoops, and the heads securely fixed in; with some casks of the same make filled with spices: which advice was accordingly followed. When the shipping arrived, the cargo in a proper time was landed; but, in rolling the casks, one, in which was a brass gun, fell to pieces, and the cheat was discovered. This put a stop to all commerce till the emperor's pleasure was known; and gave that monarch a very bad impression of the *Dutch*, and of all who were employed by them. He would not however prohibit trade; but gave orders to put any *Dutchman* to death who should presume to stir out of the island; and directed that Mr. Carron should be sent to answer for this fault to *Jeddo*, where he resided. On his arrival, being interrogated, he was able to say nothing in excuse; when the emperor reproached him with abusing his kindness: for which he had his beard pulled out hair by hair; ^e and then, being dressed in a fool's coat and cap, was exposed in that condition through all the streets in the city. After this he was sent back to the factory, with orders to return in the first ship that was sent to *Batavia*. This seems to be a more probable account of his disgrace, and of demolishing the *Dutch* warehouses, than what we find elsewhere given ^d; as also for

^b P. CHARLEVOIX *histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 450. p. 202, 203.

^c HAMILTON's account of the *East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 246.

(Y) We are told from pretty good authority, that the original of this quarrel between the *Japone* and the *Dutch*, and which turned so much to the prejudice of the latter, was owing to the pique of a great minister, of so singular a nature, that it deserves to be remembered. The name of this *Japone* statesman was *Mino-Sama*, who, by complying with the emperor's humour in trifles, governed him absolutely in all matters of consequence. He took it into his head that his master would be very well pleased to have a large *European* lustre of chrystal hung up in the imperial vault where his ancestors were interred. He sent, therefore, his orders to the *Dutch* chief to procure him such a one as soon as possible; which were immediately complied with, and the lustre sent from *Batavia* by the next ships. But, the prime

minister having given no notice of his intentions to the *Japan* governor of the port, he directed the lustre to be put into the list of the presents to the emperor; which was accordingly done. *Mino-Sama* attributed this to the *Dutch* chief, and looked upon it as an arrogant attempt in him to make his court to his imperial majesty; and upon this presumption, without making any inquiries, became a violent enemy to the *Dutch*, and inspired his family with the same hatred, who, as they succeeded him in the ministry, plagued that nation for many years with edict after edict, full of concern for the welfare of their country, and breathing nothing but public spirit in their expressions, tho' dictated only by private vengeance, and a perverse disposition (76)

(76) P. Charlevoix *hist. du Japon*, vol. ii. p. 451.

- a the bad reception that *Carron* met with at *Batavia*, which induced him to desert the *Dutch East India* company's service, and to put himself into that of the *French* king, of which we have before said something, and of which we shall again be obliged to speak more at large (Z).

THE government of *Japan* is despotic; and, as is usual in all absolute governments, the prime ministers, while in favour, exercise the supreme authority in the name of their masters; so that it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to obtain any relief from the grievances they impose, or any redress of such acts of injustice as they are disposed to do, more especially when the sufferers are strangers. The *Japanese* ministers have their maxims of state as well as other nations; and those who have negotiated with them, allow, that they want not either parts or penetration. The reader, perhaps, will not think it any objection to the truth of what has been advanced, that, in the space of one hundred and fifty years that the *Dutch* have been settled here, they have been able to learn but little with certainty concerning the extent of this empire, or the true situation of things in it; from whence it appears, that, with them, secrecy passes for the very basis of policy; and, though their ministers are not wanting in good sense, learning, or politeness, yet the humour of talking of their affairs, or of giving more light than is absolutely necessary as to the motives upon which they act, is not among the number of their foibles (A); otherwise we should not be so much at a loss upon this head as we really are, notwithstanding so many descriptions and accounts of the islands of *Japan* that have been published in various languages, from the perusal of which a judicious reader will reap but little satisfaction.

- c We are indeed very certain, that the countries under the dominion of the emperor are very large and very fertile, so that no part of the world, *China* not excepted, enjoys all the necessities of life in greater abundance. Besides these, the inhabitants are in possession of many valuable commodities, and of rich and curious manufactures. Arts and sciences flourish in this empire, agreeable to that taste which prevails amongst them; so that they stand in need of nothing that may contribute to the convenience of life, or even to the support of magnificence and luxury; visible marks of which are every-where conspicuous in their buildings, dress, equipage, and whatever else contributes to make distinctions between the several ranks of men, as all travellers agree. But, notwithstanding this, there is a wonderful regularity, and a very strict discipline, observed, which is owing to the exactness of their laws, and to that rigorous severity with which they are put in execution, without which, perhaps, it would be impossible to retain the numberless inhabitants of these populous islands within just bounds of obedience.

* Relation concernant l'empire et le gouvernement du Japon, par FRANÇOIS CARRON, président de la compagnie Hollandoise du Japon, dressé par ordre de Monsieur Lucas, directeur-général des affaires de la même compagnie des Indes Orientales, p. 4. KEMPFER, TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, CARRON, CHARLEVOIX.
 † Histoire du Japon, tom. i. p. 66.

(Z) According to the accounts given us by other writers, the *Dutch* chief incurred the aversion of the *Japanese* by his high spirit and lofty temper, which the *Japanese* ministers thought preposterous in a merchant who came to them as a deputy or servant to other merchants. Those accounts say, that the *Dutch* buildings were demolished at *Firando* upon the score of their having the year of our Lord engraven upon them; and at the same time occasion was taken to transfer the factory from *Firando* to this island of *Desima* (77). But the relation given in the text from captain *Hamilton*, who was a very inquisitive man, and found means to pick up much secret history in the *Indies*, carries a greater appearance of truth, since it suggests a rational motive for this jealousy and severity; whereas all the other accounts shew us plainly, that the *Japanese* took offence at the strength of the *Dutch* edifices, without assigning any cause; and, which is still more extraordinary, acknowledge, that themselves, upon the emperor's first order, fell immediately to demolishing; which, they say, was very lucky for them that they did, since otherwise the magistrate, who summoned them to hear that order read, had a party of men ready to cut them to pieces upon the spot, in case they had made the least expostulation (78).

(A) There is no country in the world where reason of state is oftener urged, or better understood, than in *Ja-*

pan, as might be shewn from a multitude of facts, as well as orders, judgments, and other authentic papers, published by the missionaries, and by some of the *Dutch* writers, which are penned in a very elevated and swelling, but at the same time clear and expressive style, so as to leave no doubt with the judicious reader that the measures were taken, upon which these pieces were founded, by very sound and intelligent politicians, who were not at all at a loss how to give colourable pretences for the violent exercise of their power, without letting the world into the real secret of their councils, or divulging their sense of things in such a manner as to give strangers an opportunity of interfering with their affairs. Their conduct towards the ambassadors from *Macao*, the ship in which their own people were sent back, the answers returned to the ambassadors of king *John* the fourth of *Portugal*; and the turning upon the *Dutch* themselves the hardships, which, through their suggestions, had been put upon other nations; are so many plain and indubitable proofs of this: for, except that insolence which naturally accompanies arbitrary power in all countries and climates, we see nothing barbarous in their proceedings, or at all more shocking and absurd, than in the manifestoes published in *Europe*, with an intent to give a colour of equity even to acts of the most crying injustice (79).

(77) Recit historique de la demolition d'une forteresse, et de quelques edifices construits à *Firando* dans le Japon par les Hollandois établis dans cet empire. Tiré et traduit de leur journal de l'année 1640. (78) Recueil de voyages au nord, vol. iii. p. 252. (79) See the instances referred to in the several parts of this work.

Of the temper
and general
disposition of
this people,
and of their
employments
and abilities.

As to the temper and genius of this nation, it is better to collect some notion of them from facts, than to take them implicitly from authors, who, as they frequently contradict each other, so no great weight can be laid upon their sentiments. In point of religion, the common people, as in other countries, are inclined to superstition; but the wiser and better educated part of the nation seem rather to lean to the contrary extreme. For, with respect to their persecutions, and the measures taken to prevent the revival of Christianity amongst them, it seems not so much the effect of religious zeal, as of a political principle of aversion to our faith, which in all probability took rise from the indiscretion of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* missionaries, and the use they made of their influence over their disciples. In reference to their abilities in civil affairs, we have no reason to doubt that they are very great, since they have all sorts of learned professions amongst them; and merit is chiefly esteemed, even amongst nobility, and persons of the first rank. That their artificers are very ingenious, we see from the works that come out of their hands; and that the nation in general are haughty, enterprising, sprightly, brave, and capable of great actions, all who have written about them agree; and the excesses of these qualities will sufficiently point out their vices^b (B).

Are naturally
and generally
as much ad-
dicted to traf-
fick as any na-
tion what-
ever.

In reference to commerce, it is generally allowed that the bulk of the nation have a strong propensity thereto, insomuch that in their villages, as well as great towns, almost every private house is a magazine for some kind of traffick or other, so that it has been thought no bad description of the *Japonefe* to stile them a nation of shopkeepers. Yet this does not hinder persons of rank, and of learned professions, from entertaining a very low and mean opinion of trade, from a notion that the desire of gain is a principle of fraud, and must consequently produce many vices; to prevent the bad consequences of which, they have had recourse to that remedy which is most common amongst them, severe and sanguinary laws; which without doubt have a very considerable effect, as they are executed without relaxation, and yet have not intirely rooted out a desire of eluding them, and of practising upon the weakness, inexperience, or necessities, of mankind, though in the management of intrigues of this sort they are more adroit than most other people; and in point of arithmetic, and the art of keeping accounts, they are held to excel even the *Italians*, who yet have given lessons to other *European* nationsⁱ. What has been hitherto said relates to the state of their interior commerce; we will next say something of that which they had, and still have, with foreign nations, which their government now tolerates, and formerly encouraged (C).

^b Recueil de voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 126.
Recueil de voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 129.

ⁱ Memoire sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 197.

(B) Whoever will take the pains of looking either into the particular pieces that have been written concerning these islands, and their inhabitants, or into the general collections in which the substance of them is contained, will find that the nobility, and persons of distinction, amongst the *Japonefe*, are remarkable for sound understanding, true greatness of mind, and a noble contempt of danger or death. They live in a manner suitable to their dignity; and in their houses, attendants, and diversions, discover the elegance of their taste, and this at a great expence; yet without being at all enslaved by these exterior marks of grandeur, since, in case of any reverse of fortune, or of being disgraced at court, they support their poverty with an air of fortitude that preserves to them all the respect formerly paid them in their prosperity (80). The whole country is thoroughly cultivated; the industry of the people appears in the vast abundance of necessaries, as their sagacity is shewn in the choice of the properest places for the different productions of their soil and climate. Their rivers, creeks, bays, and ports, are full of boats, barks, shallops, and other small vessels; for, since the government has prohibited foreign commerce, they are not permitted to build large ones that are very neat and commodious. Their manufactures of every kind, such as their porcelain, lacquered ware, wrought silks, graving, and paper, are exquisitely perfect. In short, they are the very reverse of the *Chinese*; for, as that nation value themselves upon the calmness of their dispositions, that nothing can ruffle, which at the bottom is founded in self-interest; so the ruling passion among the *Japonefe* is the point of ho-

nour, in which they are more tender than almost any other nation in the world; and, as the former are remarkable for a mean, false, tricking, double, artificial behaviour, so the latter are lofty, supercilious, suspicious, hasty, and vindictive (81).

(C) According to the antient fundamental maxims of this empire, there is no such thing as duty, imposition, custom, or excise, upon any kind of commodity or manufacture exported or imported, nor is there any thing levied for the use of the emperor to the prejudice of their interior traffick, but every man enjoys the produce of his own goods, and the fruits of his own labour. But, to prevent private persons from imposing upon each other, weights and measures have a legal standard, and an iron ell is fixed at each end of every public street, that, if any body suspects any foul dealing, it may be detected upon the spot, and, in that case, nothing less than death is the punishment; but for frauds of a deeper and more serious nature, not only the party offending, but his whole family suffers, that it may be a warning to the neighbourhood. In support of this the *Japonefe* statesmen say, that, where there are many traders, there must be severe laws to keep them honest; and that a few rigorous executions is the only way to prevent a great many (82). As for large payments amongst them, they are made by purses of gold sealed by one of the emperor's officers; and, so long as the purse and seal continue whole, they pass without scruple from hand to hand, without being ever opened, or the pieces counted, though some of these purses contain five hundred, and some a thousand pounds, of our money (83).

(80) Relation concernant l'empire et le gouvernement du Japon, par F. Carren, p. 51.
Histoire du Japon, vol. i. p. 46.

(82) Memoires du Japon, p. 131.

(81) P. Charlevoix

(83) Tavernier, Carren,

a THE *Japoneſe* heretofore had a pretty general intercourſe with the nations of the eaſt, both by receiving their commodities, and transporting their own; and it is in a great meaſure probable at leaſt, if not certain, that the government would be inclined to a free trade with all nations, if they were not withheld by theſe two political conſiderations: The firſt is, the dread of having their religion inſulted, which, from a miſguided zeal, was very frequent while there were Chriſtians among the *Japoneſe*. The other, their averſion to any innovation in the manners of their people, from which they apprehend the worſt conſequences. When the *Dutch* were firſt eſtabliſhed there, the prime miniſter of *Japan* gave their embaffador this account of the matter^k: “ We do not condemn your cuſtoms, or cenſure your way of living; but we are determined to preſerve our own. We know very well the advantages
b “ that reſult from the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and we will not run the hazard of a change: we know too, that great revolutions are brought about by imperceptible degrees, and therefore we are reſolved to cure the itch of novelty by the rod of punishment.” Upon this maxim that law is founded, by which no *Japoneſe* dares leave his country; and, if he does, he muſt never return. Before this prohibition took place, they traded to *China*, *Siam*, and to the *Philippine* and *Molucca Iſlands*; but at preſent, as far as we can learn, they carry on no foreign commerce whatever^l (D).

THESE general obſervations will enable us to ſtate more clearly that ſo much envied trade which the *Dutch Eaſt India* company ſtill enjoy in this empire; in which though they have no *European* competitors, yet the *Chineſe* are ſtill permitted to ſend thither annually goods to the value of ſix hundred thouſand *Taels*. The *Siameſe* likewise ſend thither two or three veſſels every year; and the like number come from *Camboya*, though it is generally underſtood that theſe are freighted by the *Chineſe* who reſide there; to theſe if we add the inhabitants of the iſland of *Liquios*, who have likewise ſome ſmall ſhare in the *Japan* trade, we may venture to affirm, that we have named all who have any concern therein^m. It is highly probable, that, from that ſpirit of jealousy which has long prevailed in the *Japoneſe* government, they would be inclined to ſhut out ſome of theſe, if they were not apprehenſive of inconveniencies; as it is, they make their commerce ſo troubleſome and uneaſy, that nothing but the vaſt profits ariſing from the commodities they vend could induce any nation to diſpenſe with their regulations; but if it be true, that the *Dutch* gain annually half a million ſterling, excluſive,
d as ſome think, of the private trade, it accounts well enough for their conduct; and what that is, we ſhall next endeavour to ſhew as perſpicuouſly, and at the ſame time as ſuccinctly, as poſſible; with this previous intimation, that none of the memoirs we have been able to procure reach lower than the year 1740ⁿ; and it is not impoſſible that ſome regulations have been made ſince then, as it is certain that our accounts differ very much from thoſe that were looked upon as very authentic and exact but a few years before that period.

THE *Dutch* ſent annually four ſhips from *Batavia* formerly, but now they ſend only two to *Japan*, of between thirty and fifty pieces of cannon; but indifferently armed, becauſe there is little danger in theſe ſeas, and that they may give the leſs umbrage to the *Japoneſe*, who ſee with ſuſpicion ſhips of great force upon their coaſts. Theſe veſſels are laden with ſuch *European* and *Indian* goods as are in demand at *Japan*, ſuch as *Engliſh* and *Dutch* cloths, camblets of all ſorts, brocades, gold and ſilver, very rich ſilks of all colours, and eſpecially crimſon and white raw ſilk, raw cotton, and ſpun cotton, tapeſtries, lead, ſteel, and refined ſugars, and ſpices of all kinds, *Morocco* leather, and all ſorts of ſkins, particularly buck and doe, of

^k P. CHARLEVOIX *hiſtoire du Japon*, tom. ii. p. 134, 135.
voyages au nord, tom. iii. p. 130.

^l *Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN*. Recueil de

^m *Memoires du Japon*, p. 135.

ⁿ *Diſtionnaire de commerce*, tom.

ii. col. 893. *L'expédition de trois vaiſſeaux*, tom. ii. p. 201.

(D) According to ſome accounts, ſaid to be taken from the *Japoneſe* themſelves, the firſt motive of this prohibition was an act of vengeance and jealousy committed by the emperor of *China*, who, finding much difficulty in reducing a handful of *Japoneſe* that had rebelled in one of his cities, drove the reſt of the nation out of his dominions, and forbade all intercourſe with *Japan*, which it is ſaid the government of that country took ſo much to heart, as to reſolve not to put it in the power of any monarch whatever to offer another like inſult, which they knew not how to revenge (84). Mr. *Carron* reports, from the *Dutch* writers, reaſons of a very different kind; ſuch as, that they held it diſhonourable for the ſubjects of ſo great a prince to riſque their ſafety in fo-

reign countries for the ſake of ſubſiſtence; that they were jealous of exporting arms and ammunition by this means to their enemies; and that they were apprehenſive of their traders being converted to Chriſtianity when out of their own country, which they look upon as dangerous to the ſafety of the empire. But, as we have hinted before, ſome think the inſinuations of the *Dutch* contributed chiefly to this meaſure, to which they were excited by a violent deſire of monopolizing the whole trade of *Japan* (85); but were defeated by the ſuperior policy of the ſtateſmen of this nation, which gave riſe to a ſaying common in the *Indies*; viz. “ that the *Dutch* can “ over-reach all other nations, but that the *Japoneſe* can “ outwit even the *Dutch*” (86).

(84) *Recueil de voyages au nord*, vol. iii. p. 130, 131.
p. 300, 301.

(85) *Hamilton's account of the Eaſt Indies*, vol. ii. p. 205.

which they carry a prodigious quantity, and about half the quantity of ox-hides^a. They sail about the middle of *June*, and the first land they make is usually the island of *Peltimon*, which is in the latitude of two degrees fifty minutes north. There they take in water, and other refreshments; and then continue their voyage to *Japan*, where they arrive in *August*; and, finding every thing ready prepared for them, their goods are quickly got on shore, and brought into their warehouses, sorted, and fitted for sale. The merchants likewise are summoned from the adjacent countries, and have catalogues given them of the goods brought by the last fleet; so that all is over by the latter end of *October*, and the ships are ready to sail very early in the next month, when the *Japoneſe* never fail to press them to be gone^b (E). The *Dutch* were formerly settled in the island of *Firando*; and that in which they are now fixed is properly called *Deſima*, being made by art, and originally raised to confine the *Portugueſe* in the year 1635. This disgrace is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the intrigues of the *Dutch*; and, if the fact be true, they have suffered very juſtly for their contrivance^c.

A ſhort deſcription of the little iſland of Deſima, in which the Dutch have their factory.

THIS island is oblong, joined to the city of *Nangasacki* by a ſtone bridge, with a wooden drawbridge at the end. Where the bridge joins the city, there is a ſtrong corps de garde poſted night and day. At the entrance from the bridge there is a large ſtone pillar, upon which hang, in ſeveral tables, the emperor's edicts for the regulation of the *Dutch* trade; and three high poſts are ſet up in the ſea, to mark the places where the *Dutch* ſhips are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the city. The island is palifadoed like a park, and thoſe palifades ſpiked. It is not, in its greateſt extent, above two hundred and forty paces in length, and not more than eighty broad. There is a ſtreet acroſs it, with houſes, or rather huts, on both ſides; the lower ſtory of which ſerves for a warehouse, and the upper for the lodging-rooms of ſuch as reſide there. There is a very convenient houſe for the *Japoneſe* director of trade, who comes thither when the ſhips arrive; beſides another handſome houſe for the *Japoneſe* magiſtrate, who always reſides there, which has its garden: for in all their great cities the *Japoneſe* have a particular magiſtrate in every ſtreet, who is called the *Otona*; and they look upon the island of *Deſima* as nothing more than a ſtreet added to their city of *Nangasacki*, and therefore there is an *Otona* here as well as in other ſtreets. Another proof that this belongs abſolutely to the natives, and is not at all conveyed to the *Dutch*, is, that theſe laſt are obliged to pay a very high rent for their little wooden houſes, to thoſe who were at the charge of building them when the *Portugueſe* were ſent thither. By this account it is eaſy to perceive, that it produces nothing; and that there is no room to plant any thing, if they were permitted, which they are not, but are furniſhed from day to day with all the neceſſaries of life at a very high price, and by ſuch only as have this monopoly^d.

The ſtrict regulations to which they are obliged to ſubmit during their reſidence there.

THE *Dutch* reſident in this island ſeldom exceed the number of forty-five; and the *Japoneſe* oblige them to change their chief every year, though, after he has been abſent two years, the ſame perſon may be ſent again; ſo that commonly there are three perſons who have this poſt by way of rotation; viz. one reſident in the island, another in his paſſage, and a third at *Batavia*, till his two years are expired. On the whole, though the *Dutch* have taken all the pains they can to make this place convenient, yet, in ſpite of their care, it is a very indifferent abode, and very little reſembles any of their other ſettlements in the *East Indies*. They are

^a Memoires ſur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 197. Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé DE CHOISY. Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN. ^b Voyage de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. ii. p. 118. ^c TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, CARRON, &c. ^d Memoires ſur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 197. Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

(E) This voyage from *Batavia* to *Japan* is accounted by the *Dutch* ſeamen ſeven hundred and fifty leagues; and, by reaſon of the tempeſtuous weather to which they are frequently expoſed in all ſeaſons, is extremely dangerous; and more ſhips have been loſt in their paſſage to and from thence than in all the other voyages to the *Indies* (87). This ſeems to be contradicted by a note frequently entered in the journals, importing, that the beſt voyages are thoſe to *Siam*, *China*, *Japan*, *Bengal*, *Coromandel*, *Surat*, and the coaſt of *Persia*; and the worſt thoſe to *Jawa*, *Macaſſar*, *Amboyna*, *Banda*, and *Ternate* (88). But the true meaning of this is, that in the former voyages they have an opportunity of getting money, which they have not in the latter. In reſpect to hardſhip, hazard, and fatigue, the voyage to *Japan*, as

we have before hinted, exceeds all the reſt; and the rather, becauſe men go from a very hot to a very cold climate. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, while the *East India* company ſent four, five, or ſix ſhips, every year, to *Japan*, they were very deſirous of diſcovering a north-eaſt paſſage; which, if they could have done, they might have ſailed from *Holland* to *Japan*, and from thence back to *Holland*, in leſs time than they uſually make a voyage from *Holland* to *Batavia*. But when this trade began to decline, and would admit of ſending no more than two ſhips, they have conſidered that paſſage in quite another light; and have been ſo far from labouring to diſcover, that they have endeavoured to re-preſent it as impracticable (89).

(87) Memoires du Japon, p. 35. Voyages de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 118. (88) Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 355. (89) Diſcours preliminaire à la tête de

- a also much restrained in their adding any thing either to their houses, magazines, or little wharfs for landing their goods, since they cannot build, or make the least alteration, without first delivering a petition, with a plan annexed, to the *Ottoma*, by whom it is transmitted to the governor; so that it is sometimes a full year before they can obtain this permission; and even then there is an inspector appointed, to see that in nothing they exceed their original plan. Such are the restraints to which those are liable that are left behind in the *Dutch* factory; which renders their course of life unpleasant enough, little, if at all, better than remaining all that time in a prison, and that too of a very narrow extent, where the inconveniencies to which they are exposed are many, and their amusements few. Let us now see how the new comers are treated upon the arrival of the annual vessels; but, previous to it, it must be observed, that no ships sent thither must have any figure whatever at their stern, because the *Japonefe*, observing that the *Dutch* have no images, took it into their heads that they were placed there in derision of their idols, and therefore permitted this custom as an insult upon their religion^s.

THE very moment that the ships arrive in the road, the governor sends several boats, filled with *Japonefe*, on board, who take all their cannon, small arms, sails, cordage, and spare anchors, into their possession. The crews of these ships are confined to the island, as well as the people of the factory, unless they have a licence to go into the city, and even this is restrained to four at a time. The prices of their goods are set by the *Japonefe* directors of trade, as are likewise the prices of the goods they take in exchange, and sales are made when and how they please. It is true, they are allowed to send the chief of their factory, with two or three attendants, to *Jeddo*, to the emperor; but, in their journey, they travel under the escort of a *Japonefe* guard, who will not suffer them to make any excursions by the way, or to visit any great lords. They are under the same or greater restraints during the short stay they make at *Jeddo*, where they have little other business than to deliver their presents to the emperor, and to particular princes and grandees of his court, to renew the treaty of commerce; which, being a thing of form, is speedily dispatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a guard about them while they remain there, and another to escort them back^t. Of all the restrictions their trade labours under, the *Dutch* are made most uneasy by their having the quantity of goods limited to the value of three hundred and eighty thousand taels, or one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the officers, and at last to the emperor himself. The *Japonefe* treated them, on this occasion, with great address; they told them, that they knew and understood the thing to be a hardship; insinuated, that it did not proceed from any diffidence or disrespect, but was done purely to justify the same restraint on the *Chinefe*, the number of whose junks increased every year; and, as there were frequently *Tartars* amongst them, they could not help suspecting that they might have some worse design than getting money by trade; but, for fear of bringing that evil upon themselves which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it necessary to lay this restraint on the *Dutch* as well as the *Chinefe*^u, that the latter might have the less reason to complain (F).

After what manner the Dutch ships are received and treated on their entering the port.

^s KÆMPFER, CHARDIN, CARRON, CHARLEVOIX, GARÇIN. 207, 208, 209. Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

^t L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 199. ^u Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 199.

(F) The shrewdness and sagacity of the *Japonefe* ministers will sufficiently appear from the manner in which they have sometimes answered the *Dutch* chief upon his making vigorous remonstrances to have these limitations of trade taken off: "To what end," say the *Japonefe* ministers, "do you solicit this as a favour? you see that every year part of your goods are left upon your hands, and you complain that you are no gainers by what you sell. If therefore what you call your privileges were restored, it would serve only to croud your warehouses, to lessen the price of your goods, and, from a small gain, bring upon you great loss by so tedious and dangerous a voyage. If, therefore, we do not restore these privileges, it is no mark of disrespect or diskindness, but quite the contrary; it is from an apprehension you should be disgusted by your losses, and set aside this commerce altogether." The *Dutch* might easily answer this, by owning that they already exceed their allowance; that the goods left in their

warehouses are employed in a clandestine trade; and that they could easily find the means of disposing of cargoes twice or thrice as great as those that are now sent (90). But as these are things they dare not mention, tho' perhaps they are not altogether unknown to the *Japonefe* ministers, they are forced, by their silence, to admit, that the *Japonefe* arguments are unanswerable. The whole secret of the matter is, that the government of *Japan* has an inclination to indulge its subjects in a foreign commerce, as far as they judge consistent with their own security; that they are sensible this could not be done if the *Dutch* were excluded, upon account of the company's great naval power, which would enable them to cut off all communication between *Japan* and *China*; and that, while they enjoy the small proportion of trade they have still left, it is sufficient to answer the views of the *Japonefe* government, and to prevent things from coming to extremities (91).

(90) Memoires de Dr. Garçin.

(91) Memoires du Japon, p. 152.

What new regulation the company thought proper to make for their own security.

THEY promised likewise that this regulation should be very tenderly executed, so as to give the *Dutch* very little trouble; in which, it is said, the *Japoneſe* have been as good as their words; for, abating their particular customs, and the warmth with which they are attached to them, there is no nation in the world more juſt, more reaſonable, or even more civil to ſtrangers. The *Dutch* took advantage of this ſtroke of policy at *Japan* to make a new regulation of their own affairs, and a very wiſe one it was. They are ſenſible that people do not ſettle in the *Indies* to make obſervations in natural hiſtory, but to acquire fortunes; that men ſubmit to the hardships they endure for the ſake of purchaſing future eaſe; and that the navigation in the ſeas of *Japan* is commonly ſo perilous, that it is but reaſonable even the ordinary ſeamen ſhould find an extraordinary account in it. Upon theſe motives they have thus ſettled the commerce of *Japan*: Goods to the value of three hundred thouſand taels are ſent on the company's account; and the other eighty thouſand is allowed in private trade in the following proportion; viz. forty thouſand taels on the account of the governor-general and council at *Batavia*; ten thouſand on the account of the new chief, who goes on board the fleet; eight thouſand on the account of the chief who is to come home; and twenty thouſand for the officers and ſeamen; ſo that every captain has eleven hundred taels on his own account, and every ſeaman twenty. If any of theſe people have not money to furniſh their ſhare of the cargo, it is either advanced on their wages, or they are allowed to diſpoſe of their right to ſuch as are richer than themſelves. Thus every man is intereſted in the branch of trade in which he is employed, and finds his private account in the punctual diſcharge of his duty ^w.

Inſpite of all difficulties and diſcouragements, this commerce is ſtill very lucrative and important.

AFTER their ſales are over at their factory, and the wind is fair for their return home, they have their cannon, ſmall arms, ſails, anchors, and rigging, reſtored to them, and are diſcreetly to depart without delay; with which they are obliged to comply. In their return they touch again, towards the end of the month of *December*, at the iſland of *Poltimon*, where formerly all the gold was put on board one ſhip, that proceeded immediately for *Batavia*, while the reſt continued their voyage to *Malacca*, where an aſſortment was made of the goods for the ſeveral markets of the *Indies*; but now the ſhips return to *Batavia*. It is allowed that the commerce of *Japan* is much ſunk to what it was; and it is likewiſe true, that great loſſes are frequently ſuſtained therein; but, after all, it is ſtill very conſiderable; ſo that, on the beſt computation that can be made, it produces annually to the company better than five millions of guilders, or half a million ſterling, excluſive of the great advantages that reſult from the diſtribution of the effects brought from *Japan* over all the *Indies*, which may perhaps amount to as much more; and then we are to conſider farther the profit that ariſes in *Europe* upon the goods that are acquired in exchange for the commodities brought from *Japan*; and we are likewiſe to remember, that the *Dutch* have always in view the recovery of their former privileges, and even the excluſion of the *Chineſe*, if it was in their power ^x (G).

^w Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

^x Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 895, 896. JANTON etat preſent de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 380, 381.

(G) An author, whom we have often quoted, aſſures us, that the private trade allowed by the company in *Japan* often turns to prodigious account, and much beyond what it ought to do, according to the eſtabliſhed proportion. As an inſtance of this, he relates, that, in the year 1683, upon the return of the homeward-bound ſhips from *Japan* to *Batavia*, one Mr. *Kanſeis*, who had made the voyage, took the liberty of ſaying to Mr. *Speelman*, then director-general, *Our private people did their buſineſs this year in Japan pretty effectually; and I dare ſay their returns are more conſiderable than thoſe of the company.* To this the director-general answered in a ſurly tone, *Hold your tongue, rascal; who aſked you any queſtions about the trade to Japan?* But, continues our author, Mr. *Kanſeis* was believed to be in the right, ſince, upon debarking the goods belonging to the private trade out of the ſhip in which he came, ſhe roſe full three feet and a half out of the water; which ſhews what room they took up (92). The ſame writers ſay, that, in 1686, the *Japoneſe* made ſome unlucky diſcoveries in reference to the conduct of theſe private traders; in conſequence of which nineteen interpreters and brokers loſt their heads, ſixteen had their bellies ripped open, and four were nailed alive upon croſſes. Theſe were all *Japoneſe*; but their *Dutch* confederates did not intirely eſcape, for two

merchants ſuffered a long imprifonment. Mr. *Andrew Kleyer*, who was then chief, and ſome others, were baniſhed from *Japan* during life; and all the goods in the warehouses, belonging to the private traders, were conſiſcated. The government at the ſame time declared they did not impute any of theſe miſdemors to the company, and for that reaſon did not touch any part of their ſtock (93). Upon the whole, the profit on the private trade, ſuppoſing it to be no greater than it ought to be, is computed at about twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling a year; and, as one half of it comes to the governor and council at *Batavia*, it makes a conſiderable addition to their appointments. But, after all, is the company to blame? Be it private, or be it public trade, all the gains ariſing from it center at laſt in *Holland*; the deſire of conveying their riches thither makes thoſe who have acquired them glad to return home; and therefore taking all things together, the company are very excuſable, if, by ſuffering ſome loſs themſelves, they contribute to the emolument of their mother-country. The company might poſſibly gain more by a ſtricter adminiſtration; but the people of *Holland* would then gain much leſs, and the remedy might conſequently be worſe than the diſeaſe (94).

(92) Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 306. Memoires du Japon.

(94) Memoires de Dr. Garçin.

(93) Voyages de Nicolas

S E C T. XXV.

A succinct view of the Dutch residencies throughout the Indies; at Cheribon in the isle of Java, in the kingdom of Siam, and at Mocha in Arabia. The company have slighted their factories in the isle of Borneo, and are not very solicitous about their commerce with China.

^a **W**E come now to the lowest rank of officers bearing supreme command in the Dutch settlements; and of these there are only three, who, notwithstanding they have no higher title than that of resident, which is also given to those in the direction of all their factories, yet these are quite independent, as being appointed by, and having recourse to, the general and council at *Batavia*, without the least dependence on any governor, director, or chief whatever^y. The first of these independent residents has his dwelling in the factory at *Cheribon*, on the coast of *Java*, at the distance of forty-eight leagues from *Batavia*, where the company carries on a very advantageous commerce in coffee, cardamoms, indico, cotton, &c. The land is as fertile in rice, and other provisions, as perhaps any in the world. It is of considerable extent; and the people who inhabit it are under the dominion of four great lords, formerly stiled *pangerangs*, i. e. princes, but now *sultans*, i. e. kings, tho' their authority is not much extended in consequence of their new titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the company's sultan, because he is always attached to the Dutch interest. To say the truth, they might all four be very properly stiled so, since they are under her protection, and delivered from all apprehensions from the king of *Bantam*, who was continually at war with them, and had undoubtedly reduced them long ago under his subjection, if the company had not assisted them, and driven the *Bantamese* out of their territories^z. These princes have since that time, as well out of gratitude for favours past, as in expectation of protection for the time to come, granted the company great privileges in their dominions; among the rest, that of erecting a fort at *Cheribon*, where they have a garrison of sixty men, as well as a factory very well situated, and in perfect good order. About half a league from this fort are the tombs of the princes of *Cheribon*, in a vast temple erected for that purpose: they are three stories high, and are built of various kinds of fine stones. It is said that these tombs contain immense riches, which, tho' left unguarded, they are in no apprehension should be carried away, from a persuasion that they are protected in some supernatural manner; and report many instances of persons who have dropt down dead on approaching the places where those riches are hid with a thievish intention. There was formerly a very considerable *English* factory at *Cheribon*, with a little town belonging to it; but the persons of the factory intriguing with the natives wives, as the *Dutch* say, this so provoked the people, that in one night's time they massacred them all, and destroyed the town^a. It is not very improbable, if we could come at the truth of this story, that they were put upon this cruel action by some of their Christian neighbours; for their residence in *Java* was an intolerable eye-sore (H).

BEFORE

^y L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 110.
 L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211.
 L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211, 212, 213.

^z Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 865. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 128. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211, 212, 213.

(H) There is no place in the island of *Java* where the people carry on a brisker trade than at *Cheribon*, where there are many of the *Japoneze* merchants that are rich, and make a great figure: at which we shall be the less surprised, when we consider, that one of these traders manages different sorts of businesses, which would be altogether incompatible in *Europe*. He has, perhaps, a large house in the town with a very commodious shop, where the principal commodity he deals in, whether *China* ware, silks, plate, or jewels, is disposed to the best advantage, and every thing shewn with such an air of respect and civility, and its perfections explained in so agreeable a manner, that it is almost impossible for an *European* to quit the place without buying something,

tho' he has no occasion for it (95). Besides this, perhaps he has two or three slaves that keep shops of quite a different kind, and others hawk things about the streets. To support this retail trade, he has several vessels employed on the coast of *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Celebes*, and perhaps in the *Moluccas*; and, by the help of their returns, he stocks his own, and also his slaves shops. In the country, if his substance be considerable, he has a large house, with all sorts of conveniencies, such as orchards, gardens, fish-ponds, and whatever else may contribute to luxury and pleasure: but even here business is not forgotten; for his slaves are employed in cultivating his land, raising fruits of all sorts, sowing corn, weaving nets; or it may be they exercise these employments at their

(95) Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 403, 404. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 3, 40.

An account of
the precious
birds nests
which are so
much admired
throughout the
Indies.

BEFORE we quit this place, it will, perhaps, afford some pleasure to the reader, if we give him a distinct account of a certain curious merchandize, for which *Cheribon* is particularly remarkable, and of which great quantities are sent from thence to *Batavia*. These are the famous *Indian* birds nests, which are eaten in sauces and soups, and which are commonly ranked amongst the greatest delicacies of the table. The bird that builds these nests is a kind of swallow; her head, breast, and wings of a shining beautiful blue, and the body milk white. This bird builds in mountainous and rocky places, fixing her nest, either by the side or by the bottom, to the solid stone. It is composed of a glarous viscous substance, and, when thoroughly dry, is in some measure transparent; the colour commonly white, tinged with red, and now-and-then there are specks of purple at the bottom^b. It is shaped like the oval shells of which snuff-boxes are made, about an inch deep, and something more than three inches in compass, weighing about half an ounce, or a very little more or less. We have been the more particular in this description, because of the many fabulous reports concerning them; such as that they are composed of twigs from spice-trees; and, when dissolved, afford the richest and highest taste imaginable; whereas in truth they have very little taste, and what taste they have is far from being agreeable. Others have reported, that the bird forms them from a kind of froth or foam flowing from her own bill; but it is now known that this is likewise false, and that she brings the jelly out of sea-stars, and other fishes, and disposes it gradually in rings one above another, as is manifest to the eye. When these nests come to be considered as an oriental luxury in food, they are a very valuable commodity, and vast quantities of them are consumed over all the *Indies*, but more especially in *China*, and the adjacent countries. They are, when properly seasoned with salt and spices, a very wholesome, nutritive, and delicious jelly, either boiled in soup, or eaten by themselves in the manner of a ragoût. These birds nests are sold at *Batavia* for eight or ten shillings a pound^c.

The second resident charged
with superintendence of the
company's affairs in the
kingdom of
Siam.

ANOTHER resident has the direction of the company's affairs in the kingdom of *Siam*, and has an assistant or book-keeper under him. The company carry on a very considerable trade here in tin, lead, elephants teeth, gums, lack, wool, and other commodities. The king is a very formidable prince; his territories are near three hundred leagues in extent, and he encourages all nations to trade freely through his dominions. Ships, however, of any great burden are obliged to come to an anchor at the distance of thirty-six leagues from his capital, because the river *Menan*, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they could not warp up without great difficulty. This river, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its banks at a certain season: so that for half the year the best part of the country is under water; and for this reason the houses are all built upon posts^d. The country of *Siam* is very rich and fruitful, and there is a considerable trade carried on by the *Chinese*. The *Dutch* have great privileges there, and are considered as the most favoured nation ever since the great revolution, which happened at *Siam* a little after the departure of the *French* ambassadors; for the *Dutch* grew then into credit with the new king, because the *English* were intrusted with the best places in the government, civil and military, by his predecessor, whom he had murdered. It was not therefore consistent with his policy to have any great correspondence with a nation that he knew was not well affected to his title. The favour he shewed the *Dutch* became a rule to his successors, and, as we have before observed, they have been very much caressed ever since^e. They have a factory about a mile below the city of *Siam*, on the side of the river, which enables them to collect great quantities of deer-skins, which are annually sent to *Japan*; and this commerce, together with that of tin, which they have exclusively, and of which there is great abundance, and very fine, makes the company take more pains to oblige the king of *Siam* than most of their neighbours. The *Siamese* themselves are much addicted to trade, and the *Chinese* who reside there much more; so that they annually send ships to *Japan*, which, the difficulty of the navigation considered, is not a little extraordinary. They boast of having had the use of the compass above one thousand years before it was discovered in *Europe*; but the jesuits have observed, that the compass with them, as with the *Chinese*, is very imperfect,

^b Voyage de Siam, p. 184.
tionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 804, 805.

^c Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN.

^d Voyage de Siam, liv. vi.

^e Dic-

their own risk, and pay their masters a certain consideration monthly. But all their accounts are kept by the merchant himself, either in his own or the *Malayan* language; which being expressed by a few characters, they dispatch every thing in much less time, and with much less trouble, than the *Europeans*, and yet with equal exact-

ness. The women, and even the little children, are all some way or other employed; and it is wonderful to see with what dexterity and address they entertain their customers, and endeavour to put off the commodities they deal in (96).

a which, we may presume, is owing to the regularity of the trade-winds, that render an accurate division of the compass less necessary among them than with us^f (I).

At *Mocha*, on the coast of *Arabia*, the third residency is fixed, where the resident is always a merchant, who has under him two book-keepers as assistants. This country is under the government of an *Arab* prince, who has the title of *immaum*, or king, and who resides at a place two hundred miles east from *Mocha*. The sea-port of his dominions was formerly *Aden*; but that being inconvenient, he removed it fifteen leagues farther, to *Mocha*, which was then but a fishing-town. It is situated close to the sea, in a large, dry, sandy plain, that affords not either fruits or water, except what is so brackish and unwholesome, that such as are forced to drink it have long worms bred by it in their legs and feet, which are equally troublesome and dangerous^g. They are supplied, however, with very good water from *Mofa*, which lying at the distance of twenty miles, and coming by land-carriage, makes it as dear to the inhabitants as small beer is in *England*. The town of *Mocha*, notwithstanding this great inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine appearance from the sea. The markets are well furnished with provisions, such as beef, mutton, lamb, and kid, camel and antelopes flesh, common fowls, *Guiney* hens, partridges, and pigeons^h. The sea affords variety of fish, but not well tasted, which proceeds from the extreme saltiness of the water, and the nature of their aliment. The town is well furnished all the year round with good fruits, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, and quinces, of which they make marmalade, both for their own use and exportation; though near the town there is not a tree or shrub to be seen, but a few date-trees; and they seldom have more than two or three showers of rain in a year, and often no rain falls for two or three years together: but amongst the mountains, about twenty miles off, seldom a morning passes without a moderate shower, which makes the valleys very fertile in fruit and corn, such as the soil will bear; but they have no rice, tho' plenty of barley and wheat. Since the *immaum* made *Mocha* the chief port of his dominions, and a free port, it is become a place of great trade; for, besides the *Dutch* factory, and one belonging to the *English East India* company, they trade with *Portuguese*, *Banyans*, and *Moors*, and vessels from *Bassorah*, *Persia*, and *Muskat* in *Arabia Petraea*. The country of itself produces few valuable commodities besides coffee, and some drugs, such as myrrh, olibanum or frankincense from *Coffin*, and aloes soccotrina from *Socotra*, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, some gum arabic, and mummy, with some balm of *Gilead* that comes down the *Red Sea*ⁱ (K).

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^f *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 197.

^h *HAMILTON's account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 41—43.

^g *HAMILTON*, ubi sup. p. 44, 45.

^g *Geographie moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS,

ⁱ *OVINGTON's voyage to Surat*,

(I) There is hardly any country in the east, of which we have more copious descriptions, and with which, notwithstanding, we are, after all, less acquainted than *Siam*. We may, however, venture to affirm, that no country in the east, of its extent, produces more valuable commodities than this; which is the reason that the *Dutch* are so attentive to its commerce. There is one thing singular in the constitution of this country, which is, that the king is the sole merchant, and carries on a very extensive commerce, sending usually five or six large *sommes* to *China*, two to *Japan*, considerable squadrons to *Tonquin* and *Cochin-China*, as also to *Surat*, and even as far as the coasts of *Persia*; but tho' the goods belong to the king, yet the vessels are, in a great measure, manned and navigated by Christians. All the returns are laid up in his warehouses, from whence they are retailed at his own price to his subjects (97). The tin mines at *Ligor* are farmed to the *Dutch* company, which is a point of inexpressible advantage to them, and enables them to set almost what price they will upon that commodity; for if at any time they find the market begin to fall, they send it into *Europe*. By their interest at court they certainly sell more goods than any other *European* nation; which, however, does not turn to any great account, the company's profits arising rather from what is purchased, than what is sold. The common people in this country are, in a manner, all dealers in something or other; yet have so little distrust in their tempers, that the seller never tells his money after the buyer, and the latter seldom insists upon seeing the commodity weighed (98).

(K) The commerce of *Mocha* has suffered great alterations; for those writers are certainly mistaken who suggest, that it has been only of late frequented. On the contrary, its commerce was at a great height about the middle of the last century; but, towards the close of it, suffered so much by the *Madagascar* pirates, that the merchants began to forsake it, and the trade was diverted to several other ports in the *Red Sea*: but, in the space of less than twenty years, things took once more a new turn, and *Mocha* became more considerable than ever; and upon this foot it has continued ever since (99). A few particulars may not be displeasing to the reader, as they are very consistent with the subject: the trading season extends from *May* to *August*; and in that space there seldom come in less than ninety or one hundred vessels from different parts of the world, such as *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and some other parts of *Europe*; *Goa*, *Diu*, *Dabul*, *Goga*, *Calicut*, *Achen*, *Mazulipatan*, and even remoter parts of *Asia*; *Mozambique*, *Melinda*, and some parts of *Ethiopia*. But this is not all; for the trade by land is also very considerable, which commences about three weeks before the ships come in, and continues for a month or five weeks after. This arises from the two caravans from *Alippo* and *Suez*, which are rarely composed together of less than a thousand camels; and which are never stiled rich, if the ready money they bring does not exceed two hundred thousand pieces of eight in silver, and a hundred thousand ducats in gold; which is to be understood barely of what is entered at the custom house, and which those, who are well versed in such kind of computations, esteem to be above one half of

(97) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 804, 805.

p. 197. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 213.

(99) *Ovington's voyage to Surat*, p. 477.

(98) *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*,

HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 178, 179.

A succinct account of the coffee trade, as managed in that port, in a manner exclusively.

WE may discern what a prodigious advantage arises from the possession of any single commodity, which, either from art or nature, derives a degree of excellence not to be attained any-where else. The coffee-trade brings in a continual supply of silver and gold from *Europe* and *Asia*; for it is a point settled here, that, notwithstanding other goods and merchandize may be bought and sold on credit for a certain time, coffee is always bought for ready, or, as the mercantile phrase is, present money^k. The *Europe* shipping lade yearly at *Mocha* about twenty thousand tons, rather more than less; and the other nations about the same quantity. The whole province of *Betlefacee* is planted with coffee-trees, which are never suffered to grow above four or five feet high, and the bean or berry grows on the branches and twigs, first green, then red, at last a dark-brown colour. The berries cling to the branches like so many insects; and, when they are ripe, they shake off. The *Dutch* have here, as in most other places of the *Indies*, a great advantage over other nations, by their being possessed of the monopoly of spices, of which great quantities are consumed; and this consequently enables them to come at coffee at much easier rates than their neighbours: but this trade of theirs at *Mocha* is continually sinking, on account of the vast quantities of coffee cultivated in their own colonies, especially at *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*; tho' there is, after all, no comparison between the flavour of the coffee raised in their own plantations and that which is brought from *Mocha*^l. It may therefore be doubted, whether the scheme of transplanting such kind of vegetables be really so profitable as at first sight it seems, since, the value of them arising from a certain peculiar flavour, it is impossible that imitations, where this flavour is wanting, should long preserve their credit; and therefore to penetrating people it will not appear very strange, if the taste for coffee, which has so long prevailed, should at length decay; or if by some new invention (which is not all impossible) the true *Mocha* coffee should be brought to *Europe* at so cheap a rate as to render the other imitations (which, without mending, begin to multiply very fast) despicable in the sentiments of those who must consume it, and who can be only tempted to consume it from their opinion of its flavour.

Motives which have induced the Dutch East India company to fight all settlements in Borneo.

WE have now run through the whole circle of the commerce carried on by the *Dutch East India* company in those parts of the world where they have any establishments; and it only remains to say something of two places with which tho' they have some correspondence, yet they have no settlement in either. The first of these is the great island of *Borneo*, which, in point of extent, is without question the largest in the *Indies*, and, as many believe, in the known world. Some writers say, that it is six hundred leagues in circumference; but the *Dutch* tell us, that it is not quite so big^m. It is divided into abundance of little sovereignties, of the princes of which the most powerful is the king of *Banjaar Masseen*, and, after him, the princes of *Borneo* and *Sambas*. The air of this island is reckoned very unwholesome, which is occasioned by the country's being low in some places, and marshy. On this account it is but thinly peopled, tho' it abounds in very rich commodities. When the *Dutch* first settled in the *East Indies*, they were extremely solicitous about establishing their factories in *Borneo*; and accordingly they fixed them at the city of that name, at *Sambas*, and at *Succadano*; but they soon found, by the repeated plunder of their settlements, and murdering all that were in them, that there was no such thing as dealing with the inhabitants, who are certainly, if their relations be true, the basest, cruellest, and most perfidious people in the worldⁿ. The *Dutch* therefore quitted the island; and, tho' invited thither several times since, have absolutely refused to return, tho' they send ships occasionally, and manage with great caution; but, for the most part, they leave them to come and seek *European* commodities at *Batavia*, or to purchase them at second-hand from the *Chinese* who trade thither, and to *Borneo* also; their natural diffidence

^k Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 701, 702. Hist. des Indes Orientales, par GUYON. tom. ii. p. 422, 423. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 218. ^l See the article of coffee in Dr. JAMES's dictionary, towards the beginning. ^m Voyage de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 357. ⁿ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 870, 871.

of the specie that comes in this way. These caravans bring likewise vast quantities of velvets, sattins, armoiseens, cloths of gold, camblets, fine cloths, saffron, mercury, vermilion, and other goods as well of *Europe* as of the *Levant* (100). The royal vessel, as it is called, from *Suez*, has its cargo composed of much the same kind of merchandize with the caravans; but is commonly richer in silver, as having rarely less on board than forty thousand pieces of eight; but this is not the case with respect to gold, of which that ship has seldom above fifty thousand ducats. All this is left behind; and, in return, they purchase some *Arabian* cloth, myrrh, ambergrise,

and perfumes of all sorts, precious stones, more especially pearls and cornelians, aloes, balm, cassia, dragonsblood, gum arabic, and other drugs, as also vast quantities of *Indian* goods that are brought from all parts, even *China* and *Japan*; to which we must also add coffee, as a very considerable article to these traders, as well as the most considerable one with respect to the *Europeans*, who bring likewise prodigious sums in specie; of which it is thought that the *Dutch* bring the least, on account of their spices, and some other commodities, which come here to a very good market (1).

(100) *Memoires de Dr. Garçon.*

(1) *Hist. des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, vol. iii. p. 406.*

- a securing them from this innate spirit of fraud and cruelty which reigns amongst these treacherous islanders °.

THERE is not now any *European* settlement in the whole island; and yet the commerce of *Borneo* consists in as rich goods as any in all the *Indies*. At *Samdas* and *Succadano* they deal in diamonds, of which there is a mine in the heart of the country. These stones are generally from four to twenty-four carats, and there are some found of thirty and forty carats; but the whole trade does not amount to above six hundred carats in a year. They always sell these stones for gold, tho' that likewise is the commodity of the island, and tho' there is a very considerable trade for gold-dust carried on at *Pabang*, *Saya*, *Calantan*, *Seribas*, *Catra*, and *Melanouba*. Bezoar of the finest sort is another article in their trade, not at all inferior in its value to the former ^p. Sapan wood, fine wax, and several rich gums, are also met with there; but, after all, the staple commodity of the whole island is pepper, of which there is as much, and as good, as in almost any part of the *Indies*. Before the *Portuguese* discovered a passage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Chinese* were in possession of all the trade of this island; and, since the *Europeans* have declined settling there, it is again, at least in a great measure, fallen into their hands. The places where they are settled, besides *Banjaar* *Masseen*, are *Mampua*, *Teya*, *Lando*, and *Sambas*, where they carry on a very extensive commerce, and furnish the inhabitants in return with silks, chintz, calicoes, and, in short, with all the manufactures of *China* ^a and *Japan* (L).

It has been suggested, and with great shew of reason, that a more valuable trade might be established in this island of *Borneo* than in any part of the *East Indies*, because there arrive annually large fleets of *China* junks laden with all the commodities of that empire, which might be purchased as cheap, or cheaper, than even in *China*. There come likewise annually from the island of *Celebes* small vessels, which, in spite of the vigilance of the *Dutch*, bring considerable quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and other spices; which is the true reason that the *Dutch* are not able to put off any great quantities of these goods in their traffick with the inhabitants: yet sometimes they send ships hither to load with pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good correspondence with the kings of *Borneo* and *Sambas*; for, as to the king of *Banjaar*, he has long ago declined having any thing to do with them ^r. It is, however, not amiss to observe, that some, who are very well acquainted with the present state of things in the *East Indies*, look upon the *Dutch* as very much obliged to the inhabitants of this great island for the care they take in maintaining the antient reputation of their ancestors for cruelty and perfidiousness, but, above all, for their copying them exactly in preferring sloth and ease above all things; since, with the assistance of common sense, common honesty, and common industry, they might make themselves the greatest, richest, and most respected people in *Asia*, there being good grounds to believe, that there is full as much gold to be found here as in *Sumatra*; and still better authority for attributing what themselves say of their correspondence with the inhabitants of *Celebes* to the fear of the *Dutch*, the most intelligent persons being persuaded, that the mace, nutmegs, and cloves they sell the *Chinese*, are actually the growth of their own island ^s (M).

THE

° *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, p. 201. *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, p. 219, 220. ^p *Memoires de Dr. GARGIN*. ^a *Dictionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 871. ^r *L'expedition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 221. *HAMILTON's account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 146, 147. ^s These particulars are chiefly derived from private information.

(L) There is nothing more difficult to be understood by one who is really inclined to penetrate the secrets of the commerce of the *East Indies*, than what regards the traffick of the *Chinese* in *Borneo*; and the rather because we have good grounds to believe, that no direct commerce subsists between this island and the empire of *China*. We may therefore, with some probability, conjecture, that the *Chinese*, established in *Borneo*, carry the rich commodities of that country not only to *Jawa*, *Sumatra*, and *Celebes*, but also to *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Cambodia*, and perhaps to *Surat*; from all which countries they bring back not only their native commodities, but also those of *Europe* ². Besides, the *Chinese* junks that go to *Batavia*, and are so lucky as to sell off their cargoes early, frequently purchase a fresh cargo for *Borneo*, in which, perhaps, *Javanese* and *Dutch* merchants are also concerned, and, if they cannot dispose of their goods speedily, the conveniency they have of living amongst

their own nation till they can dispose of them, lessens the sense of the disappointment, and; perhaps, makes them amends for it (3). One reason has been assigned in the text, why the *Chinese* are better able to deal with the people of *Borneo* than any other nation; and to this, perhaps, another may be added, which is that these perfidious islanders are less jealous of the *Chinese*, who, they know, come there barely to trade, and who have neither temptation to attempt any thing against their liberty, or force to execute it, if they should conceive any such design (4).

(M) We have, in another part of this section, given the reader a very curious and authentic account of the true situation of things in the interior part of this great island, which is all inhabited by those who, with the utmost propriety, may be stiled *Borneans*, those settled upon the coast being for the most part *Malayans*. The principal reason of that obscurity, with which almost all

writers

(2) *Dictionnaire de commerce*, vol. ii. col. 871. tom. ii. p. 222.

(3) *Memoires de Dr. Gargin*.

(4) *Histoire des Indes*,

The Dutch
formerly very
solicitous, now
very cool,
about a cor-
respondence
with China.

THE other place, to which the *Dutch* company trades but little directly, is *Canton*, which is the only port in the empire of *Cbina* where strangers are allowed a free trade; and one would imagine the *Dutch* might have as much inclination, and to the full as much ability, to trade there, as any other people. We have seen that, in former times, they were very desirous of a strict and constant correspondence with the inhabitants of that rich and great empire; and, so long as they were masters of the island of *Formosa*, they carried on a direct trade thither to very great profit. After the setting up of the *Ostend* company, the *Dutch* did indeed send ships thither directly from *Holland*; but whether the trade did not turn to account, or whether they were influenced by some other secret reasons, it has been in a great measure discontinued. Those who have a passionate desire of penetrating into secrets, and who, from their long acquaintance with these parts of the world, are esteemed as capable of gratifying their curiosity in this respect as any, have suggested two reasons why the *Dutch*, in a great measure, decline this traffick, so eagerly pursued by other nations, and to which heretofore none were more attentive than themselves.

Two probable
motives for
this alteration
in their con-
duct in a point
of such im-
portance.

BUT, whatever becomes of this general assertion, we may safely affirm, that the *Dutch* do not affect any settlement in this empire, may be very well accounted for from the two following causes, which are very weighty. The first is, that, being at so great a distance from *Batavia*, and in a country where it is easy to consign their effects to *Portuguese*, *English*, and other foreign merchants, the officers mind their own concerns more than the company's; of which a convincing proof has been had by the *Portuguese* vending their pepper at a greater advantage than the *Dutch*, tho' they bought it at an high price at *Batavia*. But the second cause is still more important: there is a prodigious trade carried on by the *Chinese* to *Batavia*, which, tho' it is a voyage of seven hundred leagues, the *Chinese* make it in their junks in the space of six weeks, sailing from *Canton* in the beginning of *December*, and arriving at *Batavia* in the middle of *January*. The company, in the first place, have a duty of four *per cent.* on all the goods they bring, which are, gold, silks of all sorts, tea, annised, musk, rhubarb, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, *Cbina* ware, &c. for which they receive in exchange lead, tin, pepper, incense, camphire, cloves, nutmegs, amber, and abundance of other things; on all which the *Dutch* set their own prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other nations can purchase the same goods in *Cbina*. They have also found by experience, that a direct trade between *Holland* and *Cbina* lessens very much this more profitable commerce at *Batavia*: neither

¹ L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 222.
L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 222, 223.

² Memoires sur le commerce de Hollandois, p. 200, 201.

writers speak of the produce of this country, is, that the *Europeans*, and even the *Chinese*, have no intercourse but with the inhabitants of the coasts, and they derive the most valuable of the commodities in which they deal from the savages, as they are pleased to stile them, in the center of the island; so that they cannot either give a good account of these commodities themselves, or settle any trade in them with certainty (5). A little reflection, however, will be sufficient to shew us, that how unfavourable soever this may be towards fixing an intercourse with the people of *Borneo*, yet it affords us an unanswerable proof of what are the true products of that island; because whatever these people bring, they certainly have of their own, and in much greater quantities than we can form any just notion of from what they sell to the people settled on the coast (6); which is measured only by the want of those things for which they exchange them, and not at all by the plenty of the commodities in which they deal; for, as much savages as they are, they have cunning enough to make these go as far as they can (7). But to come to the point: they furnish gold of several kinds, some fine, some coarse; they have also tin and iron: they bring down small diamonds that are very fine; and formerly they sold larger, and perhaps have them still, tho' they do not care to sell them. Fine pearls they furnish more freely. Cloves and nutmegs they vend in small quantities, which are, in every respect, as good as those at *Amboyna*, and the island of *Banda*. It may be presumed that they have cinnamon likewise, because they bring down large quantities of the finest camphire that is to be met with in the *Indies*; and therefore a very intelligent writer had good reason to

say, that *Borneo* produces all that is to be met with in *Samatra*, and some very valuable commodities besides (8). The business is, to know how to come at these; and the reader, perhaps, will not judge that so very difficult, if he considers the following passage from captain *Hamilton's* very ingenious book, in which he gives an account of the little kingdom of *Sambas*, on the coast of *Borneo* (9): "The prince and people are very hospitable and civil, so that strangers trade thither with security. I knew a *French Armenian* who, coming from *Manila*, had the misfortune to lose his ship on that part of the coast that belongs to the king of *Sambas*. They had but little goods; for generally *Spanish* dollars are the common return for goods sold at *Manila*. When the people that were shipwrecked came ashore, they were carried to the king, who examined what they were, from whence they came, and whither bound, with what they were loaded, and several other interrogatories; and then ordered them provisions, and men and boats to assist them in saving their treasure; for there was but very little lost, besides the ship and stores, that were worth the trouble of saving. The king gave him pearls and bees-wax for his silver, at such reasonable rates that the *Armenian* gained forty *per cent.* at *Batavia* (whither he went in a *Chinese* vessel), for the goods he disposed of there. At *Batavia* he took passage on board a *French* ship for *Cbina*, and in their way called at *Trangano*, where I met with him in the year 1719. I had the whole account from himself, and saw some beautiful pearls that he was carrying to the *Cbina* market, and among them a pair of pearls worth fifty pounds sterling."

(5) *Hamilton's account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 147.
on the commerce of India, p. 31.

(8) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin.*

(6) *Memoires de Dr. Garçin.*

(9) *Hamilton, ubi sup.* p. 146, 149.

(7) *Remarks*

a is it there only that they have an opportunity of dealing with the *Cbinese*, but in many other parts of the *Indies*, where, when the *Cbinese* merchants have completed their sales to the natives, they are very glad to part with the remainder of their commodities, at a very easy rate, to the *Dutch* *. Thus it clearly appears, that the *East India* company are able to send home vast quantities of *Cbina* goods, without carrying on a direct trade with that country either from *Holland* or *Batavia* (N).

* HAMILTON'S account of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 239, 240.

(N) These reasons, taken together, might very well determine the *Dutch* company to decline, or at least to abate of their fondness for, this commerce; more especially when they found, by repeated experiments, that it still remained difficult for them to get the better of those prejudices which had been raised against them in the court of *Cbina*, where the *Portuguese* had taken care to return them, at least as far as lay in their power, those civilities for which they thought themselves indebted at *Japan* (10). Yet the *Dutch* do not intirely slight, though they are far from cultivating, the commerce of *Cbina*, because it is always a point of consequence to them to know the state of trade in that empire, that they may form the better judgment of their dealings with the *Cbinese* elsewhere, and because the knowledge of that is likewise necessary to settle the assortments of their several cargoes, as well for *Europe* as the *Indies* (11). Upon occasion of the late bloody affair at *Batavia*, they found it expedient to send a kind of apology to *Cbina*; and it is very remarkable, that, in so delicate as well as so important a business, they made choice of a native of *Britain*, one Mr. * * * *, who succeeded beyond their expectations in that ticklish commission, and would, no doubt, have been rewarded with some important office in the company's service, if he had not died before he could receive any adequate mark of the company's gratitude and respect (12).

(10) *Basnage annales des Provinces Unies. sur le commerce de Hollandois*, p. 200, 201.

(11) *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, vol. ii. p. 222, *Mémoires*

(12) *This we have received from private information.*

S E C T. XXVI.

An ample detail of the government gradually settled by the company in the Indies, in respect to their civil, military, commercial, and ecclesiastical establishments; the provisions and perquisites of persons of all ranks in their service; and the method constantly observed in making their returns, and in sending their homeward-bound fleets.

b A FTER entering into so distinct an account, as well of the places to which the *Dutch* *East India* company trade, as of the territories they possess, we are next to shew in what manner the government of the *Indies* is administered, and how the dependence is preserved between the supreme council, to which the ultimate direction of the company's affairs is confided, and that numerous train of officers honoured with such a variety of titles, vested with such different powers, and residing in places at so vast a distance as the coasts of the *Red Sea*, and the factory of *Japan*, are from the seat of government at *Batavia*. We have seen, from the history of this company, the steps by which it rose, the prudence with which every fair opportunity was managed to the best advantage, the dexterity and address with which imminent dangers were avoided, the great sagacity, and manifold precautions, by which threatened mischiefs were prevented, in consequence of their being foreseen; and hence the surprize at their acquiring so vast an empire, and in so short a time, is taken away: but, when all this is done, there seems to be an equal ground for admiration left, how such a dominion should be maintained. It would be no difficult thing to shew, that, according to the lessons laid down by the most able politicians, the management of such a mixed form of rule over territories so disjointed, and people of so many different dispositions, is altogether irreconcilable to any principles, and must have such a natural tendency to anarchy, as to render the stability of it for a considerable space of time a kind of prodigy. This, therefore, is what yet remains to be explained, together with the means by which this admirable plan for the just regulation of all things in the *Indies*, is connected with that frame of direction which subsists in the *United Provinces*.

d To set this matter in a clear light, it will be requisite to state first the general plan for the exercise of supreme power in the *Indies*, to which all these governments, directions, and factories refer; from whence they receive their instructions; to which those employed in them are accountable for their conduct; and where too, upon any emergency, they must have recourse for orders and assistance. After this, we must enter succinctly into that private and particular oeconomy, by which the less considerable, and even lowest of the company's servants have the terms of their duty prescribed, and a moral certainty of being rewarded or punished according as they fulfil or neglect them; for, after all, this is the sole and great point,

The form and method of the company's administration in the Indies and in Europe, equally curious, and important to the perfect knowledge of this subject.

By the plan settled in the government of the Indies, the security of the company is established.

point, to which if a constant respect be not had, it is impossible that any system of government should long continue in good condition; and by a strict attention to which we see so complicated, so perplexed a system as this is, has nevertheless been kept in the most exact order. It is in bodies politic as in the natural body, in which health and vigour always depend on a free circulation of the juices through the smallest vessels; it is there the stagnations begin, from whence the most dangerous diseases ensue. It is to the care, therefore, taken by the company in this respect, their wisdom in settling the smallest things, and their great strictness, which some call unrelenting severity, in seeing what has been once prudently established punctually and perpetually complied with, that we ought to ascribe the solidity of their power, as well as the general success of their designs *.

Of the two supreme councils at Batavia, that of the Indies, and that of justice.

ALL the dominions, which the company possesses in the *East Indies*, are governed by two supreme councils; one stiled the council of the *Indies*; and the other the council of justice. They are both of them fixed in the city of *Batavia*, as the capital of their dominions. To the first of these councils belong all matters of government, and the direction of public affairs; and to the latter the administration of justice in all its branches. The governor-general presides in the first council, which is composed of eighteen or twenty persons, who are called counsellors in ordinary of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens that they are all at *Batavia* together, because they are usually provided with some or other of the seven governments which are in the company's disposal. This council assembles regularly twice a week, and extraordinarily, as often as the governor-general pleases. They deliberate therein on all things that concern the interest of the company: they likewise superintend the government of the isle of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it. If the affair be of very great importance, the consent of the directors of the company is likewise necessary. It is also from the council of the *Indies* that orders and instructions are sent, to other governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this council all letters directed to the governor-general, or to the director, are read, debated, and answers agreed on by a plurality of voices * (O).

Establishment of the latter, its numbers, jurisdiction, and principal members.

THE council of justice is composed of a president, who is usually a counsellor of the *Indies*, eight counsellors of justice, a fiscal, or attorney-general, for affairs of government, another fiscal for maritime business, and a secretary. The president is, by his office, keeper of the great seal, on which is represented a castle, in the midst of which is Justice, with her balance and sword, with this inscription round it; *viz. The Seal of the Council of Justice in the Citadel of BATAVIA*. All the counsellors of this college are doctors of the civil law. The first attorney-general has a vote as well as the other counsellors, and has the third of all fines under an hundred florins, and a sixth part of the fines above that sum. The duty of his office consists in taking care that the laws are strictly observed, and in preferring informations against such as break through them. The other attorney-general, or fiscal of the sea, takes the like care with regard to frauds committed in commerce, acts of piracy, or whatever has a tendency to disturb the settled rules in maritime affairs *. There are, besides these two sovereign boards, the

* *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, cap. 14. des Provinces Unies, cap. 37. 355, 356.

* *BARNAGE description historique du gouvernement de la republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 354.

(O) It is not easy to conceive how the company could provide better for the information and assistance of their governor and captain-general, and at the same time form a stronger barrier for their own security, than by appointing this council of the *Indies*. By the way, it may not be amiss to remark, that as much attached as the *Dutch* are, or would be understood to be, to a popular government in their own country, there are no marks of it at all in the *Indies*, where the government is mixed indeed, but without suffering what has the least tincture of democracy to enter into the composition. We have before observed, that the appointments granted to a counsellor of the *Indies* were very considerable, yet fall short of many offices less honourable in the company's disposal; which is certainly a very prudent and political regulation, as it has an indirect tendency to keep such as are inordinate lovers of money from aiming at this employment; nor can there be any thing more salutary to a state than to make a proper division of posts of trust and honour and posts of profit, that men of generous and noble dispositions may aspire to the former, while men of meaner qualifications are gratified with the latter (13). It is true, that, in spite of these and other laudable cau-

tions, a spirit of faction sometimes prevails in this council, of which several instances have been already mentioned, and some others will be hereafter hinted. But what then? this does not in the least reflect on the constitution settled by the company, which may be, and certainly is, admirably contrived, and yet not absolutely perfect. The same misfortune attends the best contrived political constitutions, that is visible in the finest machines executed by the wit of man; that is, time will discover certain faults that arise not from their structure, but from their materials. Friction will destroy the hardest metals; and then, how excellent soever the machine may be, defects will appear; so in all administrations, as they must be executed by men, the frailties inseparable from human nature will produce very apparent inconveniences; but, in both cases, the remedy is the same, that is, when faults become conspicuous, necessary alterations must be made, not to destroy, but restore, the first principles; and, to make the comparison complete, we must judge of constitutions as we do of machines, and, without requiring perfection in either, allow both to be excellent, when they last a long time, and need but little mending.

(13) *Memoires sur le commerce de Hollandois*, cap. 14.

a council or tribunal of the city of *Batavia*, intrusted with the sole administration of this colony, which is composed of nine aldermen, including the president, who is always a counsellor of the *Indies*, and a vice-president; the bailiff of the city, and the commissary of the country adjacent, have likewise seats in that assembly, and, with the secretary, make up the board* (P).

THE governor-general, as the head of the empire which the company has established in the *East Indies*, is in fact the stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral. He is, by his office, president of the council of the *Indies*, in which he has two votes. He has the key of all the magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any-body. He commands by his proper authority, and every-body is bound to obey him; so that one might safely say this authority equalled that of several kings in *Europe*, if he was not answerable to, and liable to be removed by, the directors of the company at home^b. In case, however, of treason, or any other enormous crime, the council of justice have a right to seize his person, and to call him to an account. When a governor-general is dead, or resigns his charge, the council of the *Indies* chuse another by a plurality of voices. As soon as this is done, they write to the directors of the company at home, desiring them to confirm and approve of their choice: they likewise write for the same purpose to the States General, their high mightinesses having reserved to themselves this power of confirming or excluding a governor-general by their charter. It is usual, however, for the States, and for the directors, to approve of the governor-general that is chosen, and to send him his letters patent, conformable to the desire of the council of the *Indies*: yet some instances there have been of the directors rejecting the governor thus elected, and sending another^c.

THE company allow their governor eight hundred rixdollars a month, and five hundred more for his table, and pay, besides, the salaries of such as compose his household; but these appointments make but a very small part of his revenue, the legal emoluments of his office being so great, that, in the space of two or three years, he is able, without oppressing the people, or burdening his conscience, to raise an immense fortune. As he is, in a manner, sovereign of the dominions belonging to the company, it has been found requisite, in compliance with the mode of the eastern countries, to allow him a court, and most of those honours which are paid to crowned heads. Whenever he stirs out of his palace to go to his country seat, he is preceded by the master of his household, at the head of six gentlemen on horseback, with a trumpet: two halberdiers on horseback go immediately before his coach; on the right he has his master of the horse, at the head of six halberdiers on horseback; then follow the other coaches, which carry his friends and retinue; and the whole is closed by a troop of horse, consisting of forty-eight men, commanded by a captain and three quartermasters, and preceded by a trumpet richly clothed^d. If this office be extremely considerable by its revenues, its power, and the honours annexed thereto, it is likewise extremely fatiguing. The governor-general is employed, from morning till night, in giving audience to such as have business with him, in reading letters, and in giving orders for the company's service; so that he spares but one half hour for dinner, and even at table dispatches such affairs as are pressing^e. He also receives all the *Indian* princes, and their ambassadors, who come to *Batavia*, and of whom there are many that arrive every year, and who are received according to a settled ceremonial (Q). After saying so much of these great officers, it will certainly afford satisfaction to the

A kind of monarchical power established in the governor and captain-general of the Indies.

Court and magnificence of this great officer, and the facility afforded him of raising a fortune.

* Relation de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS DE GRAAF.

p. 75. BASNAGE, JANICOW, &c.

présent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 359.

Voyage de Siam, p. 152, 153. Journal du voyage de Siam, par l'abbé de CHOISY, p. 186, 187.

^b L'Expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii.

^c L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 76, 77.

^d JANICOW état

^e L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 79.

(P) The settling a distinct and independent council of justice (which is sometimes also styled the council of the *Indies*), which has likewise the inspection of the finances, was another very wise step, as experience has shewn; inasmuch as these supreme councils are checks upon each other, and yet are so constituted, as not to be subject to frequent, much less to perpetual oppositions, which would be highly dangerous. But if the curious and judicious reader should expect a reason why this council, and not that of the *Indies*, is vested with the distinguishing prerogative of calling to an account, in case of extreme necessity, the governor-general, he must be told, that they derive it from the States General, who confide to the president and members of the supreme council of justice the superintendency of their sovereignty; that is,

they are charged to prevent any steps being taken by the office, or in the name of the *East India* company, inconsistent with the fidelity they owe to the States General; and consequently, as the only crime the governor-general could commit, which they would remit to the cognizance of any judicature in the *Indies*, must be of a treasonable nature, this prerogative is, with greater propriety, and with less danger of being abused, vested in the council of justice, than it could have been in the council of the *Indies* (14). Besides these, there are four inferior councils in *Batavia*, the presidents of which are taken out of the superior council; to which, in cases of any difficulty or importance, appeals are allowed.

(Q) We have elsewhere remarked, that the business of the company could never be carried on, if it was not kept

(14) Janicow état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 358.

the reader, as well as light to the foregoing history, if we exhibit a list of the generals of the *Indies*, and take notice of the times in which they succeeded.

List of the
governors-
general.

A chronological and historical list of the governors general of the Dutch East Indies, with the Time of their accession, and space in which they governed.

A. D. 1610.

PETER BOTH of *Amersfort*. He was advanced to the government, when the affairs of the *Dutch East Indies* were in the most critical situation, Admiral *Paul van Caerden* being then prisoner in the hands of the *Spaniards*, who, by assembling a great force in the *Philippines*, entertained very strong hopes of driving the *Dutch* out of the *Moluccas*; but, through the prudence of this governor-general, who appears to have been a man of solid understanding, great temper, and much fortitude, their schemes were disappointed, and the *Moluccas* preserved[†]. It was during his government that the *Dutch* made a great impression on the islands of *Solor* and *Timor*, countries which have not been hitherto mentioned; and of which therefore, and of their produce, something shall be said in the notes (R). He did not hold the government much above two years, and was then succeeded by

GERARD

[†] *Histoire de la conquête des îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 135.

kept in a constant uniform track; and the same thing may be affirmed of the function of the governor-general. His levee begins at seven o'clock, when the company's upper merchant, the commandant of the garrison of *Batavia*, the surveyor of the navy, and the major of the artillery, attend, to make their respective reports, and to receive his orders. At half an hour after ten precisely, the receiver general brings his report of the vessels and cargoes that are arrived, with the list of the names of such as have landed. At twelve o'clock he goes to dinner; half an hour after, he retires to his repose. Before two, he appears again in public, and dispatches business till between eight and nine o'clock. Whenever a messenger arrives, charged with a letter from any *Indian* monarch, the shawbander, or master of the ceremonies, upon notice given him, goes to receive it, with seven or eight of the principal officers in the company's service; then, the letter being laid in a large silver dish, covered with a piece of yellow flowered damask, is put into the hands of a halberdier, who carries it before the master of the ceremonies and the *Indian* minister, their respective trains following at a distance. The garrison, on such occasions, is drawn out, and takes post in two lines, which extend from the port to the governor's palace, between which the company march slowly, and with great solemnity, the soldiers resting on their arms, drums beating, colours flying, and all the military music playing. As soon as the *Indian* minister is in the presence of the governor-general, the halberdier presents him the dish, out of which he takes the letter, and puts it into the hands of the governor. At that instant, upon a signal given, there is a general discharge of the cannon, and three salvo's of the musketry. Then the minister, and those who accompany him, are conducted into the great hall, where the minister sits down to table with the governor-general and the commandant of the garrison, his secretary standing near the governor, and all the rest of the company at a distance, the table being surrounded by a guard of halberdiers. The entertainment being over, the minister is conducted back with the like ceremonies (15). On *Sundays*, immediately after dinner is over, follows what they stile the parade, in which, however, the governor is not obliged to assist, as it is calculated purely for the amusement of the *Indians*, who love nothing so much as these kind of spectacles. The principle figure in this parade is the general's led-horse richly caparisoned, followed by a troop of *Cuirassiers*; then come a company of grenadiers, and after

them a battalion of the garrison, with their head pieces. The horse are preceded by a trumpet richly clothed, the grenadiers by two bassoons, and six hautboys precede the battalion (16). Such is the state of a governor general of the *Indies*, or rather, such are the trappings allowed to him, who is the greatest slave in the company's service, and which, in the judgment of a sensible man, contribute rather to heighten than to relieve the burden of so painful and so troublesome an office, and which, while they do him so little service, expose him to the envy of those who might be much more at ease than he, if they knew how to make a right estimate of their own happiness.

(R) This island of *Timor* lies east south east from *Java*, and the *Dutch* have still a fort and a small factory upon it. The island is very well inhabited, and of very considerable extent; but the people, if we may credit either the *Portuguese* or the *Dutch*, are very barbarous, and, in some measure, savages. Yet some *Englishmen*, who were there with Captain *Dampier*, report otherwise; and that these people are no otherwise savages, than as they have a mortal aversion to slavery, and are not so stupid but that they have detested all the practices of both those nations to bring them under their yoke, and therefore have defended themselves, with equal skill and bravery, against force and fraud, and are still just as free as when they found them living under their own chiefs, and in the manner they like best (17). The *Dutch* continue to trade with them (though sometimes, it is said, that the profits of the commerce do not defray the expence of it) for three reasons. The first, which the reader will not find mentioned in many books, is the expediency of having intelligence from thence, in case of any ships coming to the *Indies* through the *South-Seas*, of which the *Dutch East India* company are at least as jealous as the *Spaniards*, let them be of what nation they will, their own not excepted. In this sense, the island of *Timor* is a kind of frontier, which vessels that take this route, and are not bound for the *Philippines*, seldom fail of coming to, and thereupon notice is given to all the *Dutch* fortresses in the *Moluccas* (18). The next reason is, because this island is both large and tolerably fruitful, a thing of very great consequence for the supply of the *Moluccas*, where, between the barrenness of the soil, and the idleness of the people, a perpetual indigence prevails. Either of these reasons are pretty good ones, and either of them might suffice for keeping the island. But there is a third, superior to both; which is, that it affords them

(15) *Voyage de Francis Leguat*, tom. ii. p. 99. *Relation de la ville de Batavia*, par *Nicolas de Graaf*. *Janiçon état présent de la république des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 359, 360, 361. (16) *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 78. *Voyage de Francis Leguat*, tom. ii. p. 99. (17) *Géographie moderne*, par *Abraham du Bois*, p. 698. (18) *L'expédition de trois vaisseaux*, tom. ii. p. 21.

a GERARD REYNST, of *Amsterdam*. He prosecuted, with great vigilance, the schemes of A. D. 1612 his predecessor, and was particularly careful in bringing the islands of *Banda* under the dominion of the company, which was undoubtedly a great acquisition^g. But as he was very active and indefatigable, so his zeal for the service is believed to have shortened his days, since, after enjoying the post of governor-general for one year and a few months, during the greatest part of which he was at sea, or otherwise in action, he died, *December* the 7th, 1615^h.

LAURENCE REAAL, of *Amsterdam*, who was governor of the *Moluccas* at the time of 1616: the general's demise, succeeded him in his employment; which while he held, though the *Spaniards* threatened much, they were able to do but little; and, while they spent a long time in preparing a most formidable fleet and army, the governor-general, who had perfect intelligence b of all their motions, failed not to make a proper use of their delays, taking one fort after another, and worming them gradually out of what they had still left in the *Moluccas*, while they were meditating the intire conquest of them; which, as we have elsewhere shewn, came to nothing, after it had cost immense wealth, and exhausted the whole force of the *Philippines*ⁱ. He held his government about two years, which then devolved upon

JOHN PETERSON KOEN, of *Hoorn*. A man born to fix the hitherto unsteady fortune of the 1618: *Dutch* in the *Indies*. He it was who secured to them the full and intire possession of the spice islands; and, knowing perfectly the state of things in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, ventured to make use of the superior force they then had against both the *Javaneze* and the *Englisch*^k. We have shewn, in the former part of this work, how he took the city of *Juatra*, and c having, at one bold stroke, subverted that capital and the kingdom, established, on the ruins of both, the noble city of *Batavia*, of which, while he first held the government, he was the founder^l.

PETER CARPENTER succeeded, on his return to *Holland*. He regulated the inferior form 1623: of his government with success, extended the commerce of the company very considerably, and had the honour to have a part of the South Continent called by his name, which is sufficient to perpetuate it to latest posterity^m.

JOHN PETERSON KOEN, at the request of the company, and by the command of the States, 1627: took the reins of government once more into his hands, at a season when the whole island of *Java* conspired the ruin of the new *Dutch* settlement, as having judgment enough to foresee, d that those whom themselves had beheld but strangers in the island, their posterity would be obliged to regard as masters. It was this that provoked the emperor of *Java* to besiege their chief settlement twice, with armies so numerous, that it could scarce have been expected any fortrefs should have withstood themⁿ. Yet General *Koen* made that monarch sufficiently sensible, that force was not comparable to prudence, and that multitudes ill conducted are but multitudes conducted to slaughter. After having baffled this powerful monarch, and seen the greatest part of his army the victims of his ambition, this great general departed this world, *September* the 20th, 1629. As he lived the founder, he died the defender, of *Batavia*, and

^g Voyage de la compagnie des Indes, tom. vii. p. 213.

iii. p. 177.

iii. p. 196.

^h Memoires touchant les isles de Banda, p. 4.

ⁱ NEUVILLE histoire de Hollande, tom. i. p. 284.

ⁿ NEUVILLE histoire de Hollande, tom. ii. p. 127.

^k Histoire de la conquête des isles Moluques, tom.

^l Conquête des isles Moluques, tom.

^m Geographie moderne, p. 906.

the monopoly of a very valuable commodity, which is *sandal*, *sental*, or *santal*, which last is the best way of spelling it, a kind of odoriferous wood, highly esteemed in *China*, and indeed throughout the whole *East Indies* (19). It is the same that we call sanders; but, as there are many mistakes about it, published in books otherwise in good credit, it may not be amiss to give a short description of it here. It grows to the size of a walnut-tree; the leaves resemble those of the lentiscus; its flowers are of a dark blue, inclining to a black; and its fruit resembles our cherries, being first very green, and as they grow ripe turn black. The wood is not valuable till the tree is very old, which is easily distinguished by the leaves becoming smaller, and growing yellow. There are two sorts of wood in the same tree, one citron-coloured, and the other white. The heart of the tree, and where-ever there are knots, are commonly citron; and sometimes in the midst of the branches, and even in the body of the tree, there are spots of this colour, occasioned, as it is generally supposed, by the flagration of the oil; the rest of the timber is white. When it is first cut down, and split into billets, it has no smell at all, but, as it becomes dry, it acquires a very pleasant comfortable

seent, the citron being much stronger than the white. It is used as a perfume principally in embalming, and vast quantities are annually exported to *China*, where it bears a great price. In some part of the *Indies* they burn it, either in chips or in dust; but this is purely ostentation, since the smoke is without any smell. In the *Maldives*, and other islands, they reduce it to powder, and sprinkle it over their dead bodies. It is also used in medicine, to comfort the head and heart, but chiefly outwardly; in order to this, they rub the wood upon a stone, with a little water, till the water becomes thick, and then they anoint the head, face, stomach, or breast, with it. It is believed to be of great efficacy in head-achs, inflammations of the eyes, pleurifies, and all kinds of fevers. The true *santal* grows only in the island of *Timor* and *Solor*, and is generally worth ten pounds sterling a bahar, or five hundred weight. As for the brown *santal*, or red sanders, it grows plentifully on the coast of *Coromandel*, but is without smell, and employed chiefly in making chests and cabinets, highly valuable in one respect, that it resists all kinds of worms, and other vermin. This sort of wood comes frequently in the *Dutch* ships to *Europe*, under the name of *caliatour* (20).

(19) Histoire de la conquête des isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 173, 174, 175.

(20) Memoires de Dr. Garçin.

was justly esteemed the ablest statesman, the completest officer, and the most fortunate person, a that had been entrusted with the care of the *Dutch* affairs, to that time, in the *East Indies* ^o.

A. D. 1629. JAMES SPEKS succeeded him in the post of governor-general, arriving at *Batavia* about the time of his decease. He distinguished himself by executing, with great skill, and equal exactness, all the dispositions of his illustrious predecessor; so that, in his time, *Batavia* became no less remarkable for its elegance and beauty, than it already had been admired for its happy situation, and great strength. But what gave the highest reputation to his government, was the settling of the *Chinese*, whom he took under his particular protection, and who, at his departure from his government, which he held about three years, made him a present of a most noble medal of gold, having one side a very beautiful plan of the port, fortres, and city of *Batavia*, and on the other, two inscriptions in honour of this worthy person, and expressive of their own gratitude, for the great indulgence he had shewn towards them ^p (S).

1632. HENRY BROUWER succeeded in the government, and followed the example of his predecessors, particularly in promoting trade, which flourished exceedingly during his administration. He also held the government about three years ^q (T).

1635. ANTHONY VAN DIEMEN, a good officer, and an experienced seaman, by whose name part of the South Continent, as it is generally reputed, is distinguished, was appointed governor-general of the *Indies*, at a very critical season, and when it highly imported the company, and the *Dutch* nation, to have a man blessed with a sound head and a steady hand at the helm. They were not disappointed in the choice they made in this great man, who found the natives of the *Moluccas* much discontented, and a general spirit of uneasiness, and even mutiny, in some other places. He applied himself immediately to put the fortifications every-where in the best state of defence, and stationed squadrons so prudently, that the seditious became silent and afraid. He then changed his measures, and, instead of that sternness which he shewed at the beginning, declared, that he was willing to hear and to redress grievances; to give the utmost satisfaction to the allies of the company; to ratify old treaties, and to rectify any mistakes in them, by new ones. The princes of *India*, when they saw that he was not to be either frightened or outwitted, and that, at the same time, he was willing to listen to reason, took him at his word; and, upon his going in person to the *Moluccas*, negotiated and concluded with him, in the month of *June* 1638, the clearest and most explicit treaty that, perhaps, was ever made with any Christian nation. It was during his regency that the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* suffered so much in those parts, and at length lost the important fortres of *Malacca*, after a siege of four months and twelve days, in which the besiegers had a thousand men killed. It surrendered *January* 12th, 1641; and the *Portuguese* then lost, in effect, what was their greatest boast, being lords of the navigation of the *Indies*, all ships passing the streights paying a certain duty, and taking licences at *Malacca*. The rest of his government was equally fortunate and honourable; and his masters were so sensible of his diligence, fidelity, and capacity, in the execution of his trust, that they left him in possession of it, till he was removed by death, *April* 19th, 1645.

1645. CORNELIUS VANDER LYN, of *Alkmaar*, being raised to this high office, resolved to distinguish his regency, by making the company masters of the other passage into the *Indian* seas, between *Cape Comorin* and the island of *Ceylon*, which he saw happily effected. He was also the patron of a very important design, which was that of discovering the passage to *Europe* by the way of *Japan*; and though this proved abortive, yet, like all great attempts,

^o Conquête des isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 303.
tom. iii. p. 305. ^p Geographie moderne, p. 907.
316. ^q Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 143.

^r See the note.

^s Conquête des isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 306—

(S) This medal was an oval figure, and, on the reverse, the first inscription is in the *Malayan* language, written in old *Chinese* characters, in four lines, consisting, in the whole, of fourteen characters, forming a sentence of the following import (21): *The sun, by its irradiations, communicates the celestial light even to the earth; in the same manner, a wise administration conveys the glory of him from whom it flows down to the latest branch of his posterity.* The second inscription is in *Latin*; and runs thus: "In perpetuam gratitudinis memoriam, hoc munusculum nos cives Chineses Bataviae, lubenter meritoque obtulimus insigni heroi Jacobo Spexio, Indiarum Orientalium generali, patrono nostro observando, anno 1632, die 25 Novembris, Bataviae." That is: *In perpetual memory of our gratitude, we the Chinese citizens of Batavia, have freely, as well as conscious of his desert, presented this little gift to the illustri-*

ous hero James Spex, governor-general of the East Indies, our respected patron, A. D. 1632, the 25th day of November, at Batavia.

(T) It is requisite to acquaint the reader with a circumstance necessary towards the perfect understanding some passages in the *Dutch* voyages and histories of the *East Indies*, in which he may meet with the title of president of *Batavia*, by which he is to understand, the governor-general, whom the council of the *Indies* have an authority to elect, and to invest with all the prerogatives of his office, that of the title only excepted, which he cannot assume till he has had the approbation of the directors. In virtue of this distinction, the same person is sometimes called by both titles, in the same book; and in some catalogues it will be found, that such a person executed the office of president of *Batavia* so long, and was so long general of the *Indies*.

(21) *Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par Monsieur Gerard van Leen, tom. ii. p. 204.*

- a it produced some advantages, even from its miscarriage, and gave the first certain intelligence, that there was a passage by sea to the island of *Japan* from the opposite side of *Tartary* *. One of the vessels employed in this expedition being wrecked on the coasts of his dominions, the *Japanese* emperor took umbrage at these inquiries, and it was found necessary to send an embassy to quiet him. Some other parts of the South Continent were visited by certain *Dutch* ships homeward bound, and having held this employment, with great honour, for five years, this worthy person yielded up his charge to his successor, and returned into *Holland* *.

CHARLES REINIERTZ, of *Amsterdam*, succeeded in this high office, and sat there without A. D. 1650. meeting with any extraordinary difficulty, or distinguishing himself otherwise than by a mild and prudent administration, till he was removed by death, May 18th, 1653 *.

- b JOHN MAATSUYKER, of *Amsterdam*, took upon him the government, which he held much longer than any of his predecessors, or than any of his successors have hitherto done. He was a person of great abilities, had been long in the company's service, and irreproachable in his fidelity; so that the directors at home confided in him intirely, and gave him such powers, as set him almost above all restraint *. Yet it was under his direction, that their embassy miscarried in *Cbina*; that many hardships were put upon them in *Japan*; and that the island of *Formosa* was lost. But, to balance these, he managed very successfully two wars against the king of *Macassar*, and others, upon the continent of *Asia*. He was also very fortunate against the *Portuguese*; extended the trade, and the territories of his masters, on every side; and kept the officers in their service, of all ranks, in so good order, and executed the instructions he received so punctually, that no thoughts were entertained of sending him a successor; and therefore he remained governor-general till the time of his death, which was *January* the 4th, 1671, in the twenty-fifth year of his regency * (U).

1653.

RYKLOF VAN GOENS, who had served the state so effectually at *Ceylon*, and on the coast of *Coromandel*, succeeded in this great employment, in which nothing very extraordinary happened, during somewhat more than two years that he held the regency; and then he returned to *Holland*, to pass the remainder of his days in quiet, but died in his passage home *.

1678.

- c CORNELIUS SPEELMAN, of *Rotterdam*, was invested with this dignity, upon the departure of his predecessor, *November* 5th, 1681. He went to the *Indies* in a very ordinary station, and raised himself, by his merit, to the post of book-keeper general at *Batavia*, and president of the council appointed to take care of the successions of the *Cbinese*; which offices he discharged with so great honour, that, in the year 1663, when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was made governor of the coast of *Coromandel*; where, however, some exceptions were taken at his proceedings, for which he was recalled to *Batavia* *. General *Maatsuyker*, who had a kindness for him, perceiving that none of the counsellors of the *Indies* were willing to charge themselves with the management of the war against *Macassar*, gave the supreme command to *Speelman*, who, as we have shewn, twice reduced that monarch to the necessity of demanding peace; and the last time brought him so low, that he was content to come in person, and pay his homage to the council and regent at *Batavia* *. In consequence of these great exploits, he made a kind of triumphant entry into the city; and, as a reward, was appointed first an extraordinary, afterwards an ordinary, counsellor of the *Indies*, next governor of *Ceylon*, and *, *May* 13th, 1678, he was appointed director-general; which office he is said to have executed with greater punctuality and exactness than any of his predecessors; which made way for his being raised to the highest office in the government, which he held but very

1681.

* NEUVILLE histoire de Hollande, tom. ii. p. 391.

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 144.

* NEUVILLE histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 107.

* Histoire de la conquête des îles Moluques, tom.

ii. p. 345.

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 144.

* HAMILTON's account of the East Indies,

vol. i. p. 343, 344.

* Histoire Metallique, tom. iii. p. 286.

* Conquête des îles Moluques, tom.

iii. p. 349.

* Journal du voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187.

(U) This gentleman distinguished himself in the year 1644, by his negotiation of a treaty with the *Portuguese* at *Goa*, where he acquired a great reputation, by his candour and frank behaviour (22). After he was invested with the government, which he managed with as much state, and yet with as much ease, as any of his predecessors; the seamen began to give him the name of *The Great Maatsuyker*, which, by degrees, became a kind of surname, and very deservedly; for though it was at first given on the score of that unusual pomp and magnificence which he affected upon certain occasions, and which no man became better, yet it belonged to him for the very opposite reason; because no man valued it so little, or indeed despised it more. He managed it, however, with

great address; and is thought to have concluded more than one advantageous treaty for the company, by dint of a little extraordinary feasting and parade; at the expence of which, however, the council of the *Indies* could not help clamouring; which had no effect upon him, and was not so much as well received by the directors at home, as the reader will be hereafter informed. But, after this dispute, they let him alone, and he actually governed at *Batavia* as if he had been a sovereign prince. The company felt the good effects of his temper and abilities, long after his decease, some of the best officers she ever had in her service being bred under him, and most of the courts in the *Indies* respecting the great *Maatsuyker's* memory, and the company for his sake (23).

(22) Histoire de la conquête des îles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 318.

(23) Journal du voyage de Siam, par

l'abbé de Choisy, p. 137.

little above two years, dying *January* the 11th, 1684, in the fifty-fifth year of his age^a; and which is very remarkable, on the very same day died the next officer to him in rank, who, if he had survived, might probably have succeeded him (X).

A. D. 1684. JOHN CAMPBUIJS, of *Haerlem*, was elected upon the death of Mr. *Speelman*. He had not much to boast of in point of birth, being put apprentice to a goldsmith, at which trade he worked as a journeyman some time; but finding the wages small, and being of an enterprising genius, he resolved to try his fortune in the *Indies*. He came to *Batavia* during the regency of *John Maatsuyker*, the great patron of industry and merit; and, having obtained a seat in the secretary's office, he was soon taken notice of by the general, who advanced him gradually, till he came to be at the head of that office^f. From thence, in 1671, he was named chief of the factory at *Japan*, and went thither again in 1673 and 1675; which must have made a great alteration in his fortune, as it is one of the most profitable places the company can bestow. He was then named a counsellor of the college of justice; and General *Maatsuyker* made him his secretary, intending to have done more, but being removed by death, it was thought that the fortune of Mr. *Campbuis* would remain at a stay^g. Those, however, who were in this sentiment, quickly saw their mistake; for, in 1678, he was made an extraordinary counsellor of the *Indies*, and somewhat more than two years afterwards, he became an ordinary member of the council; in which he had scarce sat three years, when the governor-general *Speelman*, and the director-general *Borth*, dying on the same day, there were great intrigues set on foot about a new election. It so happened, that most of his brethren had a prejudice against Mr. *Campbuis*, of which they made no secret to each other; and therefore several of them, when the election came on, having a secret envy to those who were most likely to carry it, they gave their voices to *Campbuis*, supposing it impossible that this should have any consequence. This expedient, however, occurred to so many of them, that, upon collecting the billets, Mr. *Campbuis* had a clear majority, and was declared president of *Batavia*, to the great surprize, and entire dislike, of those who elected him. He took possession, however, of the government, in the management of which he shewed a very great capacity; but the counsellors of the *Indies* were so disturbed at his election, and so little able to reconcile themselves to a transaction of their own procuring, that they quickly quarrelled with him, and carried their resentment to such a height, as not to perform the functions of their office for two years together; which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, if the governor-general had not conducted himself with equal firmness and prudence in his administration, during that space, at the end of which arrived the company's decision, when the council were in hopes of having him at their mercy. But they were once more sadly disappointed; for the directors intirely approved his conduct, confirmed his authority, and left it in his power to make them feel the whole weight of his resentment^h. The governor-general, however, was so thoroughly satisfied with this triumph, and so little inclined to sustain any longer a burden which he had long thought insupportable, that, on the 24th of *September*, 1691, he voluntarily resigned his employment; reserving, however, a guard of twelve men, for the security of his person (Y).

^a Histoire Metallique, tom. iii. p. 287.

^g Histoire Metallique, tom. iv. p. 214.
Metallique, tom. iv. p. 214.

^f Journal du voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187.

^h Journal du voyage de Siam, par CHOISY, p. 187. Histoire

(X) The name of this illustrious person was *Balthazar Borth*, whom we have already mentioned in the former part of this chapter, on account of his twice commanding in chief the squadrons sent by the company to the assistance of the *Chinese*, in the years 1662 and 1663 (24). He was appointed director in chief at *Malacca*, *October* the 15th, 1665; and though, as we have already observed, that office is distinct from the governor, yet, three years after, he was advanced to that dignity likewise, by an express order from the directors at home, as the most distinguishing mark they could give him of confidence and respect (25). In 1670 he returned to *Batavia*, and was appointed a counsellor extraordinary of the *Indies*. In 1678, he became counsellor in ordinary, and was advanced to be president of the council of justice. And when *Cornelius Speelman* was elected governor-general of the *Indies*, Mr. *Borth* succeeded him in the post of director. Upon the death of both these great men, *Speelman* at the age of fifty-five, and *Borth* in his

fifty-eighth year, medals of gold were distributed at their funerals, to perpetuate the memory of their virtues and fortunes (26).

(Y) Mr. *Campbuis*, besides his guard, reserved the second seat in the council of the *Indies*, and lived at a country-palace, which he built, without the new gate at *Batavia*, which he adorned with fine gardens, and where he had a noble collection of strange beasts, and rare plants, till the 18th of *July* 1695, when he breathed his last; directing, that a gold medal, weighing sixty-six florins, should be given to each of the persons that supported his pall at his funeral. On these medals were several pious inscriptions, with the arms which he had assumed, being an arm with a goldsmith's hammer; the whole calculated to shew, that the prosperities of this world had never effaced from his mind the memory of his low original, or the thoughts of the world to come. He died in his 58th year (27).

(24) *Cramer Borth's voyage*, p. 20. *Dapper Gexantjchap naar China*, fol. 74—127.

(26) *Ibid.*

(27) *Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas*, tom. iv. p. 215, 216.

a WILLIAM VAN OUDSHOORN, of *Ambogna*, was elected upon his resignation, and held his A. D. 1691. government with great reputation for almost thirteen years, resigning it voluntarily *August* 15th, 1704¹.

JOHN VAN HOORN, of *Amsterdam*, was elected in his room, and held this high office between 1704. four and five years².

ABRAHAM VAN RIEBECK, of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being of the same family with the first governor of that settlement. He was a person of great worth and honour, and held his high employment to his death, which happened the 17th of *November*, 1713. 1709.

CHRISTOPHER VAN ZWOL, of *Amsterdam*, distinguished himself chiefly by his severity towards the *Chinese*; which had a very bad effect, and might have been still more fatal, if he 1713. had not been removed by death, the 12th of *November* 1718.

b HENRY ZWAARDEKROON succeeded him, and cancelled all that he had done against the *Chinese*. He resigned his employment the 8th of *July* 1725, having acquired as large a fortune as almost any of his predecessors. 1718.

MATTHEW DE HAAN, of *Dort*, entered upon the government *August* 7th, 1725, and died 1725. on the 1st of *June* 1729.

FREDERICK DERVEN, of *Delft*, was chosen upon the demise of the former, laid down his employment *May* 29th, 1730, and returned home in *October* 1732. 1729.

DIRK VAN CLOON, of *Batavia*, entered on the government *July* 24th 1732, and departed this life *March* 10th, 1735. 1732.

c ABRAHAM PATRAS, of *Grenoble*, assumed the government *August* 30, 1736, and deceased on the 6th of *May* 1737. 1736.

ADRIAN VALKENIER, of *Amsterdam*, was settled in the government *September* 28th, 1737. 1737.

GUSTAVUS WILLIAM, Baron *van Imhoff*, of *Lier*, was elected *December* 2d, 1740; returned home *July* 12th, 1741. 1740.

JOHN THEEDENS, of *Frederickstadt*, was elected *November* the 6th, 1741; laid down his employment *May* 23d, 1743; and died *March* 19th, 1748. 1741.

GUSTAVUS WILLIAM, Baron *van Imhoff*, of *Lier*, was appointed to this employment at home, *December* 13th, 1748; was confirmed and authorized by their High Mightinesses 1748.

d *April* 6th, 1742; arrived at *Batavia*, was received, and installed in his charge, *May* 28th, 1743, was promoted by their High Mightinesses to the rank of general of foot *March* 22d 1748; deceased *November* 1st, 1750.

JACOB MOSSEL, of *Enkhuizen*, elected *November* 1st, 1750; installed the 24th of *July* 1750. 1752; appointed by their High Mightinesses general of foot *April* 25th, 1754.

e AFTER the governor, the director-general has the greatest authority, and is the second person in the council of the *Indies*. This employment demands likewise a great deal of care and attention, and he who is invested with it has the buying and selling all the commodities that enter into or go out of the company's magazines. He orders what sorts, and what quantity of each sort, of goods shall be sent to *Holland*, or elsewhere. He has the key of all the magazines, and every officer in the company's service makes a daily report to him of the state of every thing under his charge. In a word, he has the supreme management of whatever relates to the company's commerce, as well at *Batavia* as at other places; and the members of all the factories belonging to the company are accountable to him for their conduct in their respective stations. He has his set hours of business as well as the governor-general, when those who are under his inspection are to attend; and, in both cases, these are not forms, but rules which are not to be dispensed with; and it is by their strict adherence to these that all things are kept in such perfect order, and that the necessary business of the company does not swell by neglects into such a bulk as begets perplexity and confusion. Besides, the examples of these great officers have a powerful and general effect; some are ashamed, and all are afraid, to be less assiduous in their respective charges than those great men who are at the head of affairs¹. Neither is this useful and expedient only, but absolutely necessary; since human wisdom cannot foresee what a day may bring forth; and, how paradoxical soever it may seem, one might produce a multitude of arguments to prove, that it is to the continual danger this government is in, and the sense those who administer it have of that danger, that it owes its safety. One must allow that this is no desirable, but experience seems to shew that it is for all that no ineffectual, protection.

d THE third person in the government is the major-general, who, under the governor, has the command of all the forces. The regular troops in the constant service of the company, even in time of peace, are in number about twelve thousand men, exclusive of their militia in

¹ TACHARD voyage de Siam. Histoire Metallique, tom. iv. p. 214. Indies, vol. ii. p. 133.

² HAMILTON's account of the East general. ¹ JANISON etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 363. L'expedition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 79, 80.

and the mili-
tary establish-
ment in the
Indies.

their respective governments, which are kept in very good order, and under an exact discipline, amounting, in the whole, to at least one hundred thousand men: but, as this is a matter of importance, it is necessary that we should insist a little farther upon it. The military establishment is much the same throughout the *Indies* as in the *United Provinces*; the troops in the company's service being as regularly paid, and as well disciplined, as those in *Holland*. The first officer in command in time of peace has, strictly speaking, no higher rank than that of major, under whom are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns; but, when the troops are in the field, the lieutenants and ensigns are at the head of companies, the captains lead brigades, and the major, acting as major-general, commands in chief^a.

The state of
the militia
throughout
the Dutch
territories.

THE natives of the country are under their own officers, who are capable of rising to the rank of a captain, but not higher. The burgeses of *Batavia* choose also their own officers, as high as captains of horse and foot: they are under the command of a colonel, who is also one of the counsellors of the *Indies*, and at the same time president of the council of war. By virtue of these regulations all the company's settlements are kept in a constant state of defence at a far less charge, and without any of those inconveniencies that must naturally attend the keeping in their service a number of officers with superior titles, the pay of which, generally speaking, makes one third of our military establishments. At the same time care is taken that all the corps, as well of militia as of regular troops, are kept always complete, and fit for service; so that on any emergency there is a constant force at hand, which may be relied upon; more especially considering that in every settlement there is one or more good fortresses, thoroughly supplied, and in excellent repair, which consequently is in no danger of being taken before competent succours can be received from *Batavia*; and this disposition of things is one of the most essential points in the company's system of politics^c (A).

Of the mari-
time power of
the company in
the Indies,
and its regula-
tion.

IN reference to the maritime power of this potent society, it consists of about one hundred and eighty ships, from thirty to sixty guns, with about twelve or thirteen thousand officers and seamen in constant pay; and, in case of necessity, they are always able to equip, in a few weeks, at *Batavia*, forty sail of larger ships, which they could man without any difficulty. This great naval force is regulated on the same foot, and according to the same maxims, as the military establishment; that is, there are no officers wanting necessary to the preservation of good discipline; nor are there any honoured with high titles merely to secure large appointments, without any benefit to the state. The whole fleet is under the direction of one officer, who has the modest title of commander, or commodore: he has under him a vice-commander; and, besides these, there are no flag-officers, but every captain has the command of his ship. When their vessels are in the harbour of *Batavia*, the captains are obliged to repair every morning to the commander, or commodore, in order to make report to him of the state of their vessels, and to receive his orders: yet even this commander does nothing of consequence without the consent and approbation of the governor-general, to whom in fact all the officers of the company, civil, military, and marine, are accountable; and whose authority in this respect is as absolute as the nature of his command, and the service in that distant part of the world, requires, in order to prevent factious cabals or confederacies, which would be highly prejudicial to the service^d.

Of their eccle-
siastical esta-
blishment.

THE ecclesiastical government at *Batavia* consists generally of eleven persons, all ministers of the reformed or presbyterian religion, five for the two *Dutch* churches in the city, and that in the citadel, besides the minister that resides in the island of *Onroost*, three *Portuguese* ministers, and two *Malayans*. The five last are *Dutchmen* by birth, as well as the former, though they preach in the *Portuguese* and *Malayan* tongues. And as it is necessary that the state should be very well informed of whatever passes amongst their clergy when they meet together, the eleventh person is a deputy on the part of the government, who is to see that they preach or practise

^a BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii. Journal du voyage de Siam par l'abbé CHOISY, p. 87. ^c L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 81. ^d JANIÇON état présent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 364. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 111, 112, 113.

(A) It may be very easily conceived, that, if the *Dutch East India* company were to keep in each of their colonies a body of regular troops sufficient for its defence, it would be attended with an excessive charge; whereas by putting it into the hands of the inhabitants, they save all expence, and have their business better done; for, when people fight for themselves, they are very seldom wanting in courage. It might be surmised, that this must be attended with danger; but against this there are two provisions; the first is, that the superior officers are named by the company; the second, that in their fortresses they have regular troops in the pay of the company. But, after all, the great advantage arising from

this disposition of military power lies so deep, that few have taken notice of it (2). The fact is this; the governor can no where be guilty of any great violence, much less of treason, because the force of their colonies is not composed of mercenaries, but of men of property; and, on the other hand, if they should make any insurrection, the fortresses and naval force being in the hands of the governor and his officers, they never want power sufficient to defend themselves till they can be relieved. Abuses in smaller matters there may be, and will be, in all administrations; but it is a thing of vast importance to have great points secure.

- a nothing prejudicial to the civil government, or inconsistent with those laws which the company has prescribed. Besides these ministers, the consistory is composed of eight elders and twenty deacons. One great branch of their business is, to send ministers into other governments, where, after a certain term of years, they are relieved, and return to *Batavia* or to *Holland*, to enjoy in peace the fruits of their labours. Sometimes a preacher has been known to make so good use of his time, that, on his return, he has bought a noble fief, and, of a pastor, immediately became a man of quality *.

- In other little places they have no ordinary minister, but one is sent regularly every three or four years to baptize, marry, and give the Lord's supper; which is so much the more necessary, because the synods have taken a resolution not to permit any religion but the reformed b to make any progress in the dominions of the *East India* company. The *Lutherans* for a long space of time have warmly solicited for a church at *Batavia*, but have been constantly refused it, tho' certainly their demand was reasonable, especially in a place where *Mohammedans* and Pagans are freely tolerated in their religion, and even the *Chinese*, who worship the devil himself'. The ecclesiastical council have also dependant upon them the consolators of the sick, schoolmasters, and catechists. Of these last the company have a great many in their service on board their ships, whose duty it is to say prayers constantly every day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian religion. These catechists are, for the most part, natives of the country; and, as they speak several languages, they are better enabled to give the necessary instructions, and to teach the confession of faith to so many different nations, who, after being converted c and baptized, are to receive the communion. For the better preservation of uniformity, there is an annual visitation, made by the ministers amongst all the new converts, with great punctuality and decorum, when they fail not to make strict inquiries, and to root out as soon as possible all new opinions * (B).

- In consequence of these regulations, the reformed religion makes a great progress, especially among the negroes, of whom there have hundreds at a time demanded baptism; which, however, is not rashly granted, since all are obliged to be well instructed, and to be able to make their confession of faith, before it is bestowed; and in this the *Dutch* are so strict, that they do not dispense even with princes and princesses. It is well enough known, that the *Chinese* are so obstinately addicted to their great *Confucius*, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other religion; yet there are from time to time some of them who abjure their idolatry, and embrace the Protestant faith. In all the eight governments there are many schools erected and supported at the expence of the company; as for instance, there were near one hundred in the island of *Ceylon* in the year 1720; and it was then computed, that the company had three hundred eighty-five thousand Christian subjects in that country only; but some of these were of the *Romish* communion, and consequently were not permitted the open exercise of their religion; and in *Amboyna*, and the adjacent islands, they have ninety thousand subjects, of which at least the third part of them are Christians, not nominal only, but really so from principle, and in some measure in practice * (C).

AT

* BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies. cap. xxxvii. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. † Ibid. p. 107, 108. ‡ Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF, p. 336, 337. § Memoires de Dr. GARÇIN. L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 110.

(B) The *Dutch East India* company have certainly great reason to guard against religious disputes in their territories, to which we must attribute their inflexibility with regard to the *Lutherans*; which, tho' it cannot be justified on a religious, is very excusable on a political principle. In *Europe* the States General act wisely in allowing a toleration in their dominions, because, as things are circumstanced, no danger can arise from thence. The directors of the *East India* company act upon the same principle when they permit *Mohammedans* and Pagans the free exercise of their religion, because no danger can result from thence; but many inconveniencies might arise from the indulgence of different sects of Christians in their dominions, both to the state and to the reformed church. For if this were allowed, it would excite an emulation of making converts; which emulation, instead of being advantageous, would be really prejudicial, to the Christian religion, because it would furnish the *Mohammedans*, who are very zealous for, and very indulgent in, the propagation of their faith, with a very plausible objection against Christianity, and at the same time throw a stumbling-block in the way of all conver-

sion, since the natives, who are both a cunning and a penetrating people, would naturally say, you must agree amongst yourselves who is in the right, before you undertake to convince us we are in the wrong.

(C) The *Dutch* are blamed by some writers, who it may be have not inquired thoroughly into the matter, for not making the propagation of Christianity so much a point of government as they ought to do. When they first came into the *Indies*, there might be very probably great truth in this; but then it was because their circumstances would not allow them. They were continually in a state of war and confusion, and those who had the direction of the company's affairs found their military and commercial concerns as much as they could manage; besides, they were in some measure scandalized by the behaviour of such of the natives as called themselves Christians, whose practices were, generally speaking, not at all better than their neighbours; who, upon examination, were found to be acquainted with a few unedifying ceremonies, and to know very little of the doctrines of Christianity. Add to all this, that numbers of them, when they came to propose alliances to the *Dutch*,

The chamber of
orphans at Ba-
tavia, which
is the model of
other chambers
through the
Indies.

AT *Batavia*, and in all other governments, they have a chamber of accounts for orphans, in which there is a president, who has for his council half the company's servants, of the quality of copemen and upper copemen, and half of the best burghers, besides a secretary, and other assistants. They sit once a week, and order the disposal of all orphans and deceased mens estates as they think fit. They are sworn to deal justly, and to keep secret the concerns of the chamber. The secretary of the office must give three thousand pagodas security for the performance of his trust; and be responsible for all goods sold at auctions, for which he receives three *per cent.* upon the amount of the sale; and, as he is responsible, he may deny any man leave to bid or buy, whom he thinks it not safe to trust. The secretary also enters the wills and inventories; and posts the journal, which is kept by one of the masters; and takes care of the papers that belong to the office. The chamber of orphans may call whom they will into council, to advise with in difficult matters; and no person may refuse to come and sit with them, though it was the governor himself. The council is allowed two and an half *per cent.* out of the estates of the deceased, for what is received upon the sale of goods, but nothing on money left in cash; which two and an half is equally divided betwixt the president and all the masters; besides which, they have each money for a gown yearly, which is charged on the deceased person's estate. If any man or woman dies leaving children under age, the chamber of orphans take care of the estate, and provide for their bringing up, till they arrive at the age of twenty-three years; and then they receive what their parents left, with interest. If the parents of the children have any estates in *Europe*, the chamber of orphans where such persons die writes for the effects to be sent them; which is accordingly done.

How the mo-
ney is secured
for the benefit
of the chil-
dren, which
is brought into
that chamber.

THE money the chamber of orphans pays into the company's cash at *Batavia* brings in nine *per cent.* and it is often lett to freemen, and others, at twelve *per cent. per annum*, upon good security; but at *Policat* it is usually put into the company's stock at six *per cent. per annum*. If a person dies, and leaves no will, or relation in *India* to inherit, the chamber of orphans takes care of the estate, and gives the deceased man's account current credit for the same, and there it remains till the heir demands it. If any person dies with a will, and leaves his widow in trust for the children, though their own mother, the chamber of orphans may, if they please, require the estate, and keep it for the children; and, if they allow the mother to keep the estate and the children, they always take a copy of the will, and security from the mother for the estate. The chamber of orphans may keep the estate in their hands, and manage them as they please; but, for better security, it is usually put into the company's hands, at the interest before-mentioned, and they have the company's bond for it. If a person dies leaving a will, and does not give such a proportion of his estate to his children as the law requires, they will not allow the will, but require their full part for the children. If a man dies in the company's service, and they owe him wages, the chamber receives it, and enters it to the credit of the deceased. By these wise regulations, and by a strict adherence to them, the company has obtained great reputation * (D).

THE

¹ Groot Placart boek, iii. deel. fo. 169. Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER.
* BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, chap. xxxvii.

offered to become of their religion, let it be what it would (29). They were not therefore to be blamed for rejecting offers of this kind, more especially as they saw of how little advantage it was to the *Portuguese* to have had so many thousands of these nominal Christians under their dominion. They chose, therefore, to make fewer, but better Christians; and in length of time, and the descent of a few generations, they have so far carried their point, as to have in their dominions multitudes of Christians, and, amongst them, many thousands that are good men, and good subjects, upon principle; which is of real utility, as the company have found by experience (30). Yet there is no doubt to be made that Christianity might be better promoted, and flourish more abundantly, if their own examples were consistent with their principles; a circumstance that would reflect highly upon the *Dutch*, if they were singular in this respect, and the same objection did not lie strongly against other Christian nations settled in the *Indies* (31).

(D) It is not to be supposed, that, with all the care that can be taken, there are not some frauds committed

here as well as elsewhere; but it is also true, that whenever they do happen, and are discovered, which generally happens likewise, they are very severely punished; which is all that can be done to prevent them, and which renders them less frequent. There have been instances of putting people, who made a great figure, to the torture, where deficiencies have happened, and they have refused to give an account of the sums that came into their hands (32). But even in these cases the orphans have not been sufferers, but the loss has been made good to the chamber by the company. Indeed if it was not for this precaution, all others would be vain; but, where the government is answerable for the frauds of its officers, and where that government is also responsible for its conduct, it is hardly possible that offences should be committed, and offenders escape; for this plain reason, that the negligence of the government in that case would be considered as an offence at home; and therefore the members of the council of justice at *Batavia* dare not suffer lesser criminals to escape with impunity, for fear of being looked upon as greater criminals themselves (33). To

(29) *Histoire de la conquête des îles Moluques*, tom. iii. p. 376, 377, 378, 379.
sent de la république des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 372.
de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes, p. 201.

(30) *Janicon état présent de la république des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 367.

(31) *Dellen. Graaf. Kellern, &c.*

(32) *Voyage*

a THE company, besides one-third of their half of the fiscal's confiscation, allow also fines on offences, and the confiscations of the estates of men executed, for the use of the Poor. There are many overseers and masters of the poor at *Batavia*. At *Policat* they have but two, and those not masters of orphans, but others. They have cognizance of all poor Christians under the government, whether they be *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, or others, and take care for their relief, by making collections in churches every *Sunday*, and distributions according to their necessities. The poor always have a considerable stock beforehand, which has been gathered from the confiscations or persons detected in private trade, and charitable gifts. This stock they let out to the company upon interest, which they constantly receive, and employ as is needful; and, tho' the interest of the stock be sufficient to maintain the poor, yet they never neglect the weekly collections in churches, to increase the stock as much as they can: for they say, it may so happen, that, by great wars and losses, many may be maimed, made widows and fatherless, and then the principal may not be enough to maintain them. The overseers or masters of the poor keep a fair book of all receipts and payments; that is, an account of cash, and an account of what is paid into the company's stock at interest, with a roll of the names of all persons to whom they give alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are collections for the poor every *Sunday* morning and evening in all their churches; and the like practice in this, as indeed in most other respects, is likewise observed in other settlements¹.

c THERE can be nothing better calculated for the safety and prosperity of the company than these provisions for orphans, and such as become indigent; since it keeps up the spirits of all, from the knowlege they have that neither they, nor their children shall ever want bread; and, at the same time that it keeps them from being desperate, it retains them in their duty. Some indeed have suggested, that the company is more benefited by this than either the orphans or the poor, as she makes use of a large sum of money at a small interest, considering the profit that accrues from it to the society; and, to put this in a stronger light, it is said, that the company very frequently lends this money at an advanced interest, from which nevertheless neither the orphans or the poor receive any benefit. But view this in another light, and all this hardship will disappear. The lowness of the company's interest is balanced by the security of constantly and punctually receiving it; whereas if trusted in private hands, though more might in some cases be made, much more would be embezzled; whereas in this way a man dies with the satisfaction of knowing, that what he leaves his children will have; that they become the wards of the company; and that his private fortune, and that of the public, stand upon the same bottom. In reference to the poor, again, the public has an interest and a right in seeing them provided for, which, if this fund of charity should fail, they must be obliged to supply; so that, being answerable for the deficiency, theirs is certainly the best security^a (E).

e BUT we come now to the particular detail of the company's officers; and, in respect to this, it is conceived the constant prosperity which has attended it is, in a great measure, owing to that nicety of judgment shewn in adjusting all their salaries, and allowances for diet, to the several qualities and degrees of their servants; so that none has so little as to be pinched by necessity, nor any so much as to set them above the performance of their duty, which is generally speaking the ruin of such governments as pursue a contrary conduct; for the more easy understanding of this point, we shall take their inferior officers first, and so ascend gradually to the governor-general of the *Indies*. The under-assistant, or, as they stile him in *Dutch*, *Scrivener*, or writer, is the lowest degree, and is chiefly supplied by soldiers taken out of the guards, who receive from nine to fourteen guilders *per mensem*. Next is the assistant, at twenty guilders *per mensem* salary, and four rixdollars diet. After him the upper-assistant, book-keeper, or secretary, from twenty-eight to thirty-six guilders *per mensem* salary, and four rixdollars diet. In the fourth place, the under-copeman, or under-merchant, from thirty-six to forty-five guilders *per mensem* salary, and eight rixdollars diet. Then the copeman, from

¹ Relation de la ville de Batavia, par NICOLAS GRAAF. Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER. ^a NIEUHOFF. GRAAF. JANISON.

this, therefore, we must attribute such examples of severity as those before-mentioned; and without such examples, and the consequences they produce, things could not have been preserved through such a series of time in that condition they now stand.

(E) There is no doubt that the *Dutch*, as well as the *Portuguese*, have felt the fatal effects of adopting the manners of the natives, from their living amongst them in the *East Indies*. We are informed by very credible writers, that luxury is arrived at a very great height in *Batavia*; and that people, who make no despicable figure, who dress in jewels, and who appear in public with slaves

to attend them, are notwithstanding upon the lists of the poor, and receive annual supplies from the public charity; whether through connivance, corruption, or from a political consideration that it would not be proper to let certain persons sink there into an abject state, who have formerly lived in affluence, is out of our power to determine (34); but, from whatever cause this springs, it is certainly more excusable than the custom at *Goa*, which we have mentioned in a former section, of letting such people go a begging, because that brings a national scandal, which it is presumed this method is calculated to prevent.

(34) Relation de la ville de Batavia, par Nicolas Graaf.

fifty to sixty-five guilders *per mensem* salary, and eight rixdollars diet. Next to him the upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty guilders *per mensem* salary, and twelve rixdollars diet; yet some from the lesser chambers are sent out at seventy two guilders *per mensem* salary. At *Batavia* and *Ceylon*, where provisions are dear, they have thirteen rixdollars diet. In the seventh rank, a commodore has one hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem* salary, and twenty rixdollars diet. The eighth director has two hundred guilders *per mensem*, and thirty rixdollars diet. The governor has the same, as also an extraordinary member of the council of *India*. A member ordinary of the council of *India* at *Batavia*, each three hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem* salary, and one hundred rixdollars diet. The director-general has six hundred guilders *per mensem*, and one hundred rixdollars diet. And, lastly, the governor-general of *Batavia*, as we have before mentioned, has one thousand two hundred guilders *per mensem* salary, and two hundred rixdollars diet; and every time he goes to visit the fleet, one thousand five hundred rixdollars gratuity, which however he seldom does, except on its departure for *Europe*. But, besides, he has many legal perquisites, which may be said to raise the value of his office beyond our estimation" (F).

Provisions allowed to all, according to their respective ranks.

ALL persons in the service, whether merchants, divines, civil magistrates, soldiers, or seamen, are ranked in certain degrees, have their privileges, and take their places accordingly. The governor-general is allowed wine, and all other liquors and provisions, out of the company's warehouse, without limitation. All others, down to the assistants, are allowed, monthly; liquors, spice, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, candles, &c. according to their quality, very largely. The upper-copeman's allowance is twenty canadars of *Spanish* wine *per mensem*, besides rum, white wine, and other liquors, twenty-four pounds of wax for candles, corn for poultry, rice for slaves, &c. so that the diet-money allowed them is only for fresh provisions. Soldiers are ranked in the same manner; viz. first, a common soldier receives from nine to fourteen guilders *per mensem*, as the under-assistant. Next, surgeon's pay and diet, as the assistant. Then ensign's pay and diet, as the under-copeman. After him, lieutenant's pay and diet, as the copeman. The fifth, captain's pay and diet, as the upper-copeman. And the sixth, major's pay and diet, as the commandore. Military persons give place to the civil of the same rank; viz. a commandore precedes a major, and upper-copeman a captain; and a copeman a lieutenant; but a major precedes an upper-copeman, a captain a copeman, and a lieutenant an under-copeman. There are three majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Amboyna* or *Randa*. They assist the governor in military affairs, and have the command over all other officers and soldiers, but have no proper company of their own.

Naval service of provisions; rank and pay.

SEAMEN are ranked in the same manner; viz. first, a common seaman, from nine to fourteen guilders *per mensem*, as a common soldier; next, third mate, gunner, boatswain, and steersman, from eighteen to twenty-four guilders *per mensem*; and the assistant, carpenter's wages, from forty to fifty guilders *per mensem*. The under-steersman, or second mate, from twenty-four to thirty-six guilders *per mensem*, as the upper-assistant. After them, upper-steersman, or chief mate, from fifty to sixty guilders *per mensem*, in the under-copeman's rank. The fifth are skippers, from sixty to one hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem*, in the copeman's rank; and the sixth, commodore's, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem*; besides which they have the ship's allowance for provision; and, when in *Batavia*, roads, they are supplied with these things from the factories on shore. They have none who have the title or pay of captain at sea; and the commodores are very few, sometimes not more than one in *India*.

Ecclesiastical system in all the respects.

THE minister's pay and allowance stands thus; viz. first, the predicant or preacher's pay and diet, the same as the upper-copeman's. The second, dominees, or visitors of the sick, twenty-four guilders *per mensem*, as the assistant. The ministers are all sworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with, any matter relating to the affairs of the state, or to commerce. In all govern-

" Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER. Groot Placart, boek iii. deel, fo. 169.
 c Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes, p. 323, 324. p Management of the Dutch in India.

(F) There have been several exceptions taken in respect to the emoluments arising from this great office; but whoever considers the point attentively, and takes into his consideration the dangerous consequences that must necessarily attend the putting an officer vested with such high powers under too close restrictions, will certainly see things in another light. In the first place, it is reasonable that a man, who gives his talents, his time, and his experience, to the public, should have an ample compensation; for this is plainly a point of justice. In

the next place, allowing him this, makes the office desirable, notwithstanding that excessive fatigue, that perpetual application, which is required in him who administers it; so that this is a point of policy. And, lastly, that a man, upon his resigning this high employment, or having a successor sent him, should have a large private fortune to live upon, and out of which he may be made accountable for any acts of violence or injustice, is evidently a point of prudence (35).

a ments they are allowed a predicant; and in *Batavia* two or three to spare, in case of mortalities. In all directions they have dominees only who read the scriptures, and printed forms of prayer, mornings, evenings, and *Sundays*. With them the surgeons pay is from forty to fifty *degrlsui per mensem*, that is, from four to five pounds of our money ⁴ (G).

In all these several stations, as high as that of upper-copeman, every man agrees to serve for a time certain, commonly for five, sometimes only for three years; but, whatever the term be, he is free when it expires, that is, he remains under no obligation to continue in the company's service, but is at liberty to return home, or to settle himself as he thinks fit. However, if nothing better offers, and he petitions, his term is renewed in the next superior degree to that which he had; so that every man, if he lives, may make his way without having

b many friends, or more than a common stock of merit. This common course of things does not, however, bind the company, or those intrusted with the direction of its concerns, from taking another method whenever they see proper; so that a writer, if he be faithful and diligent, though he contracted for three years, shall be promoted in three months; and, if he has any opportunity to signalize himself in the company's service, he is sure to be preferred. When a chief dies, or is removed, the succession is not a thing of course; but, if the third person in the factory is the most capable, the second is removed somewhere else, and he who deserves it is preferred to the superior post; so that it frequently happens, that a man rises in three years time to be an under-copeman, and in three years more to be an upper-copeman ⁵.

MARRIED men are paid their whole salaries; such as are single, but half; every officer's salary commences from the time he enters the company's service, and determines upon his return, both outward and homeward-bound voyages included. In obtaining this there is no sort of trouble; for at the end of the year every man has a copy of his account, as it stands in the company's books, which he may keep, or send home, or sell in the *Indies*; which account, when transmitted to *Holland*, is paid at sight. If a man, when his time is determined, resolves to stay in the *Indies*, he may settle where he pleases in any of the company's towns; and trade in whatever he thinks fit, except the company's commodities, or even in them if he takes a licence; so that diligence and fidelity never fail to put a man in the way of making his fortune, either in the company's service, or out of it ⁶. There is, however, a degree of strictness in preventing such as are actually in the company's service from trading, which, it has been d doubted, has not so good an effect as is expected, because where temptations are frequent, men will sometimes fail; and, if this be overlooked, it is a bad example; if constantly punished, it carries an air of severity, and frights those people from service who perhaps are best qualified. But, all consequences considered, the company have not hitherto given into the way of indulgence, but insist peremptorily upon a due obedience to the rules which they prescribe, under severe penalties. Yet in a country where men can convert their wealth into jewels, which lie in a narrow compass, it is no difficult thing to bring larger estates into *Europe*, than it would be convenient for them to avow while in the *Indies*. Neither are there other methods wanting to answer the same end; and, when once this wealth is returned to *Holland*, all is safe. This naturally leads us to speak of the manner in which returns are made; and brings us e to shew, that the *Dutch* flotillas from the *Indies* are as regular, and it may be of no less value, than those that come annually into the ports of *Spain*.

THE *East India* company's ships, then, usually sail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times in a year. The first go in the month of *July*; and this squadron consists of four or five sail, which touch in their passage at the island of *Ceylon*. The second, making a fleet of sixteen or twenty sail, did not formerly sail till the month of *December*; but that regulation is changed, and they sail now constantly in the month of *October*. The third squadron of six or seven vessels sails in *September*; the fourth, which commonly consists of four or five, in

Conditions upon which persons are commonly sent by the company into the Indies.

Privilege acquired by serving in the factory, which is very beneficial in the Indies.

The season and circumstances of the homeward bound ships sailing from Batavia.

⁴ Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes. Management of the Dutch in India. ⁵ L'expédition de trois vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 16, 17. ⁶ Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF aux Indes, p. 299.

(G) This maxim of giving the post of honour, in every instance, to such as are employed in the management of the company's commerce, though it appears very strange to some writers, is however very just, as well as very natural. The judicious and impartial reader will easily perceive this, if he considers that the sovereignty is placed in a trading company; that the vast dominions which they possess were originally acquired, have been gradually extended, and are constantly maintained, by their trade, upon the right management of which their safety and power abroad, and their prosperity and importance at home, have hitherto always depended,

and must ever depend. This therefore being their capital interest, those who manage it must naturally have the preference; for, if that should be given in general to military persons, it would absolutely change the nature of their establishment, and that in a manner altogether inconsistent with the interests both of the company and of the States. This prerogative, therefore, is plainly necessary, and, experience has shewn, is both practicable and salutary; which perhaps, had the thing been only speculatively considered, even the wisest politicians might have doubted (36).

(36) *Beilage description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, cap. xxxvii.

January; and the last vessel in the month of March, but not till the *Chinese* fleet is arrived which brings the tea; for of this the best part of the cargo of the homeward-bound vessel is composed; and therefore this is commonly called the tea-ship; but the common people call it the book-ship, because it brings the current account of the company for the year, by which they see the state of their trade in the *Indies*: (H).

How the command is regulated of these squadrons, as also of single ships.

It is to be farther observed, that all these vessels, laden with the riches of so many countries, sail from the same port of *Batavia*. The ships from *Mocha*, which bring home the coffee, are the only vessels in the *India* company's service allowed to proceed directly home, without going to *Batavia* at all. As to their admirals out of *Europe*, the flag is borne by turns; *Amsterdam* Squadron carries it three years, and the *Zealand* Squadron every fourth year. The *Amsterdam* having two parts of the stock, the other lesser chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one quarter of their own. The merchant who is sent admiral must either take his passage in the *Amsterdam* or *Zealand* Squadron. If a copeman or under-copeman goes from port to port in any ship, they have the command of her, and also of the fleet, or all ships in company, by the company's settled order in their articles. When there is a fleet together under the command of a commandore, the council is to consist of copemen and skippers. When a ship is single, the council is to be of copemen, skipper, under-copeman, book-keeper, and steersman; and they are always to steer their course by the printed directions, and to set off their work every day upon charts, which are delivered up the very day on which they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*. There is an under-copeman or book-keeper in every ship, who keeps an account of the ship's expences, as stores, provisions, and mens wages, in the nature of a purser; and they are to see the provisions so given out, that none be spoiled. These take place as they are capable of preferment, in their factories, by their time of service; and they are often taken out of factories when they are wanted, and others put in their places. If he that is upon a ship as a book-keeper be but an assistant, he takes place of the steersman, or next to the skipper, by reason of his office, or, as they in respect term it, the pen.

Those who are invested with authority on shore, have the direction of vessels on the coasts.

ALL chiefs of factories, &c. have free power to dispose of their ships and men while they are under their chiefship, and as occasion requires in the company's service. They may take out men, ammunition, provisions, and stores, though such ships come there casually through accident or necessity. Thus every thing relating to this subject is so fully and clearly regulated, that doubts or difficulties rarely arise. In their return to *Holland* they always make some stay at the *Cape*, as well to take in refreshments, as to be informed of the company's orders that may concern any of the passengers on board; some of whom perhaps are ordered back, that their conduct may be examined in the *Indies*, and to receive the news of the state of things in *Europe*, as, by the way, they carry gazettes, or news-papers, home with them, that contain the principal transactions in the *Indies*, of which we are now to take leave, and to conclude with a brief representation of the manner in which the company's affairs are conducted at home (I).

* Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. LOCKYER. aux Indes. p. 364, 365, 366, 367. DE GARÇIN.

* Voyages de NICOLAS DE GRAAF. Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 161. Memoires de

(II) There is nothing that deserves more attention in this section than this circumstance, which we have mentioned more than once, that the *Dutch East India* company maintain an exact uniformity in their conduct at home and abroad; and, as far as it is practicable, decide and adjust every thing within the compass of the year. Some exceptions there may be, but these are few in number, and in their nature inevitable. As to what respects their general concerns, and the regular course of their policy and commerce, there is no kind of procrastination permitted; but, as the general accounts are annually made up in the *Indies*, so the servants of the company are immediately paid upon their return to *Europe*; and this readiness and punctuality is a prodigious benefit to the service, which indeed could very hardly, if at all, be carried on without it.

(I) This power, which all who have the supreme direction of the company's affairs any-where, are trusted with in regard to the ships upon the coast, is a rational and necessary branch of their system, as the foregoing observations fully shew; neither can it be attended with

any inconvenience, provided those who have this authority are constantly called to a strict account for the use they make of it. It is possible this may not be done; and it is highly probable that if it be not, mischiefs will ensue. But this does not discredit the system; it only shews defect in the administration; and though there may be many such defects in different branches, yet, when they arrive to any considerable height, correction must ensue. Sometimes the company have granted extraordinary powers to such as have been intrusted with the inspection of abuses; and while this is done from time to time, they will be in some measure kept under; for utterly to extirpate fraud and speculation in the affairs of a trading company, is as little to be expected as the making men perfectly virtuous, and consequently rendering them in the highest degree happy, by the wise institutions of government (37). But, in both cases, though success is never to be hoped, yet it must be always endeavoured; and the consequence will be, that matters will go on tolerably well, and not either stand still, or fall to ruin.

(37) *Janicon etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, cap. xii.

S E C T. XXVII.

The domestic æconomy of the Dutch East India company. The immense profits that have resulted to Holland from this commerce. The nature of dividends and transfers; concluding with some observations and remarks upon the foregoing particulars.

AT the time the original stock of the *East India* company was subscribed by men of property residing in different places, there were six chambers erected, one in each of the cities and great towns, from whence the subscriptions came; *Middleburgh*, on this account, being considered as the centre of commerce for the province of *Zealand*; and from these six chambers the seventeen directors are deputed, called in the *Dutch* language *Bewintbebers*, who are sometimes also stiled the assembly or council of seventeen. They meet four times a year successively at *Amsterdam*, and twice at *Middleburgh*, but not at all in the other towns. These deputies are in some measure the sovereigns of this illustrious company, yet under the authority of the States General. These seventeen directors are chosen in the following manner; eight by the chamber of *Amsterdam*; four by that of *Zealand*; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, and *Enchusen*, send one for each; and the *Maese*, *Middleburgh*, and *North Holland*, choose one by turns. These seventeen directors govern the company, and represent the sovereignty of the whole body, the sentiments of which are determined by plurality of voices. They regulate all affairs of consequence, such as making counsellors of the *Indies*, captains, lieutenants, in land and sea-service, and equipping of ships, the sale of the goods, the division of profits; and all the particular chambers are obliged to confirm themselves to their orders. They likewise appoint the time for the sale of the goods, one half in the chamber of *Amsterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middleburgh*, and a sixteenth in each of the other four chambers, at the time by them assigned, to the highest bidder, by auction^a.

BUT, besides these seventeen directors, each of the chambers have more belonging to the same body: thus *Amsterdam* has ten, exclusive of the eight sent to the sovereign court; and *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort*, and *Tergoe*, have each of them one there, as have the provinces of *Guelderland*, *Friezeland*, and *Zealand* likewise; besides, their four directors have eight or ten more from other towns of the province. All these deputies are to give their advice, in their respective chambers, for the benefit of the company; and when any of the deputies die, the towns to which they belong name three others in their stead, out of which the magistrates choose one. This committee meets twice a week, and change their president each month; so that every one presides in his turn. There are two advocates belonging to the company, who transmit what is resolved upon to the *Indies*; upon which the officers of the company there form their resolutions, and issue their orders. There are eight deputies for the affairs of the marine, war, and building of ships; four to inspect their magazines, and the goods that are sent to and come from the *Indies*; four who are to take care of the money which the company pays and receives; and the rest are charged with the accounts, and other affairs relating to order and justice, which is done to the meanest mariner as well as to the greatest officers, and with equal expedition^b (K).

THE whole, though it seems at first sight independent of the state, is however kept in great subordination by means of the wise regulations made in establishing the directors, and the care taken that not any two shall be related to each other, which in a very great measure prevents combinations, and all those practices by which public establishments are converted into private jobs; and what ought to redound to the common benefit of a nation, conveyed into the pockets of a few private men. Once in three years the States General demand and receive a strict account of the company's whole transactions, in order to be satisfied that they

^a *Traité general du commerce, par SAM. RICAUD, p. 4. cap. xiv. Memoires de Dr. GARCIN.*

^b *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois,*

(K) The reader may find, in a great many treatises, accounts that differ very widely from these; but then he ought to reflect, that every complaint is not well founded, and that conviction does not follow from violent charges, but convincing proofs. Where these appear, as in many cases no doubt they may appear, a just exception is raised against what is advanced in the text; but exceptions demonstrate, rather than destroy, general rules; and though there should be every year some par-

ticular cases, where individuals are hardly dealt with, yet this is not the peculiar misfortune either of the *Dutch* nation or the *Dutch East India* company. We have no intention to extenuate, much less to apologize for, or defend, male-administration, either in the *Indies*, or in *Europe*; all we aim at is, to shew the rectitude of the plan upon which their management is founded, and the consequences that would attend a right administration, if strictly and steadily pursued (38).

(S) *Basnage description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii.*

It is, by
which all its
dependancy is
secured.

keep within the bounds of their charter; that they do justice to their proprietors; and that they manage their trade so as that it may not be prejudicial to the republic; which regulation may be justly esteemed the principal cause that hitherto the affairs of this company have been so perfectly well conducted *.

Some modern
alterations for
the security of
the proprietors,
and the benefit
of the company

In order to this examination or controul of the company's accounts, the antient practice was, for the States General to name a committee of the members to go to *Amsterdam*, and there examine the books of the *East India* company upon the spot; which took up a considerable time; and during that whole space this committee from the States had their charges defrayed by the company. But in the year 1728 they thought fit to make a representation to the States General, setting forth the inconveniencies and unnecessary charge this method occasioned; praying, that their High Mightinesses would consent to its alteration, and allow the company to send a deputation to the *Hague*, to lay their accounts before them; which, after mature deliberation, was assented to. Since that time another alteration has been made, of much greater moment, and that by the body of the proprietors, who insisted, that the supreme direction of their affairs in *Europe*, and in *India*, should, by a solemn instrument, be transferred to his serene highness the prince of *Orange*, as stadtholder of the Union, by which he has entrance into all the assemblies of the directors by his representatives, and consequently the power of looking into and regulating their proceedings; which indeed was the sole thing necessary to remove the inconveniencies introduced by time, and to purge out such errors as had grown up imperceptibly, and for which no adequate remedy but this could have been provided * (L).

Method ab-
solved in the
management of
their maga-
zines, docks,
workmen, and
sailors.

THE magazines of the company are kept in excellent order. Such as are intrusted with the care of them give large security; and are liable, besides, to severe punishments, in case they are guilty of any breach of trust. The same strictness is shewn to all degrees of persons in their service; nor are the directors themselves exempted, in whom the smallest fraud would, if discovered, be punished with speedy and exemplary justice. This keeps up that spirit of care and diligence which is so absolutely requisite to the right management of commerce; and all the under officers, moved by the example, as well as constrained by the inspection, of their superiors, discharge their duty very exactly; so that the dock or yard, in which the ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact order as that of any private man, though there are not less than twelve hundred persons employed at a time. They do not, however, exert the same authority over the sailors and under-servants of the company that return from the *Indies*; but, on the contrary, allow them all the liberty they can desire, and suffer them to live in what manner, and at what expence, they please; which is likewise done from a principle of true policy, since it affords them the means of spending in a short space all that they have acquired in long service; so that in five or six weeks they are generally speaking reduced to their primitive state of indigence, and consequently are obliged to enter again into the company's service for a fresh term *.

Some abuses,
notwithstanding
ing, there may
be, but even
these become in
their conse-
quences ser-
viceable.

THUS the liberty of the subject is preserved intire, and the company nevertheless seldom wants a regular supply of able and seasoned seamen; which has very good effects, because experience shews, that such as are used to these eastern climates go many voyages without prejudice to their health; whereas raw seamen die in great numbers, to the vast prejudice of the state. The utmost care is taken that all employed in this service, both at home and abroad, shall be properly qualified for the stations in which they serve; and therefore it is a rule that none can enter into office before they have undergone a proper examination; and, though there may be some instances where interest or favour may have procured dispensations in this respect; yet these occur but very seldom, and are not therefore of very great consequence. The same thing may be likewise said with respect to frauds, of which without question there sometimes happen both small and great in the *Indies* and at home; but as these can never

* JANSON *etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 387.
from public and private informations.

* These facts are taken
JANSON *etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*,
tom. i. p. 389.

(L) The good effects of this new regulation have been already visible, to the great satisfaction of the proprietors and the public. In all trading societies whatever, if there is no secrecy, there must be danger; and, on the other hand, there will be danger, if there be too much secrecy; for though every proprietor has not a right to every secret of the society, yet their secrets ought not to be monopolized, and so kept in the hands of a few,

as that the body of the proprietors shall have no just idea of the state of their affairs; for this will beget suspicions, and suspicions, whether well or ill founded, are always attended with bad consequences. Since the investing the stadtholder with this power, which has been executed by his representatives, the company's dividends have been augmented, and the price of the stock has advanced (39).

(39) This is taken from the Dutch gazettes, and other public papers.

a be long carried on without detection, and as every new discovery produces fresh precautions, they are not very detrimental, upon the whole, to the interests of the society * (M).

WHEN the company first began to raise settlements and establish colonies in the *Indies*, *Time has wrought a great change in the persons sent by the company to her settlements.* there is nothing more certain than what the great *De Witt* has observed, that few people went thither but what were of blasted characters, or ruined fortunes, that is, in lower stations; but in process of time the face of things intirely changed, and great solicitations are requisite to obtain even mean employments. All of them, as we before observed, from the highest to the lowest, are bestowed either by the council of seventeen, or by the particular chambers. The great posts, such as governor-general, the governments of *Ceylon* and the *Cape*, together with the counsellors of the *Indies*, are never conferred but upon such as have deserved them by long and faithful services, and for the most part on the recommendation of the council at *Batavia*; but counsellors extraordinary, who, though they are allowed to give their opinions, yet have no votes, are often sent out in that quality from *Holland*, as officers likewise are in all the inferior stations, but at large, and without particular appointments, that the council of the *Indies* may dispose of them as the service requires ^d.

UPON the first erecting of the company, we have shewn, that the capital consisted of near six millions and a half of florins, which was divided into actions of three thousand florins each, or five hundred pounds *Flemish*; which appellation or actions they still hold, though much altered in their value, in the same manner with our stocks, the title of which remains the same, whether the stock rises or falls. As for the actions of the *East India* company, they have risen a thousand *per cent.* that is to say, an original action, which was subscribed at three thousand florins, has been actually sold for thirty thousand. The rise and fall of these actions, like that of our stocks, depends partly on the real value, compared with the ordinary interest of money, partly upon the circumstances of affairs in *Europe* in general, and of the republic of the *United Provinces* in particular. As for instance, before the breaking out of the war in 1672, the actions of the *Dutch East India* company were sold at six hundred and fifty *per cent.*; yet during that war they fell to two hundred and fifty, and rose again after the peace. But whatever the price of actions may be, a principal director must have two in his own possession, to qualify him for the post; and none are capable of a vote in an election, who are not possessed of one whole action at least. The salaries of the directors vary according to the chambers to which they belong. Those eighteen that are chosen by the city of *Amsterdam* have three thousand florins a year; yet there are others that have but twelve hundred, but these may be chosen if they have no more than two actions ^e.

THE manner of buying and selling *East India* stock is very easy and expeditious. When the parties have settled the price between themselves, they go together to the *India-bourse*, where the seller applies himself to the clerk of the book, in which his stock is entered, and desires him to transfer so much from his account to that of the buyer; which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a receipt for the purchase money; and, the whole transaction being performed in the presence of a director, he signs the book likewise; so that there is not so much as a possibility of any fraud being committed; yet the whole expence of this transfer amounts to no more than seven shillings and six pence of our money, upon one whole action of three thousand florins, and in the same proportion for all smaller sums, and the brokerage upon an action comes but to twelve shillings. The directors, who have the sole management of the company's concerns, settle not only the times, but the quantities and qualities, of the company's goods that are to be exposed in their sales; from the produce of which, their dividends are paid, and are high and low, according to the profits made by the company. This, however, must be understood with some restriction; for certain it is, that, from the first establishment, they have never divided to the full extent of their profits, and for very good reasons; because long wars, and other chargeable expeditions, must be defrayed out of this reserved stock, to prevent a great and apparent decrease in their dividends, which would necessarily occasion a very great fall of their actions. Besides, they have constantly paid the state very

* *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, cap. 14.
Holland, 1 deel, cap. xvi. *BASNAGE* Descr. histor. du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, cap. xxxvii.
general du commerce, par *SAMUEL RICAUD*, p. 6.

^d *GRONDEN en Maximen van de republieck van*
^e *Traité*

(M) If it should be said, that what is above asserted is matter of fact that stands in need of proof, the answer is far from being difficult. The state of the company's affairs at home and abroad, the produce of their sales, the value of their dividends, the price of their stock, the visible credit of the company, taken in the aggregate, amounts to an invincible proof; the rather, because it is the only kind of proof the nature of the thing will admit; and those who will not be satisfied with this,

can never be satisfied at all. We see from daily experience, as well in *Holland* as in other countries, that thro' misfortunes and mismanagements the greatest companies may decline, and come almost to nothing; and therefore, if from contrary effects, we are not allowed to infer right conduct, and real prosperity, it will be impossible to reason upon things of this nature either with certainty or so much as probability.

large sums, for the renewing of their charters, and for such other acts of state, as they have a procured from time to time in their favour. It has been found also requisite for them to keep large sums in bank, to answer the exigencies of the state, as well as the company, in times of great difficulty and danger. Add to all this, that they have reserved vast quantities of spices and other rich commodities, that their sales might not lower the price of them too much; and, upon this principle, they sometimes burn great quantities of spices. They formerly had recourse to another method, for the benefit of their proprietors, which has been paying their dividends in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a very low price, by which those who receive them gained very considerable advantages' (N).

Reasons which render it expedient to conclude this chapter with some observations.

THE proper and immediate subject of this chapter being thus brought to that period we promised, and set in as true a light as it was in our power, it may, perhaps, not prove either unpleasant or useless to the reader, if we shut up all with a very few observations, concisely stated, fitted for his farther consideration, and then submitted to his candid decision. All history is but written experience; and though it may not be either necessary or expedient for such as assume the office of historians, to write comments upon their own works, yet this part of ours, being of a very mixed nature, may claim some peculiar privileges, or at least justify the taking such liberties, as may render it more applicable to the present course of things, and so invest it with the greatest excellence of experience, that of affording a rule for action, as well as a lesson of improvement. It is in most cases sufficient to relate things clearly, and to deliver all matters of fact without bias; but there are some few in which this is not all that is requisite to give them that appearance, and to impress that conception of them which their weight and importance deserve. To judge of these cases, must be the province of him into whose hands they fall; and if in this he is so unlucky as to mistake, it can only be imputed to his indiscretion; which, with every candid peruser, the rectitude of his intention will excuse, more especially in matters relating to commerce, addressed to a trading nation. After this apology, proceed we next to the observations (O).

First observation, that this vindicates whatever has been said as to

FIRST then, this history of the *Dutch East India* company fully vindicates, from all suspicion of exaggeration, what antient writers have recorded of the wealth, the power, and the prosperity, of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Carthage*, which, from low beginning, rose to such height and splendor, and maintained themselves in it through a long series of ages, by the wise management of extensive commerce, we may easily conceive, that all we find reported of them might d

¹ BASNAGE description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 37. Traité gen. du com. par SAMUEL RICAUD, p. 6.

(N) It would be a very difficult, if not an impracticable, undertaking, to aim at the computation not only of the intire value of the commerce of the *East India* company, but even of any single branch, otherwise than by the help of their dividends, and in the manner suggested in the text; which, however, cannot lead us to any competent notion of the gross amount of their annual returns from the *Indies*; though some have ventured to fix this, one year with another, at sixteen million of guilders. But, in respect to these, we may help our conceptions a little, by reflecting how great a share the *Dutch East India* company still retain of this commerce, in all its branches, notwithstanding the prodigious efforts that have been made, more especially within a century past, in favour of other nations. As to the spice trade, pepper excepted, they are possessed of the monopoly, and were never so thoroughly or so securely settled therein as at present, and while they retain this, they can never fail of being masters in the *Indies*; that is, of trading more largely, and upon better terms, than their neighbours. They hold also their monopoly of the trade of *Japan*, and enjoy the mines of *Lignor*, from whence they derive still farther advantages of the same kind. They draw prodigious quantities of valuable commodities and manufactures out of their own dominions, which they annually bring home to *Europe*, and which they are constantly improving in quality, and augmenting in quantity; the consequences of which, if we duly weigh them, will sufficiently convince us, that their profits must be much larger than those of other nations who trade to the *East Indies*; and that therefore, though they are not the least jealous, yet they are the least like to be hurt by new establish-

ments, and have the greatest security of being able to carry on this commerce, for ages to come, with prodigious profit, notwithstanding all the attempts that may be made to interfere with them; because it is not easy to foresee that they can be ever in danger of losing the superior advantages before-mentioned, and many others that might be enumerated (40).

(O) The remarks and reflections that are made on other parts of general history, chiefly regard statesmen and politicians; but, with respect to speculations upon commerce, they extend to all ranks and degrees of people; and there cannot be any thing either more entertaining or of more general utility, than to spread them as far as it is possible, as this is the most effectual method of correcting vulgar prejudices, eradicating errors of an old standing, and engaging such as have leisure and abilities to employ them in the study of points of the greatest consequence, points capable of being reduced to practice, and which may be of universal benefit. There never was an age in which the curious and inquisitive had so great opportunities of gratifying themselves in these particulars, as in the present; and therefore it becomes us to exert our diligence in that respect, as well for our own benefit as that of posterity. Besides, it is, in some measure, a new field of inquiry; it is a kind of knowledge in which the moderns have a confessed superiority; and there cannot therefore be any thing more honourable for our age or country, than to push this to the utmost, and to make it appear, that, where we have advantages, we are as able to use and to improve them, as those who went before us, and who, for our benefit, have done so much in the cultivation of other subjects (41).

(40) *Janicon etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, c. 12. edition of the *Dictionnaire de commerce*, and the history of the trading companies in *Europe*, at the end of the second volume of that work.

(41) See the preface to the last

a have truly happened in times past, since we see an empire raised from a lower and more unlikely foundation, to a wider compass of dominion, and in actual possession of all that she acquired in our own times. We discern from hence, that trade is as true and solid a principle in respect to power, as ambition or thirst of glory; and that it is as impossible for merchants to manage great designs, as military heroes. We may be convinced, from this detail, that a naval power is superior to any other kind of force, and that a small squadron of ships, well directed, is capable of achieving as much, or more, than a well disciplined army ^{the power of commercial states:}.

THE very summit of *Alexander's* glory was, that, with a handful of men, he pierced through the greatest empire in *Asia*, and first led the *Europeans* to the banks of the *Ganges*. It is to the credit of those, who lived in far later times, that, with forces much inferior, they not only attempted to lay the foundations, but have actually succeeded, in raising an empire in the *Indies*, greater in that respect than his. The same high and haughty spirit that enabled him to push his conquest so far, rendered his possession of so little duration. That spirit, as it was natural, diffused itself through those whom he commanded; and the same ambition that rendered him the conqueror of the *Indies*, quickly deprived his successors of that conquest. But those who acted upon less airy motives, gave a different turn of mind to those they employed, and, by combining interest with obedience, have been not able to acquire only, but to maintain. Well therefore might the ancient states, acting on the same principle, and governing their conduct by the like maxims, lay such foundations of power as lasted longer than most of the great empires so much celebrated by antiquity; and as the progress and prosperity of this company throws such a light of probability upon those early histories, so we may learn from them, that empires, thus founded, are only brought to decay by intestine commotions, in conjunction with universal corruption: for these are the diseases of free governments, as ambition, pride, and resentment, work the ruin of despotic systems of power. Acute distempers are terrible in their symptoms, which, though milder in chronical cases, experience shews us are no less fatal in length of time ^{since it evidently surpasses any that we find mentioned in ancient authors.} (P).

WE may, in the second place, observe, that, with respect to a particular nation, the value of the *East India* trade is, from the facts contained in this chapter, set beyond objection or suspicion: for, had there been the least degree of truth or reality in the narrow notion of a country's being undone by a commerce that carries out bullion, and is attended with some loss in seamen, soldiers, and servants, how evident must it have been from the state of *Holland* long ago? The company, if that kind of reasoning had been right, instead of supporting, must have subverted the commonwealth. *Holland* is without mines, and of no great extent; so that an impoverishing and destructive trade must have drained her long ago of her last man, and her last florin. There could not therefore be a more decisive experiment than this, as to the true nature of the *East India* trade, or more capable of bringing to light those secret sources of mischief, which some have suggested to lie hid, under the specious appearance of profit ^{Second observation, that this proves the commerce to the East Indies is a real advantage.}.

BUT now, after a trial of one hundred and fifty years, what discovery has been made? Is either the company on the decline, or the commonwealth exhausted by her means? Certainly neither the company was ever more powerful than she is at present; her naval force is at least equal, and her military strength by land not much inferior, to that of the republic when this company was erected. It is, indeed, true, that the dividends for many years past have not equalled those in the earlier times of her commerce; but, taking it upon the whole, she has divided above twenty *per cent.* upon her original capital, from the date of the first charter, ^{The truth of this is not to be at all doubted, since experience shews it.}

^a DE WITTE *Gronden en Maximen van de republiec van Holland*, iii. deel. ^b BASNAGE *description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, c. 37. JANIÇON *etat present de la republique des Provinces Unies*, c. 12. ^c BASNAGE *description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies*, c. 36.

(P) It is a point of great consequence towards keeping either the natural or the politic body in good health, to be well acquainted with its constitution, and to have a just notion of these diseases to which it is most liable. It must, indeed, be allowed, that it is alike improbable, that bodies of either kind should be rendered immortal; but this, instead of discouraging, ought to excite us to be the more assiduous in our endeavours to find out the most proper and efficacious remedies for all diseases, since tho' death in one case, and though dissolution in the other, will certainly come, in spite of all our care in both cases; yet we have a great and plain interest in preventing this as long as we can. The basis of commercial empire rests upon frugality and industry; the opposite qualities to these are the most dangerous in such a state; that is, luxury and idleness; but frugality and luxury are, in a great measure, comparative things; and there are circumstances when frugality may be dispensed with to a certain degree,

without danger; and luxury permitted to a certain extent, without any just apprehensions. But it is otherwise with indolence and idleness; for, if the former be lost, or the latter prevail in any considerable degree, the cure is very difficult, if not impossible. The reason of this is easily discerned; idleness is a political scurvy, with which, when the bulk of any nation is infected, they grow in love with their disease, and are less afraid of its consequences, than remedies. We may therefore, from this observation, collect, that whatever motives there may be consistent with political wisdom to permit, or at least to connive at luxury, there can be none to wink at idleness; and from thence there follows an inference of prodigious importance; which is, that, in whatever nation this appears, it is a sign that the disease has reached the noble parts, and that such a state is at the very brink of ruin.

one year with another. Is not this a prodigious thing! and yet, is this all? Has not the *Dutch* a nation received, from the increasing expences of the company at home, as great or greater advantages, than from the sums she has actually divided? Let us consider what this is. About twenty years ago, it was computed that the company had divided to her proprietors, in less than one hundred and thirty years, upwards of one hundred and eighty millions of their money, or more than eighteen millions of ours. The truth of this fact cannot be called in question, while there remains any such thing as certainty from evidence^k.

By which all objections, how specious so ever, are absolutely confuted.

THERE is likewise to be taken into this reckoning, whatever extraordinary sums the company has, from time to time, paid, either upon the score of renewing her charters; for the assistance of the state in times of public exigency; or by way of conciliating the public favour, as in building that magnificent structure the town-house of *Amsterdam*; the vast sums that have been paid for duties, in the course of such a number of years; and the prodigious estates which, though raised in the *Indies*, have been drawn over, and spent in *Holland*; and lastly, the profits of the trade driven with the goods brought into *Holland*, for obtaining *Indian* commodities; since, notwithstanding these goods are bought with money at the company's sales, yet that money is raised by the sale of goods, which must bear down their price, and occasion a large profit upon them, on their exportation. Upon this review, therefore, and upon the reflection, that, in the very same proportion in which the trade of this company has been extended, both that and the naval power of the *United Provinces* has increased, while the maritime power of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* has declined, as they lost the monopoly of the *Indian* commerce, we must be persuaded, that the reasoning advanced in the first chapter of this part of our work, is thoroughly supported by experience, and that it is impossible a thing of this nature should be better proved, than that the commerce of the *Indies* has been of inestimable value to the *Dutch* commonwealth; and that the encouragements she has constantly given to the *East India* company, ought to be regarded as flowing from principles of true policy, and an evidence of the wisdom with which the public affairs in that country have been managed^l (Q).

The third observation, that strict adherence to a wise and prudent regulation, is a certain and safe method of preserving any system whatever in its full vigour. Such writers as have given us their thoughts upon the *Dutch East India* company, and the manner in which her affairs are administered, have generally expressed their astonishment, that no extraordinary revolution has happened in their dominions, from the wonderful change of their circumstances. But this surprise, perhaps, will cease, when we remark that, in reality, no very perceptible change has happened in the maxims of her government. In the infancy of the company, the people she sent abroad were equally unhappy in their circumstances and characters; and this, if we may believe the pensionary *De Witt*, continued to be the case down to his time; which he attributes to the severity of the rules prescribed by the company to those in their service. But, perhaps, there might be more candour, and as much truth, in saying, that the strictness of the company's frame of government arose from the knowledge she had of those that were to live under it. Her care therefore was, to provide such regulations as might prevent private vices from becoming prejudicial to the public interest. Now, whatever motive led to this maxim, there could

^k See the table of dividends made by the *East India* company, from the time of its establishment, inserted in the *Dictionnaire de commerce*. ^l *BASNAGE* description historique du gouvernement des Provinces Unies, c. 36.

(Q) We may seem, in this observation, to contradict flatly the sentiment of that great politician *John de Witt*, who thought it would have been more advantageous to the *Dutch* state, and consequently a higher point of wisdom in their government, if the *East India* trade had been laid open. We judged it necessary therefore to add this note, to shew that this was not our design. We are very sensible, that the pensionary *John de Witt* was too well acquainted with matters of this nature, and by far too good a judge of the interests of his own country, for us to venture to charge him with a mistake. But the true state of the case is this: at the beginning, the carrying on this trade, otherwise than by an exclusive company, was found impracticable; and when it had been so carried on for some time, the company came to have such an interest, and the visible profits to the nation were so great, that it was not thought expedient to refuse them the continuance of their charter. Yet, for all this, it may remain a doubt, and it is indeed the very doubt that

Mr. *De Witt* had, whether, if this first renewal had been denied, the trade might not have subsisted, and have been still more beneficial to the subjects of the States General, than it has been (42). But, without pretending to resolve this doubt, what we assert is, that the states have acted very wisely in the manner in which they have supported the company, since they held it proper to support it; which, after the renewing of the charter once, we think was likewise the wisest course; and in this we are so far from opposing Mr. *De Witt*, that we have, on our side, if not his opinion, yet his example; for he was at the head of the councils of the republic, when the company's charter was again renewed, when they payed pretty largely for it, but were not refused it; because, as things were then circumstanced, no doubt that able statesman, and his associates in the government, thought it a measure dangerous, if not impracticable, and therefore very prudently declined attempting it.

(42) *Gronden en Maximen van de republiek van Holland*, i. deel, c. 16.

- a not possibly be a better principle be established for a government like theirs. To honest men, the strictness of laws can never be grievous; because their own inclination would keep them in that very track those laws prescribe: but to men of another disposition, they are necessary, as well to keep things from falling into confusion, as to oblige them to discharge their duty ^m.

- But, with all this exactness and precision in their instructions, and in the model of their constitution, there was another ingredient thrown into the composition, which has sufficiently tempered it for general use; that is, the absolute power left to the governor-general, without any check, but that of his own discretion; the bounds of which, perhaps, were never known, or executed, in their full extent. *Jobb Maatzuyker*, who was general twenty-five years, expended, upon certain occasions, larger sums than the salary allowed him by the company. The council of the *Indies* disputed the legality of his demands upon the treasury; upon which, having first soberly remonstrated, and shewn his reasons, without convincing his opponents, he at last produced a secret power from the company to take what appointments he pleased; which put an end to the dispute ⁿ. This power in the governor, and the great authority of the council of the *Indies*, serves in such cases as absolutely require it to moderate the letter of their regulations, and to make things easy to the company's servants, in all stations: for it is very well understood, that the spirit of those rules is to support the company's interest, and not to put such as are in her service under unreasonable difficulties; and therefore it passes for a practical maxim in the *Indies*, that he who will not mind his own business, will never mind that of the company's; and therefore, riches are the way to preferment, as well as preferment to riches. Those who administer the company's affairs in that part of the world, know very well, that it is not pleasure but profit that brings people thither; and, provided that men pursue their profit, without prejudice to the company, they never fail to give them all the encouragement in their power; because this has a good effect, both at home and abroad.

- Those who return, carry their fortunes back to *Holland*; and the apparent change of their circumstances, in the course of a few years, excites men of spirit and industry to take the same method of arriving early at an easy condition in life. This has, in a great measure, altered the condition of things in the *Indies*, and many go thither now, who are not driven by indigence, and that too in stations conferred upon them from a just regard to their birth and education. These men never complain of the company's strict regulations; because, in reality, they never feel them; they know very well that their own interest depends upon that of the company, and come thither with a resolution of doing what is required to be done; that, in virtue of their diligence, and punctual discharge of their duty, they may, in a reasonable course of time, acquire wherewith to return both with wealth and dignity. Whatever therefore there is now of iniquity and corruption, is not to be found in any great proportion amongst those who are in the actual service of the company in the *Indies*; and when any instance of this kind appears, those intrusted with the administration in that part of the world have so great an interest in preserving things upon their present foot, that they are very ready to bring to light, and punish it; of which the reader has seen some recent examples. On the whole, therefore, as the increase of their power, and the extent of their dominions, have been gradual, in consequence of a strict adherence to those fundamental maxims before-mentioned, things have rolled on constantly in the old channel, and are like to continue therein; for as, on the one hand, there is no great probability that any of the *European* powers should have either inclination or capacity to undertake any thing to her prejudice; so, on the other hand, it is not very likely, that she should make any farther accession to her territories, but rather content herself with maintaining what she has already acquired, and reaping quietly the profits of an establishment which will be always most admired by those who are best acquainted with its history, and with that amazing series of success and good fortune, which has attended almost all its enterprizes, from the time of its erection to this day (R).

T H E R E

^m DE WITTE Gronden en maximen van de republieck van Holland, iii. deel, c. 2. of the Dutch in India, published by M. Lockyer.

ⁿ Management

(R) It may, perhaps, be objected, that we reason in the text intirely from the company's success; which some may incline to think no direct proof of its merit, but rather of its good fortune. In answer to this, we desire it may be considered, that though this objection may be rationally enough raised in particular cases, and as to the company's conduct in any given transaction, yet, as to the whole of its conduct, it is very absurd and unreasonable, and consequently no objection at all. What we allege in the text is not grounded on a few particular facts, Mod. Hist. Vol. IV.

picked out and set in a strong light for that purpose, but upon a long regular series of events, flowing from the constant and steady execution of a particular system, which is not only the best and clearest, but indeed the only method with which we are acquainted, of distinguishing its nature. Besides, such as long ago opposed the carrying on the *East India* commerce, as well here as in *Holland*, appealed always from the experience of those times to that of posterity; affirming, that whatever immediate good effects that commerce might produce,

Very natural
that this
amazing suc-
cess should pro-
duce rivals.

THERE is no room to wonder, that success so extraordinary as that of the company, should excite both envy and imitation; but it may be thought no inconsiderable proof of the truth of our remarks, that, notwithstanding other nations have exerted their utmost strength, and their utmost policy, in order to fix upon a solid foundation establishments of the same nature, they have not been able, even in any tolerable degree, to accomplish their end; though, at the same time, the lustre of this company has so far dazzled their eyes, that, notwithstanding repeated disappointments, they have still persisted in the pursuit of the same design, and, by their perseverance, have at length fallen into some share of this trade; which makes the following chapters necessary, wherein we are to give a succinct account of the rise and progress of these establishments, and of that distribution of the commerce of the *Indies*, which, at this time, subsists in *Europe*; where, after the possession of two hundred and fifty years, it remains still an object more desirable than ever, notwithstanding the confident assertions of some, that the wealth of *Europe* would, in a far less space of time, be absolutely exhausted, if this trade continued: so dangerous it is to reason in commercial affairs from any thing but facts; or to suppose, that any commerce can be detrimental, which encourages industry, and increases a naval power; though, at the same time, they may cross certain maxims, plausible in appearance, but false at the bottom, and which therefore could not stand the test of experience.

duce, yet, in a course of years, what they predicted would infallibly come to pass. There cannot therefore be any thing more reasonable, than to conclude the falsehood of their prophecy a full refutation of all their objections (43).

(43) See Sir William Monson's *naval tracts*; and the judicious discourses upon the *East India trade*, by Thomas Mun; as also the two chapters in Mr. Basnage's work, that have been so often quoted.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

The commerce, colonies, and companies, which the Danes have heretofore maintained, or still support, in the East Indies.

S E C T. I.

Character of the Danish nation ; their ancient turn to navigation and naval expeditions ; their share in the holy war ; the time when an ardent desire of making discoveries, and opening new branches of trade, revived amongst them. Account of the famous empire of Bitnegar in Indostan, and the circumstances which facilitated their settling at Tanjour.

^a **A**S far as we can penetrate through that midst of fabulous inventions in which the antient history of the northern nations is enveloped, the *Danes* have been from the most early times equally distinguished by their martial temper, and being strongly addicted to maritime expeditions ^a. The conquests they gained over their neighbours served only to excite in them an ambition of undertaking greater things, and carrying the terror of their arms into countries more remote. The *British* isles, after being long harassed by their incursions, became at length for a time a part of their dominions ^b. They erected in *France* the noble duchy of *Normandy*; and, from thence extending their naval incursions, fixed themselves in *Naples*, which they subdued, and from thence sent their vessels to cruise upon the coast of *Asia* ^c. These are facts that may be proved from history; but whether before these exploits, they, or any colony of theirs, had found a passage, which is now lost, from *Iceland* to *Japan*, as some have imagined, is a point that we cannot take upon us to decide (A).

The genius of the antient Danes, and their maritime expeditions and conquests.

^a STRABONIS geograph. lib. vii. HERTZHOLMIUS præcellent. regn. Dan. & Norv. p. 95. ^b CLAUDIUS, LYSCANDER in genealog. reg. Dan. p. 323. chron. SAX. ALURED BEUERL, &c. ^c EGINHARDIUS in vita Caroli Magni. ALBERTUS STADENSIS in annal. Dan. OLAVUS WORMIUS ad calcem, lib. vi. Monument. Danicorum.

(A) Some learned persons have observed, that there is a great conformity between the language spoken in *Iceland*, and that of the *Japonesc*; from whence it is inferred, that there must have been, in the earlier ages of the world, some kind of intercourse between these nations (1). If we allow the fact to be true, that there is a conformity between the languages, then this inference of a commerce between them will be very just; but, notwithstanding this, the judicious reader will certainly think it no very easy thing to give an account of this commerce, or how it could be carried on. That the north-east passage was frequented to such a degree as this notion suggests, is not very credible (2); or that attempts were made to sail from one country to the other, through the open sea, directly under the pole, will hardly gain credit (3); though some good authorities might be produced to shew, that many ages are past since great discoveries were made on that side (4). We might perhaps solve the difficulty better by saying, that those who peopled the northern part of *Asia* sent off colonies to the east and west; and thus by degrees peopled both islands; which, tho' not a very probable, is yet a possible thing. However, let us return to matters of fact, and we shall

find another route assigned by a late author (5); who, speaking of certain priests in *Japan*, proceeds thus: "These priests were descended from the *Goths*, who, coming first out of *Scania*, which antiently comprehended the countries of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Schonen*, were led by their general, whose name was *Taunastis*, quite into *Egypt*, where they vanquished king *Vesefis*. From thence they marched against the *Persians*, and committed strange devastations in their countries during the reigns of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*. From thence they made an irruption into the *Indies*, *China*, and *Japan*, blending their religious notions with those of the *Brachmans* and the *Bonzes*: so that it is no great wonder there is such a conformity between their opinions." It would perhaps be no easy task to produce authentic vouchers for this extraordinary piece of history; but if any author should endeavour to render it probable, he might very easily shew, that the genius, manner, and temper, of the *Japonesc* (6), resemble the northern nations much more than the *Chinesc*, from whom others believe them to be derived; and might also produce, from the fabulous stories of the northern nations, a traditionary account of their intercourse with the east.

(1) *Tresor de l'histoire des langues de cet univers*, par M. Claude Duret, p. 922.

relating to the north-east passage in Hakluyt's collection.

is styled Churchill's collection of voyages.

(2) See the discourses relating to the north-east passage in Hakluyt's collection.

(3) Sir William Monson's naval tracts, in that which

(4) Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 121, 122.

(5) Ambassades

memorables de la compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies, vers les empereurs du Japon, ubi P. i. p. 89. baccabab.

(6) Histoire du Japon, par Charlevoix, tom. i. p. 40.

Their exploits in the holy wars, which are supposed to have given rise to the order of the elephant.

IN the wars that were carried on by the Christian princes for the recovery of *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the *Mohammedans*, the *Danes* had a large share; and their private memoirs, as well as public histories, have preserved many particulars which do honour to the memories of those generous heroes, who, from perhaps a mistaken principle of piety, signalized their courage in these distant countries, and spread the fame of their nation to the utmost limits of the east^a. It was with a view to perpetuate the renown of these great and gallant actions, as some of their ablest antiquaries assert, that the order of the elephant was erected, which is still the most distinguished mark of royal favour the kings of *Denmark* bestow upon their subjects^b (B). We may from these circumstances, with a reasonable degree of certainty, collect, that whatever lesser alterations might be made in the policy, or in the dispositions of the *Danes*, they still continued to cherish, through a long series of ages, that noble ardour which had been so conspicuous in their ancestors, and which had spread the trophies of their victories into regions so far removed from their own^c.

By this martial spirit, and the losses which attended it, the crown of Denmark declined in power.

BUT this conduct, and these expeditions, how much soever they might serve to raise the glory, contributed not a little to weaken the strength, of this nation; so that in succeeding times we find her struggling hard to preserve those antient prerogatives which she challenged as being the first of the northern crowns, and of which she was gradually deprived thro' the long wars that were brought upon her by the ill conduct of some of her monarchs^d. Amongst these, *Christiern II.* was the most remarkable, who, from being possessed of the three crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, fell first into the condition of a private man, fled next into the *Low Countries* as an exile; and at length, finding all endeavours to recover his former dignity vain, yielded himself a prisoner, in which sad state he continued to his death^e. By his deposition the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway* came to *Frederick* duke of *Holslein*, whose great-grandson *Christiern IV.* being a prince of singular abilities, and having a strong desire to promote the welfare of his subjects, willingly listened to whatever proposals were made for promoting industry, erecting manufactures, and extending commerce; which laudable spirit, to speak impartially, seemed to prevail in an extraordinary degree about the beginning of the seventeenth century throughout all *Europe*^f (C).

Christiern IV. the first Danish monarch who applied himself to the promoting commerce and discoveries.

OF all the schemes that were offered to this intelligent prince, he was most pleased with that for opening a trade between his own dominions and the *Indies*, from which tho' some endeavoured to dissuade him, by suggesting that the passage was long and hazardous; that the *Portuguese* were already in possession; and that, though the *English* and *Dutch* had made some voyages into those parts, yet the returns they had hitherto received were rather of honour than profit^g. That prudent prince easily discerned, that the first of these fallacious arguments

^a PONTANUS hist. Dan. lib. vii. p. 475. Saxo-Grammat. lib. xii. p. 223. SNORRO STURLESONIUS in chron. Norv. p. 436. HERTZOLMIUS in breviario equestri, cap. ix. § 1. SNORRO STURL. in chron. Norveg. p. 125. ^b PONTANUS, MEURSIUS, BEERING, DES ROCHES, LORD MOLESWORTH. ^c JOHANNIS MAGNI Gothorum, Suecorumque hist. lib. xxiv. THUAN. hist. sui temporis, lib. i. xxii. ^d Essai sur le marine et sur le commerce, 159, 160, 161. ^e Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 19.

(B) The *Danish* historians are not very well agreed as to the time, the founder, or the occasion of this order being erected; some say it was instituted by *Cnutus* the sixth, *Anno Dom.* 1135; others ascribe it to *Christiern I.* king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, *Anno Domini* 1478; others to *Frederick* the first, *Anno Domini* 1525; but all agree, that it was revived by *Christiern IV.* *Anno Dom.* 1590 (7). It is certain that in former times this was likewise styled the order of the Blessed Virgin, the figures of elephants being represented only on the collar, to which the image of the Virgin was pendant (8). But, since the revival of it by *Christiern IV.* the knights, who are thirty-four in number, wear a jewel of gold, with an elephant enamelled white on a field Or charged with a tower, *Argent* and *Sable* (9). A very learned writer upon this subject affirms expressly, that the origin of this order was from the exploits of the *Danes* in the holy war. Another writer acquaints us, that a *Danish* hero having slain a white elephant in *Palestine*, this order was instituted to preserve the memory of so glorious an action (10). Notwithstanding this, a more modern author inclines to refer this institution to the feats of arms performed by the *Danes* in *Africa* (11).

(C) It is not a little wonderful that the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* should enjoy, for almost a whole century, their empires in the *East* and *West Indies*, from whence they drew such immense treasures, and which besides brought them almost all the wealth of *Europe*, without interruption; but perhaps it will appear still more strange, that, when once an opening was made, so many nations should in a manner at once endeavour to acquire an intercourse with the people of the *Indies*. Yet the fact is indisputable; for our glorious queen *Elizabeth* granted her charter to the first *English East India* company December 31, 1600; the States of *Holland* incorporated theirs by an octroy, dated March 20th 1602. The *French* king, *Henry* the fourth, by his arret, dated June 1st 1604, erected a like society; and, as we have shewn in the text, *Christiern IV.* king of *Denmark*, granted his charter for the like purpose in 1612. We thought it, however, just to give the first rank to the *Danes*, because they actually established themselves in the *Indies* before the *French* sent any ships thither, as the reader will see in the next section.

(7) Dictionnaire de furetiere.

(8) *Affmale's* order of the garter, p. 120, 121. in breviario equestri, cap. ix. sect. 1. translated into the *Danish* language.

(9) *Men. mon. delie. equest.* p. 150.

(10) *Vigelinus* in encomio generose

(11) *James Meursius* in his dedication of Dapper's description of *Africa*,

a might be urged against any other branch of trade as well as this ; and that to accustom his subjects to long voyages was the most effectual method of rendering them less hazardous, since, without skill, men will be always in danger at sea, and the knowledge of the mariner can only be acquired by practice. He knew that the *Portuguese* had overstrained their power in the east, and that strangers were never more welcome than at that juncture. As to the *English* and *Dutch*, he was well acquainted with their exploits ; and thought that it was high time his subjects should distinguish themselves in the like manner. Upon these motives, therefore, which were equally solid and honourable, he took a resolution to countenance those who were inclined to hazard their private fortunes in an undertaking, that, if it succeeded, must necessarily tend to the public benefit. He rightly foresaw the consequences that must follow on the establishment of such a trade, which, if it failed, would occasion but a small loss ; and that, by being divided amongst many, would fall the lighter ; but, if it had a favourable issue, would employ a multitude of hands, increase their shipping, and encourage a commercial spirit amongst his subjects. The loss, therefore, seeming to be but a trifle in comparison of the gain, and probability being on the side of the former rather than the latter, he vigorously supported, on reflection, a proposal, which, from inclination, he had first encouraged.

ABOUT the year 1612 those who had associated themselves at *Copenhagen* for carrying on the trade of the *East Indies* received the sanction of royal authority ; and, having divided their capital into two hundred and fifty shares, of a thousand rixdollars each, began to make the necessary preparations for equipping and sending a squadron to the *East Indies* ^{An account of the Danish East India company, and of their first expedition.}. As the success of their project depended in a great measure upon the issue of their first adventure, they were more solicitous to have every thing in good order, though this was attended with some delay, than to run any considerable hazard for the sake of haste. There were at that time seamen, who had visited the *Indies* in some service or other, easy to be met with in the northern ports, and of these they collected as many as they could. They likewise took care to study thoroughly whatever had been published in *Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, or the Low Countries*, in reference to this subject ; and, having from thence formed the best plan they could of the commerce of the *Indies*, they gave ample instructions to those who were intrusted with the management of their affairs ; and particularly recommended to them obtaining a settlement by fair means, and for a reasonable consideration ; keeping always on good terms with the natives, and avoiding as far as possible any disputes with the subjects of those *European* powers, that they might find engaged in projects of a like kind. With these instructions, fortified by the king's commission, the officers intrusted with the company's ships departed from the island of *Zealand*, and reached the *East Indies* in 1616 ^a. But, before we come to speak of their proceedings, it will be expedient to give the reader a short account of the state the country was in where they first traded, and where they afterwards settled, at the time of their arrival ; that it may appear how far they complied with their orders, and on what terms they established their colony where it still remains, and of which they have been ever since in possession, though not without disturbance and danger, or without their having their full share of those difficulties with which all the *Europeans*, who have visited those distant climates, have sooner or later been oppressed. We do not find that any umbrage was taken at this step of the *Danish* court ; for in those days none of those refinements on the rights of distant navigation, which have so much perplexed the moderns, and are become a distinct branch of politics, were so much as known ; for, all starting together, as it were, for this prize, they were more intent upon obtaining it, than on finding arguments to give the colour of an exclusive title, when it should be obtained.

AT the time the *Europeans* first opened a passage to the *Indies* by sea, the great peninsula without the *Ganges* was most of it subject to the emperor of *Bisnegar*, whose dominions extended from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Oriza* to *Cape Commorin* ^b. The reason that we find so little mention made of this most potent monarch in the relations of the *Portuguese*, that is, the more early relations, arises from hence, that his territories were limited by the mountains which run parallel in a manner to the sea-coasts of *Malabar*, where they first established themselves, and where the principal potentate was the samorin or king of *Calicut* ^c. While the *Portuguese* were extending their power, the vast empire of *Bisnegar* was crumbling to pieces through its own weight. The first monarchs of that mighty state had acquired their power by the exercise of their virtues : in time of war they were at the head of their own armies ; in time of peace they directed their own councils, visited their dominions annually, and rendered

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 754.
VERNIER voyages des Indes, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

^b Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 31.
^c MAFFEI hist. indic. l. iv. c. 7. l. vii. c. 9.

^d TA-

justice to all their subjects with the utmost punctuality^a; but prosperity, dangerous to all human establishments, proved fatal to this empire. From delighting in great actions, the emperors of *Bisnagar* became fond of swelling titles: *King of kings*, and *The Husband of a thousand wives*, were the first of a long catalogue of whimsical epithets, at once very pompous and very insignificant^b. By degrees their vanity rose to such a height, and their flatterers prevailed so far, that they conceived themselves to be more than men, appeared rarely in public, affected divine honours; and, leaving the care of their dominions to the great officers of state, and to the governors of provinces, thereby paved the way to their own destruction^c (D).

What foreign
rivalties arose
out of the
ruins of this
overgrown
monarchy.

THE *Pattaneers*, a *Tartar* nation, invaded the north-east provinces of the empire; the generals of the *Mogul* attacked the north-west^d. The governors, being necessarily at the head of armies, laid hold of this opportunity to render themselves independent, and some assumed the title of kings; as for instance, those of *Visapour* and *Golconda*^e; but those in the southern provinces, tho' they also rendered themselves independent sovereigns, contented their ambition that way, and retained their old title of *Naick*. Amongst these the three most considerable were those of *Madura*, *Tanjour*, and *Gingi*^f. *Madura* is of great extent, reaching from *Cape Commorin* along the coast of *Coromandel*, opposite to the island of *Ceylon*, and very far within land. *Tanjour* is of a smaller compass; and is bounded on the south and on the west by *Madura*, on the east by the sea, and on the north by the province of *Gingi*, from which it is separated by the river of *Coloron*^g. *Tanjour*, which is the capital of this principality, lies in the north-west corner of the country, and is a city of considerable extent, tolerably well built, and has a good inland trade. As for maritime places, the *Naick* had two that were pretty considerable on the coast of *Malabar*, which were *Negapatan* and *Tranquebar*^h. In 1597 the *Portuguese* were settled at the former; which gave so much satisfaction to the *Naick*, that he was desirous they should likewise erect a church at the latter; which about that time they did, and the *Jesuits* took possession of it, made a considerable number of converts among the natives, and brought several of their countrymen to settle there likewise on the score of commerce; and this was the condition in which the *Danes* found that country when they came first to trade upon the coast of *Coromandel*ⁱ (E).

THE

^a Du Bois *geographie moderne*, p. 646.

^b *voyages des Indes*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

^c *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses*, tom. xv.

^d *CHAM's pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1749.

^e *NOT voyages aux Indes Orientales*, tom. v. p. 274, 275.

^f *PURCHAS's pilgrims*, tom. ii. p. 1746.

^g *Voyages de THEVENOT aux Indes Orientales*, tom. v. p. 290.

^h *TAVERNIER voyages des Indes*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

ⁱ *TAVERNIER voyages des Indes*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

^j *PURCHAS's pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1745.

(D) It is a point of very great consequence, in order to a clear and accurate idea of the historical facts contained in this and the succeeding sections, to be well informed with respect to this ancient empire, the extent of its power, the times in which it flourished, began to decline, and was at length rent to pieces, as also the present condition of those countries which were once provinces of the *Bisnagar* empire, because in these are seated the capital establishments of the *English*, *Danish*, and *French East India* companies. As to the bounds of this empire in its flourishing condition, it reached from eight to twenty-one degrees of north latitude; and comprehended, where it was widest, not less than fifteen degrees of longitude (12). The ruler of this potent monarchy was possessed of a great part of the *Malabar* coast, from the river *Aliga* to that of *Cangerecora*; so that he was lord of the west as well as the east sea, and of the pearl fishery. This must have been in the fifteenth century (13); and in all probability it is this monarch which the *Danish* missionaries intend to point out, in their accounts, by the title of the emperor of *Malabar* (14). The first *Portuguese* historians call him the king of *Narsinga*, or *Narsingue*, and give us the detail of his wars with *Idalcan* (15). It is believed that this was either a title of honour, or the proper name of that prince; for though some writers mention the city of *Narsinga*, yet the best geographers have been at a loss to find it; and agree, that *Cbandegry*, or *Bisnagar*, about one hundred and forty *English* miles

from *Fort St. George*, was the capital of this empire (16). It must however be allowed, that in different books of voyages this monarch has very different titles given him; in some he is stiled king of *Carnate*; in others the king of *Vehur*, and his consort the queen of *Paliccat*; because, when these accounts were written, they happened to reside in those places (17). When this emperor took the field in time of war, his army consisted usually of one hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and seven hundred elephants; in time of peace his revenues were prodigious, and the commerce of his subjects as rich as any in the *Indies* (18). In the beginning of the sixteenth century his neighbours began to encroach upon him on all sides; and in a short time he was deprived of all his territories west of the mountains of *Balegate*, and the northern provinces also conquered. In 1565, when the emperor was a mere cypher, and his great officers governed all, *Bisnagar* was taken and sacked by four *Moorish* kings; and thenceforward affairs continued in great confusion (19), till towards the end of the century, when the empire was totally subverted, of which we shall speak in the next note.

(E) The clearest account we have of the ruin of this empire is that written by our countryman Mr. *William Metcald*, who was in these parts in the first quarter of the last century. He assures us, that, at the demise of the last monarch of *Bisnagar*, which must have been some years later than 1600, the whole country had been

(12) *Luyts introduct. ad geographiam novam & veterem*, p. 544, 545.

(13) *An account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, sent by the Danish missionaries to their correspondents in Europe*, p. 2.

(14) *Messai hijl. indic. l. iv. c. 7. l. vii. c. 9.*

(15) *naire géographique et critique, par M. Bruzen la Martinière*, tom. i. p. 675.

(16) *TAVERNIER voyages des Indes*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

(17) *Purchas's pilgrims*, p. 1746.

(18) *Hijl. des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 1746.

a THE *Danes*, at their first coming, seem to have been very well received by the natives; and, finding the place more commodious for traffick than any other, where they could with any probability expect a settlement, they began to make propositions to the *Naïck*, for his permission to seat themselves in his dominions; which were favourably accepted; and in all probability they were rather assisted than opposed therein by the *Portuguese*, who were desirous of having some fortrefs in their neighbourhood, that might in a time of danger afford them protection^a. In the space of five years, when the disposition and customs of these *Europeans* were better known, the *Naïck* of *Tanjour* entered into an agreement with them for this port, and a certain district round it, which he sold, or rather farmed to them, at the annual rent of two thousand pardoes, or perdous, which is still regularly paid; and in 1621 they built a fortrefs, after the *European* manner, for the defence of the port, and of the town that was erected under it^b. This is the best account that we are able to give of the first establishment of the *Danes* upon this coast, which was suitable enough to the views of the company, and became gradually of much greater importance^c (F). It might have been much sooner improved, if their thoughts had not been drawn away by an object of much greater consequence; and of which though they never availed themselves in any degree, yet it may be both useful and entertaining to the reader to meet with a short account of it here, because it is rarely mentioned in descriptions of the *Indies*.

^a Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 25.
Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 101.

^b Gesta & vestigia Danorum in oriente, p. 67.

^c Histoire des

so distracted by civil wars, that, all agriculture being neglected, such a famine ensued, that thousands of children were driven to the sea-side, and there sold by their own parents for the value of half a crown sterling each of rice (20). We have spoken in the text of the three sovereigns that seized on the provinces lying on the coast of *Coromandel*, as far as *Sadraspatan*. The interior part of the country on the east side was distinguished by the name of the kingdom of *Carnate*; to the north-east of that lay the kingdom of *Golconda*; to the north-west the kingdom of *Visapour*; to the west the territories of some *Indian* Rajahs, as far as the mountains of *Gate*; to the south-west a small inland country belonging to the *Naïck* of *Côila*; and, to the west and south-west of that, the kingdom of *Maïssour* (21). As to the little kingdoms on the *Malabar* coast, which were taken out of this empire, they were erected long before, and therefore we need say nothing more of them. But it is very requisite to observe, that the famous emperor *Aurengzebe* reduced *Golconda* in 1668, as he likewise did *Visapour*, and afterwards *Carnate*, and the country of *Gingi*, all of which are now no more than provinces of the *Mogul* empire; but the sovereigns of *Tanjour* and *Madura*, who have long since assumed the titles of Rajahs, are tributaries only (22). But there is still a potent monarchy of native *Indians*, or *Gentous*, stiled *Marattes*, the king of which people is very formidable, and whose city is the capital of *Satara*, near the mountains, who seems to be independent, and is now the greatest prince of the *Gentous* (23). Whether he is descended from the emperors of *Bisnegar*, part of whose country he certainly possesses, is more than we have any authority to assert. The reader will from hence discern how, at different times, the *Europeans* settled upon the coast have had different landlords; excepting only the *Danes*, who still are, what they always were, tributaries to the sovereign of *Tanjour*,

whether he be stiled *Naïck*, Rajah, Prince, or King, by all which titles he is called by different writers, according to the times in which they have had occasion to mention him.

(F) The term *Naïck* implies both governor and commander in chief, so that it seems to be equivalent to the *Turkish* title of bashaw (24). In all probability this title was kept up as long as there was any apprehension of the monarchs of *Bisnegar* recovering their former power. But when this dread was removed, they made no scruple of stiling themselves Rajahs. As they were desirous of commerce, and saw that it naturally followed wherever the *Europeans* had any establishment, it will appear a point of good policy in the *Naïck* of *Tanjour* to engage the *Portuguese* Jesuits to build a church at *Tranquebar*; for this invited Christians of different sorts to settle round it, made the place known, and brought thither ships of different nations (25). There are few places the name of which admits of greater variety in spelling. The *Danish* missionaries, transcribing the *Malabar* word, write it *Tranquebar*; the *Dutch*, *Tranckebar*; our old *English* writers, *Tranquebay*, and sometimes we find it written *Trincombar*; which observations, how frivolous soever they may seem to others, will be found very useful to those who occasion to consult indexes. It is by a comparison of facts, and dates occasionally mentioned, that we find the time of the *Danes* establishing themselves here; for on that head the best writers are able to speak only from conjecture. The protestant missionaries, sent over thither in the reign of *Frederic* the fourth, say in their letters, dated in 1706, that their colony had been seated at *Tranquebar* about fourscore years (26); which corresponds very well with the dates we have given the reader from other writers, as well as what is said by Mr. *William Metbold*, who was actually upon the coast of *Coromandel* when the *Danish* settlement was made.

(20) Relation of the kingdom of Golconda, and other neighbouring nations, with an account of the English trade in those parts, p. 2, 3.
P. Norbert's work.
account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 301.
Metbold's relation, as before cited.
(21) See the map of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, placed before the first volume of
(22) Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. i. p. 337.
Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 279.
(23) Hamilton's
(24) Mr. William
(25) Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 559.
(26) Propagation of the

S E C T. II.

A negotiation between the monarch of Ceylon and the court of Copenhagen; the fortress of Tranquebar erected, and the favourable aspect of things in regard to the affairs of the first Danish company. Change of circumstances in the Indies, and unfavourable events in Europe, exhaust the funds, and wound the credit of the company, abroad and at home.

Marcellus van Boschhower is sent by the Dutch to negotiate with the monarch of Ceylon.

WE have in the foregoing sections given a large and copious detail of the conquest of the island of Ceylon from the Portuguese by the Dutch, but have barely touched on a certain negotiation which preceded that war, as having it in our intention to explain that matter more fully here, as it gave an opening to the Danes to have possessed themselves of that island (G), and which they were not backward in embracing, though, by the premature death of the author of this project, it proved altogether abortive ^a. When the Dutch concluded, in 1609, a truce with the crown of Spain, after a long war, by which both parties were almost exhausted, the States and the prince of Orange both thought proper to write to the king or emperor of Ceylon, in order to give him notice of this temporary peace, by which they were left at full liberty to prosecute their commerce in the Indies ^c. These letters were sent by the squadron that carried over Peter Both, in quality of governor-general; and, upon their arrival at Bantam, a vessel called the *Black Lion* was prepared for Marcellus van Boschhower, who was in no higher post than that of an under-merchant, to proceed with these letters, and full powers, to Ceylon. When he arrived in that island, he was received with much respect and esteem by Cenuwierant Adascyn, who, by the marriage of the widow empress, was in possession of the throne; to whom he presented his letters, and with whom he concluded a treaty, which was confirmed by the Dutch governor and his council ^b. He would then have quitted the island; but both the emperor and the empress were so well pleased with him, and entertained so high an opinion of his abilities, and zeal for their service, that they laboured to retain him by the offer of very great preferments ^c (H).

He is created by that potentate prince of Mignonne,

It is seldom that foreigners continue long in favour, more especially in absolute governments, and therefore the fortune of Marcellus was the more singular. The monarch of Ceylon bestowed upon him the principality of Mignonne, by which, saving his homage, he became a sovereign, having espoused a lady of the first quality; and having with her in

^a *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 66.
l'isle de Ceylon, par l'abbé LE GRAND, p. 56, 57.

^b BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. viii, ix.
^c BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. xi.

^c *Histoire de*

(G) This chance which the Danes had of establishing themselves in the island of Ceylon, though very slightly treated by their own and other authors soon after it happened, and almost forgotten since, was in reality a thing of prodigious consequence, and a disappointment they had the greatest reason to regret. In the situation things then were, as well in Europe as in the Indies, we may with great probability conjecture, that if the Danes had once got footing on that island, they would have supported themselves therein; and the prodigious advantage to which their first voyages must have turned, could hardly have failed of convincing so clear-sighted a prince as Christian IV. was, that supporting his interest there was of infinitely more consequence than any success he could have against the Swedes. As he reigned many years after, if this project had at all taken effect, he would have had an opportunity of improving it to a degree that would have set it above the reach of accidents; which must have had a surprising effect upon the affairs of Denmark, and indeed of all Europe. That these are not idle chimeras, but well grounded conjectures, will appear from the spirit and force with which the single attempt was made, from the progress made by the Danes in their commerce with the Indies during his reign, and their re-

viving with success a correspondence with China in our own times.

(H) The Spaniards and the Dutch were equally disposed to chicanery about the truce with regard to the affairs in Ceylon, as is very evident from the actions of the former, and from the letters of the States General and prince Maurice, which are yet extant. The emperor, upon his first intercourse with the Dutch, had granted them leave to settle themselves in the kingdom of Cotiary, on the north-east side of the island, with the consent of the king of that country, and upon condition that his customs were paid; which they accordingly did upon the bay of Trinquerale (27). The Portuguese (then subject to the crown of Spain), without any respect had to the truce, resolved to attack them; and accordingly Simon Corrier marched across the island with one thousand whites and three thousand Chingulays, surrounded the Dutch, and cut them all off to a man, with very little loss; but in his retreat he was attacked by one of the emperor's generals, who killed six hundred men, and took a great number of prisoners (28); and thus that war was opened, which gave the emperor of Ceylon an opportunity of changing masters (29).

(27) *Bald. hist. Ceylon*, cap. ix.
des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 201.

(28) *Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon par l'abbé LeGrand*.

(29) *Histoire*

a dowry a fair country, with a considerable revenue, and some thousands of subjects^a. He was also promoted to the highest commands, being sometimes at the head of armies, having at others the direction of fleets, with the title of admiral; neither did he ever lose, but on the contrary increased his credit, so long as he remained in the island. At length, finding the *Dutch* administration in the *Indies* either unable or unwilling to perform the treaty they had made, though the *Portuguese* had cut off all the *Dutchmen* he had brought with him to *Ceylon*, in violation of the truce, he prevailed upon the emperor to send him, with the title of his ambassador, into *Europe*¹. His credentials were directed to the States General; but, besides these, he had, in case his applications to them should fail, full power to treat with any other *European* potentate who should be disposed to assist the emperor of *Ceylon* in recovering his dominions from the *Portuguese*, upon such terms as he should think just and equitable. He sailed from *Ceylon*, May the 9th 1615, for the port of *Masulipatan*, where he addressed himself to the *Dutch* director, and at his request went from thence to *Bantam*; where, finding the governor-general *Gerard Reynst* dead, and affairs in some confusion, he obtained leave from the council to pursue his instructions, and to return to *Holland*, that he might represent to their High Mightinesses, and the Prince of *Orange*, the true state of affairs in the island of *Ceylon*, and what assistance might be necessary to procure them a free commerce²; a commission which it was supposed would be highly acceptable in a country where the importance of the cinnamon trade was well understood, and the government consequently perfectly well disposed¹ (I).

But these hopes proved altogether fallacious: for, when *Marcellus van Boscbower* came to *Holland* with his lady, they expected to be treated as the prince and princess of *Mignonne*, living in a manner suitable to their title, and disdaining to be considered in any other light³. The directors of the *East India* company, who had sent out Mr. *Boscbower* as an under-copeman, could not be brought to comprehend any thing of his being a prince; which quickly occasioned a breach in the negotiation, and induced the emperor of *Ceylon*'s plenipotentiary to think of carrying his credentials somewhere else. After mature reflection on the state of things in other countries, he determined to proceed to *Denmark*, which was very probably occasioned by his receiving intelligence of the king's attention to the commerce of his subjects in general, and to that of the *East Indies* in particular. Some have thought that this was incompatible with his allegiance to their High Mightinesses; but it is very apparent that he considered himself as the subject and privy-counsellor of the monarch of *Ceylon*; and, if he was received and treated as such in *Holland*, he was certainly at liberty, when his proposals were rejected, to pursue the other points in his instructions⁴. To say the truth, it looks as if things had been considered in that light by the States General, who might, if they had thought it proper, have hindered his leaving their territories, or obliged him to return in one of the company's ships to the *East Indies*?

^a Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par l'abbé LE GRAND, p. 57.

¹ Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par l'abbé LE GRAND, p. 61.

² Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 33.

³ 48, 49. ⁴ BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

¹ BALDÆUS hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

² BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

³ Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 33.

⁴ Memoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publiques, p. 47.

(I) By the treaty of peace which Mr. *Boscbower* concluded with the monarch of *Ceylon* in 1610, the latter consented that two *Dutchmen* should have a seat in his privy-council; and in consequence, or at least under colour, of this treaty, that prince gave him in marriage a woman of high quality, declared him prince of *Mignonne*, which is an inland province on the west side of the island, made him governor of another province, and then introduced him into his privy-council (30). In 1612 he put him at the head of an army, against some of his rebellious subjects that had joined with the *Portuguese*, in which post he behaved with all the fidelity and bravery imaginable. The same year died the empress *Catherine*, who in her last moments recommended her children to the care of the princes of *Mignonne* and *Uva*, with all the circumstances possible of favour and confidence (31). The death of his consort, in whose right he held the crown, afflicted the emperor extremely; and his grief brought on a disease that the physicians judged to be mortal. In order to guard against the inconveniencies that naturally attend a minority, the emperor called an assembly of the states, in which he not only declared the prince of *Mignonne* and the prince of *Uva* regents, but intrusted them likewise with the education of his children, whom,

with the most moving expressions of tenderness, he put into their hands. The princes were sent, by order of the states, to a fortress, for their greater security; but the governor entered into a conspiracy to take away their lives. His forces were dispersed by the prince of *Mignonne*, and himself arrested on his coming to court, where, on the evidence of his letters, and some accomplices, he, with twenty-six noblemen, and fifty soldiers, were put to death for treason (32). In 1614 the emperor gained a glorious victory over the *Portuguese*, and the rebels that had joined them, the princes of *Mignonne* and *Uva* commanding the van. His affairs being now in a flourishing condition, that monarch, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, proposed in his privy-council to marry the deceased empress's daughter by a former husband, whom he acknowledged, in the life-time of her mother, to have debauched. The prince of *Mignonne* opposed this steadily; and made so pathetic a speech on the occasion, that the emperor burst into tears, desisted from his design, and promised to live with her as became him for the time to come (33). Such were the actions by which this *Dutch* under-copeman acquired the confidence of an emperor, and added lustre to those dignities which he derived from his favour.

(30) BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. x, xi. (31) Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par l'abbé Le Grand, p. 59. (32) BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. xiv, xv. (33) Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par l'abbé Le Grand, p. 61. BALD. hist. Ceylon, cap. xvi.

In this disposition he proceeds to Copenhagen, and concludes a treaty there.

He arrived at *Copenhagen*, July 16th 1617, and it seems was received there in a manner suitable to his pretensions. While he resided in this capital the princess of *Mignonne* was brought to bed of a son, to whom his *Danish* majesty was godfather. His propositions were favourably accepted by the company, who entered into a negotiation with him; and, a treaty being concluded between them, it was ratified and confirmed in the succeeding year by king *Christian IV.* He granted him also a man of war, called the *Elephant*, to carry him, his family and retinue, back to *Ceylon*. The company likewise added some ships of theirs; and the whole squadron was under the command of a *Danish* nobleman, whose name was *Owen Giedde de Tommerup*. He sailed with this squadron from *Copenhagen*, March 30th 1691, and anchored at the *Cape of Good Hope*, July 19th the same year, from whence he proceeded for *Ceylon*; but, meeting with very bad weather, numbers died in the passage, and, amongst the rest, the prince of *Mignonne*. On the arrival of the *Danish* commodore in the harbour of *Trinquemale*, he sent advice to the emperor, who, the *Dutch* writers say, disavowed the treaty, because perhaps he thought the succours insufficient, and too hasty a demand was made for the expences of the fleet. However this might be, the *Danish* commodore is said to have seized all the prince's effects, and to have set his widow on shore in a very distressed condition; which may notwithstanding admit of some doubt, since, after remaining seven years at the emperor of *Ceylon's* court, she thought fit to go to *Tranquebar*, and there ended her days. As soon as the princess was landed, the *Danish* commodore proceeded for the coast of *Coromandel*, where he made a treaty with the *Naik* of *Tanjour*, and left the forces that should have been debarked at *Ceylon*, to garrison the fort that was erecting at *Tranquebar*, and on which he bestowed the name of *Danebourg*. In his return he anchored again in *Table Bay*, under the *Cape of Good Hope*, August 30th, 1621, and returned safe in the beginning of the succeeding year to *Copenhagen* (K).

The town of *Tranquebar*, and the fortress of *Danebourg*, acquired by the *East India* company.

WHEN the fortress was in a state of defence, and the *Indians* began to erect houses, or rather huts, under its protection, *Tranquebar* soon changed its appearance, and, from being a place very little considered, and of which scarce any notice was taken, grew into great reputation. Those who had the direction of the company's affairs treated the natives, whether of the *Portuguese* stock, *Moors*, or *Gentews*, with justice and lenity; received ships that came to trade with all imaginable readiness, and put them under none of those restraints to which they were subjected elsewhere. By these prudent methods the colony augmented in the space of a few years, not only to the utmost of their expectations, but beyond even their most sanguine wishes. This prosperity induced them to think of establishing factories upon the opposite coast of *Malabar*, for the sake of obtaining a share in the pepper trade, of fixing factories in other places, and of sending their ships to the remotest parts of the *Indies*. The *Danes*, therefore, had very little reason to treat the memory of the prince of *Mignonne* with disregard, or to complain that they were seduced by his promises of mountains of gold to navigate distant seas, where they could meet with no such thing; for, whatever benefit they reap from the settlement of *Tranquebar*, whatever they drew in process of time from the rest of the *Indies*; and whatever advantages have attended, or may attend, the revival and extension of this commerce, ought in a great measure to be ascribed to that unfortunate great man, whose project produced such an armament, as rendered their first feeble endeavours effectual, from whence all the rest has flowed as from its proper source (L).

It

^p *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 66.

Danorum in oriente, p. 66. *Bald.* hist. *Ceylon*, cap. xvii.

^t *Florus's* observations on the commerce of the *Indies*.

^q *Bald.* hist. *Ceylon*, cap. xvii.

^r *Gesta et vestigia*

Danorum in oriente, p. 67.

^s *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 66.

(K) According to the *Danish* admiral's inscription in his own language, there were but four ships in his squadron, and those all belonging to the king (34); but the *Dutch* historian says expressly there were five of the company's ships, and only one of the king's. The same person says, that one of them was lost after the crew had revolted at *Trinquemale*; which induced them to weigh anchor with the rest, and return immediately to *Denmark* (35); which is not at all consistent with the inscription, or with the account given by the *Danish* writers, who must be presumed to know their own affairs best, and who ascribe to him the fortifying and establishing their settlement at *Tranquebar* (36).

(L) We might easily give the reader several matters of fact, in support of what is delivered in the text; but one

instance may serve. *Francis Cauche*, of *Rouen*, acquaints us, that, in the month of *May* 1642, he went on board a *Danish East India* ship that put into the port of *Madagascar*, where he received a letter in *Portuguese* for Mr. *Regimond*, who commanded in the island for the *French East India* company; and proceeds in his relation thus (37): "When I came to *Regimond*, he was angry, because I had staid so long, and acquainted the *Danes* with the ports and state of the island. I told him, that, as I did not belong to his ship, he had nothing to say to me; and that, as a Christian, I was obliged to relieve other Christians. Three days after, three *Danish* factors, and four other men, came in their boat; and one of the factors, speaking *French*, said, they came to desire him to exchange some com-

(34) *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 66.

vestigia Danorum in oriente, p. 66. *illes adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique*.

(35) *Bald.* hist. *Ceylon*, cap. xvii.

(37) *Relation du voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'isle de Madagascar*,

(36) *Gesta et*

- a It must be allowed, that our materials for the history of this commerce are very scanty ; and that we are obliged to collect and range, in the best order we can, such passages as occur in authors of other nations, that speak incidentally of the traffick of the *Danes*, and not always with so much candour as we could wish. In spite, however, of these obstacles, we may venture to affirm, that in twenty years the ships of the *Danish East India* company had opened a trade with the *Moluccas*, which enabled their directors at *Tranquebar* to send home large vessels richly laden, with cargoes well assorted, from all parts of the *Indies* ; so that during the reign of *Christian IV.* this commerce might be justly said to flourish in as high a degree as that of any other nation in the same space of time, the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* only excepted ; and, if we consider the difference of circumstances in regard to those nations and the *Danes*, we cannot but look on this as very extraordinary, and affording a proof that justice, industry, and indefatigable application, will improve even a very small stock into a fund sufficient to answer the greatest purposes".

As far as we can judge from our materials, this company continued some time in a thriving condition.

- Those, however, who pique themselves upon penetrating to the bottom of things, may possibly discern, that within these first twenty years there were many accidents happened in the *Indies* very favourable to the *Danish* colony, and to the views of those that were employed by the company at *Copenhagen*. The *Portuguese*, still under the subjection of *Spain*, were struggling with a foreign war, and domestic difficulties. The *Spaniards* rarely sent any ships beyond the *Streights of Malacca*, the *Dutch* were fully occupied in obtaining the monopoly of spices, and the *English* felt the weight of discord at home even at so vast a distance. On the whole, therefore, the *Danes* met with little or no opposition from any of these nations, notwithstanding that the ruin of their commerce was looked upon as the joint interest of all. On the contrary, having nothing to do but to mind their own concerns, they were generally inclined to render good offices to such a stood in need of them, supplying them with provisions, ammunition, and arms, when they had occasion for them ; by which they were great gainers, and made themselves many friends. In process of time, as things began to alter, and the *Dutch* acquired an apparent and a considerable ascendancy in the *Indies*, the *Danes*, as well as other nations, felt the effects of it, and found themselves excluded from some of those branches of trade, which, within the foregoing period, had turned to the best account ; and which, if they could have preserved, would have enabled them to have fulfilled the hopes that were entertained from so prosperous a beginning".

But those circumstances, that had been favourable to them, changing, their situation alters.

At the same time that things began to take a wrong turn in respect to their affairs in the *Indies*, those in *Europe* took still a worse. The founder and supporter of this commerce, *Christiern* the fourth, had his attention called off from things at such a distance by those long

Affairs in Europe also take such a turn as is very prejudicial.

" *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 66. tom. i. p. 577.

" *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, par GAUTIER SCHOUTEN,

" modities proper for that country, for such as they had in their ship, or to sell them for ready money. *Regimond* answered, he would go see their commander, and supply him and his with all he could ; dismissing them very well satisfied, with some presents. Five days after, *Regimond* manned his boat, and put into it a bottle of *ros felis*, which is a water distilled from cinnamon and sugar, very comfortable for the stomach, some wet and dry sweetmeats, some bottles of *Spanish* wine, gammons of bacon, a barrel of salt, a hundred thousand of all sorts of string beads, four tun of rice, and a barrel of beer. I went in the boat, with sixteen others, of which number were *Regimond* himself, and *James Proni*, commander of the colony of *St. Peter*. The same day we departed from *Port St. Lucy* we came to that of *Isalangare*, they being but four leagues distant from one another. The *Danish* ship prepared to engage, hanging out their lights even on the round tops ; but, when they knew us, all was turned into joy, embraces, and feasting. The commander treated us with pigs, ducks, and other fowl, he had brought alive from the *Molucca Islands* ; and, after the entertainment, presented *James Proni* with a stag and a hind, both alive, brought from the same islands, and, like ours, to breed in the island of *Madagascar*, where there were none ; keeping two stags and two hinds to shew in *Denmark*. *Regimond* presented the said captain with all that was mentioned above, six pieces of ebony, each of them six feet long and half a foot square, and two barrels of *French* bread. In return, the *Dane* gave him a *Persian* jar bound with cane

" hoops to carry it by, containing about half a tierce, and full of sugarcandy ; another full of white citron peel ; another, something smaller, of preserved ginger ; two others of little preserved oranges and lemons ; a bag of pepper, containing two measures ; a bag of one measure, of cloves ; a thousand of nutmegs ; a pot of preserved orange flowers ; a bag of cinnamon ; two pieces of *Denmark* cloth, twenty-five ells long each, the one of a violet, and the other of a rose colour ; two pieces of *China* double taffety, as long as the others, one of white sattin, and another of black grogram ; six pair of coloured silk stockings, six fine callico shirts, four cotton night-caps stitched with white silk, two pair of *Persian* breeches which reach down to the ancles ; two bundles of *Indian* canes of several colours and shapes, great and small, being about one hundred ; a whole service of china-ware ; and an earthen pitcher made of clay, taken up near *Mohammed's* tomb, with a grate over the mouth, to pour water through, which, being exposed to the sun, cools, instead of growing hot." This last article is a little superstitious ; but, however, there cannot well be any evidence clearer than this produced, of the *Danes* driving completely the trade of *India* at this juncture ; which might surely have been extended and established, if domestic disturbances had not destroyed in a great measure the attention, and in a still greater degree the capacity, to carry on such a trade as required a support at the beginning, which, when arrived at maturity, would have been amply repaid.

and

acial to the
company.

and bloody wars, in which, during the last years of his life, he was continually engaged ; a and which, with a very few, and those but short intervals, lasted for many years after his decease *. These troubles in the north, amongst other mischievous consequences, had very bad effects on the affairs of the *Danish* company, and put it out of their power to correspond regularly with their colony at *Tranquebar*, which of consequence disabled that settlement from sending ships in the manner they had hitherto done into *Europe* †. This alteration in their affairs was not only severely felt by them, but at the same time rendered them contemptible to the *European* nations that were more fortunate, and diminished their credit with the natives ; circumstances that were equally mortifying and irreparable ; neither was it a small addition to these untoward accidents, that, being altogether unforeseen, the state of their commerce did not at all correspond with the appearance of the fort and town, which they had taken care to embellish in a manner that distinguished it from most of the towns upon the coast, at least at this juncture ‡.

Walter Schouten's account
of the state of
Tranquebar
about the year
1661.

THE famous *Dutch* navigator *Walter Schouten*, who is justly esteemed for the simplicity and veracity of his relations, informs us, that he was there in 1661 ; at which time the *Danish* fort, being a square, with regular bastions, all built of hard white stone, and the town of a large extent, laid out into long and broad streets, under its protection, afforded a very agreeable prospect from the sea. But he observes, as if it had been something remarkable, that there were two *Danish* ships in the port, the officers of which were very civil to those of the *Dutch* ship called the *Red Lion*, on board of which he was. It seems it was no usual thing for two ships to be there together ; and he farther remarks, that their flags were but rarely seen in other ports of the *Indies*. He tells us likewise, that they were upon very bad terms with the *Moors*, which was one great occasion of their losses ; and that the town was sometimes in danger of being plundered, if it had not been for the succours received from the fortress, in which there is always a pretty good garrison of *European* troops. The town, he farther says, was inhabited by *Topasses*, *Gentows*, and *Moors*, all of whom, according to the custom of that country, pay an annual capitation to the *Danes*, as an acknowledgement for their defending them in time of danger § (M).

* PUFFENDORF, DESCOCHEs, &c. commerce, tom. ii. col. 754.

† Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 53.

‡ Dictionnaire de

§ Voyage aux Indes Orientales de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, vol. i. p. 577.

(M) The Christian nations that trade to the *Indies*, such as the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, as well as the *Danes*, have settlements all along the coast of *Coromandel*, so that they are no-where above ten, and in some places not six leagues one from another. Each of these *European* forts or factories has a town, or at least a village, belonging to it, inhabited by Christians, *Moors*, and *Gentows* ; but these last are, generally speaking, the most numerous (38). The huts that they live in are small and poor, resembling rather hovels for beasts than habitations for men, and yet for the most part they have numerous families. On the outside these huts appear to be so low, that one would scarce suppose a man could enter them with ease, or stand upright in them ; but they are sunk so much below the surface of the soil, that they are considerably higher within. In these huts there are, properly speaking, no windows, but rather holes, which admit so few rays from the sun, and those too so oblique, as to create only a kind of twilight ; yet in these mean, low, damp, dark, and wretched places, are wrought all those fine and beautiful piece goods that are brought in such quantities, and sold at so high a price, all over *Europe*. As provisions are cheap, and industry great amongst these people, who all work at something or other, they labour for very small wages, which enables such as purchase their goods at the first hand to gain considerably by them (39). This employs the Christians and the *Moors*, as well as the merchants of their own nation, who either send them to

different places on their own account, or sell them to some of the *European* companies. Sometimes *Gentows* merchants, that are very rich, put themselves under the protection of an *European* fort, and manage the commerce between their masters and their countrymen, by which they grow excessively rich ; which wealth, however, they conceal with as much industry as may be, since otherwise it would be taken from them either by the *Mogul's* officers, or by some of their own *Rajahs*, who are people equally rapacious. As the *Europeans* commonly defend them from both, they serve them with great fidelity ; and, when they become rich, seldom stir out of their district (40). The *Moorish* merchants are more in number, and drive a very extensive trade, having several large ships of their own, which however are usually navigated, at least in a great measure, by *Europeans* ; and it is mostly under their colours that they sail to all parts of the *Indies*, even as far as the *Manillas*. Of these vessels there are commonly twenty or thirty that belong to the ports of *Malabar*, besides those of the *Danish* company ; and, as in this part of the world there is nothing done for nought, it is easy to conceive, that those, who have the management of affairs at *Tranquebar*, draw considerable profit from that traffick which is carried on under their protection, as well as from the mechanics, and others who live by the fruit of their labours (41).

(38) An account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 5.
Bernier, Le Brun, Ovington, &c. (40) Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 151.

(39) Tarnier, Le Brun, Ovington, &c. (41) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 754.

S E C T. III.

The different shifts to which the Danish colony are forced to have recourse, in order to maintain themselves in possession of their fortrefs. Attacked by the Naik of Tanjour with superior forces. Generously assisted by the English, to whose gallant behaviour they stand indebted for the preservation of Tranquebar, and, of consequence, their footing in the Indies.

- a** **A**S it requires infinitely more skill to conduct a vessel in storms, or through freights beset with rocks and shoals, than in fair weather or in the open sea; so in a situation like this, when the mother-country was able to do little or nothing, sending supplies both seldom, and in a manner very irregular, we cannot with any colour of justice deny, that the managers of the *Danish* commerce deserved commendation for keeping their affairs on foot, rather than contempt for the mean condition they were in. The methods by which they did this merit explanation. In the first place, the revenue of the town of *Tranquebar* afforded a subsistence for the garrison, which, though not very considerable, was regularly paid, and kept constantly complete. The small factories they had on the *Malabar* coast, their lodge at *Chinchurat*, and some other places in *Bengal*, and a more considerable settlement at *Bantam*, furnished them with several kinds of commodities and manufactures, which were embarked, as occasion served, on board the vessels they sent to *Surat*, into the *Bay of Bengal*, to the *Streights of Malacca*, and to the island of *Celebes*^b. This country trade, if they had driven it intirely upon their own bottom, would not only have kept them from want, but procured them wealth, at least under a frugal management. The case, however, was otherwise; for, not having a sufficient capital, they were obliged to let out their ships for hire, and to take a great many goods on freight for *Gentow* and *Moorish* merchants. These several ways, taken together, kept them in a tolerable condition, and put it into their power to send now and then, perhaps once in two or three years, a ship to *Europe*^c.
- b** BUT though these, and other arts of the like kind, might enable them to go on in peace-
c able and quiet times, yet it could not be supposed they should afford them any resources in circumstances of distress or danger to which they were sometimes exposed, and more than once brought to the very brink of ruin. The principal cause of these difficulties was the quarrels they sometimes had with the Rajah of *Tanjour*, who, upon very frivolous pretences, interrupted their communication by land; and sometimes carried his resentment so high, as to besiege their fortrefs and town with a numerous army^d. If we may credit some accounts, as small and insignificant as the *Danish* commerce might appear in the eyes of their potent competitors, this did not intirely exempt them from envy, or hinder their covetous neighbours from offering very considerable sums for the port which they possessed. If the *Indian* Rajah could reduce it at other times, being himself hard pressed by the *Mogul*, he judged it reasonable, or at least necessary, that his tenants should bear a share of the hardship as well as himself; and therefore employed force to extort the sums for which he had occasion, and which, tho' their ability was very small, the *Danes* were compelled to furnish^e. When under these pressures, it has been insinuated, that they took very bold and unwarrantable steps to extricate themselves. An instance of this, we are assured by a countryman of ours, happened in 1684, when, through accidents of this sort, and the additional calamity of a famine, they were reduced so low as to pawn three of their bastions to the *Dutch*, for such a sum of money as might keep the garrison, and the people of the town, from starving. These, however, they redeemed the next year; but how they acquired the means of doing it, was a secret in the *Indies*. Some suspicions there were, however; because an *English* country ship, called the *Formosa*, bound to *Surat*, and which in her passage called at *Calicut* for water, wood, and other stores, never reached her port; and a great firing of guns was heard from sea not long after she sailed from *Calicut*; and two *Danish* ships were at that time cruising from *Cape Comorin* to *Surat*, which occasioned great doubts which were never cleared up^f (N).
- d**
- e**

Methods practised by the Danish company's servants, in order to support that colony.

The manner in which they have been from time to time distressed by the Rajah of Tanjour.

IT

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 77. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 754.
^c Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 51. ^d Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente, p. 67. ^e Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1142. ^f HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 352.

(N) We have shewn in the foregoing note, that all the *Indies*, have also settlements upon this coast, and are the *European* nations, who have any share in the trade to consequently rivals. This is the true source from which those

Imputations on the Danes in regard to ships taken, or supposed to be taken, by them.

It is without doubt a very unbecoming thing in a historian to throw out national reflections, or to deliver as matters of fact what may suggest them, when no authority can be brought to support those facts beyond the power of contradiction; and for this reason we have been so tender in mentioning what the reader may find very roundly asserted in several books of voyages, and which it is certain is an opinion commonly received in the *Indies*, whether well grounded or not. Taking it for granted that it is not altogether without foundation, that piracies are said to have been committed by ships under the *Danish* flag, the same, perhaps, may be also said of other nations; and the *French* accounts of *Madagascar* furnish us with instances of their ships cruising upon the *Moors* without any colour of justice, and without so much as the excuse of necessity or distress* (O). But as these are things of a very odious

* Hist. de grande île de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLACOURT.

those strange stories arise that are circulated in the *Indies*, often upon very slight, and not seldom without the least foundation. Thus, if we may depend upon Mr. Tavernier (42), when the *French East India* company was about to form an establishment at *Surat*, the governor of that great city was informed, that they were no better than a nation of pirates; and, to make this the better believed, they magnified the cruelties of one *Hugo Lambert*, who had taken a *Moorish* vessel laden with the baggage of the queen of *Vishapur*, on the coast of *Arabia*; on which occasion it was said that he tortured several persons, to make them confess what was become of the silver and jewels that had been on board. However, a certain capuchin monk, whose name was father *Ambrose*, undertook to clear up the matter; and tho' *Hugo's* vessel was in part manned by *French*, had a *French* commission, and sailed under *French* colours, yet this *Hugo*, who commanded her, was a *Dutchman*; and thus the tale was retorted upon those who had given it credit. But, after all, whatever suspicions there were, no proof is pretended in the case mentioned in the text; and as several *Moorish* princes upon the coast of *Malabar* regard piracy as a sort of royal amusement, the loss of the *Fermosa* may be as well placed to their account (43). But we may go one step farther; the ships from *Surat* are generally richly laden, that is, have a large quantity of silver on board; but vessels bound to *Surat* have little or no money on board (44); and, as to a rich cargo of goods, the *Danes* could never have sold them without furnishing sufficient evidence of the means by which they had acquired them.

(O) It is very possible, and, to say the truth, very probable, that the *Danes* might at this time cruise upon the *Moors*; and might justify this by way of reprisal, on account of their own vessels being taken by the people of *Malabar*: but the *French* could have no such reason; since they made prizes of the *Moors* before they had so much as an establishment in the *Indies*. We will cite an instance from one who was himself an actor in what he relates, and who ingenuously confesses, that, having been able to make nothing by planting at *Madagascar*, they were desirous of trying what might be done by sea on the coasts of *Arabia*. Take his narration in his own words (45): "Proceeding onward in twenty-three degrees of north latitude, near the tropic of Cancer, and before *Mecca*, we met five *Dutch* ships. After the usual salutes, they made out to sea, and we ran up in sight of *Suez*, which is at the bottom of the gulph. Passing betwixt *Zibid*, an open town on the coast of the kingdom of *Abyssinia*, under the tropic of Cancer, and the island of *Sabega*, which is on the other side of the gulph, above *Mecca* in *Arabia*, we discovered an *English* frigate conveying the merchants that traded from one side to the other. They of the frigate would have picked a quarrel with us, threatening to deliver us up to the country people as rovers; but seeing us prepare to fight, they let us pass. At length, after ranging all the gulph, we steered about towards the mouth of it; and being in fifteen degrees

" of north latitude, near the island *Zeiban*, which is between *Zibit* in *Arabia*, and *Muzua* on the coast of *Abyssinia*, our bark met a *Malabar* vessel, having thirty men aboard, besides the passengers, going over from *Arabia* to *Arquico*. This bark carried twelve patteroes, and was loaded with scarlet cloth, gold and silver, besides a quantity of money, most of which belonged to an *Abyssinian* lord, who had just married a wife in *Arabia Felix*. She was likewise aboard, beautiful and young, wearing a tunic of white and red striped sattin, with a sort of man's coat of the same silk, reaching down to her hams; a little red and white turbant on her head, and under it a white coiffe of very fine muslin. The husband's garment was of crimson velvet, with gold loops; and his servants, being twelve in number, had all cloaths equally striped black and white from top to bottom, as also turbants and scymiters. The sails of the vessel were made of rushes, as are those of the *Malabars* and *Japoneses*: the commander's name was *Lalo*. As soon as our bark discovered them, she hoisted the red flag at the top-mast-head, and fired a gun, to give notice to our ship that we espied a sail; and then chased the vessel till we came up; which as soon as we did, she presently sent to order the stranger vessel to strike her sails, and disarm; and they refusing so to do, the bark fired four guns. That daunted them; but much more when our ship laid her aboard, they demanded to capitulate, and surrendered, upon condition that no wrong should be done either to the new-married lord, his retinue, or the vessel. This being granted, we made *Lalo* come aboard our ship, and brought with him all the money we found aboard his vessel, with some pieces of scarlet cloth, and eight cows, leaving them four, with their provisions and water, which was in great jars, as also a considerable part of their goods. The ready money, amounting to above two hundred thousand crowns, satisfied our captain's avarice, which made him undertake that voyage. Having taken leave of one another, we held on our course to return to *France*; but fortune, which favoured us beyond our wishes, brought into our mouths a merchant-ship bound from *Cape Guardafu* to *Xael*, without any defence; of which having possessed ourselves without any opposition, we took out most of the goods, being silks and calicoes of all colours, with raw silk and cotton, leaving the ship and merchants to go where they pleased. We steered our course thence to *Madagascar*; and, without meeting any thing worth observing, anchored at *Port St. Lucy* the beginning of November 1643, and landed at our colony of *St. Peter*." This humour of taking, instead of trading, has been fatal to those nations who have indulged it, and more especially to the *Portuguese*; so that, if the *Danes* have really dipped in it, we need not wonder at the declension of their colony; for none surely would willingly confide in such as were partly merchants, and partly corsairs.

(42) *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, tom. v. p. 63. private information.

(43) *Tavernier, Gemelli Carreri, Tavernier, &c.*

(44) *Fermositas, et cotes de Afrique.*

a nature, we will dwell upon them no longer, but return to the current of our history; which leads us to show, that the *English* were much better neighbours to the *Danes* than some other people, who made no scruple of taking advantage from their distress^a; whereas our countrymen not only contributed to relieve them from a principle of friendship and generosity, but did it also at their own cost, and to their own loss.

ABOUT the close of the last century, when Mr. *Pitt* was the *English* governor at *Fort St. George*, a proposition is said to have been made to the rajah of *Tanjour* for the purchase of *Tranquebar*, at no less a rate than fifty thousand pardoes in ready money, when it should be in his power to deliver it. The *Danes*, having early intelligence of this intrigue, applied to the *English* for succour; which was generously promised, and afterwards as punctually performed¹.
 b The rajah of *Tanjour*, having once resolved upon this enterprize, assembled an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, with which he marched strait towards *Tranquebar*. The *Indians* were so extremely cautious, that they began to open their trenches above a mile from the town, and carried on two attacks. The soil being a dry sand, they drove down the bodies of cocoa-nut-trees instead of stakes, both in the inside and in the out, and filled up the space between them with sand; so that their trenches were almost as thick as a town-wall, and so very high, that they were perfectly covered from the *Danish* fire. They had about twenty or thirty thousand men employed in this siege; and, with incredible labour and patience, they brought down their trenches within pistol-shot of the walls, and with their batteries had almost ruined one of the bastions, when the *English* reinforcements arrived. The *Danes* expected
 c every day an assault, and were preparing to move their effects into the fort, and quit the town; and indeed they gave the enemy very little disturbance in carrying on their works, for the garrison did not consist of more than two hundred *Europeans*, as many *Indian Portuguese*, and about a thousand blacks; and, besides the fort they had to defend, the circumference of the town-wall was not less than a mile and a half: it was faced with stone, but had no ditch; and therefore the *Danes*, to prevent the enemy's scaling it, had set high palisadoes upon the top of the ramparts.

A DAY or two after the *English* arrived, a sally was resolved; and about sun-rise a detachment of the blacks marched out, and were followed by the *English*: but the blacks were no sooner out of the gates, than they opened to the right and left, and made room for the *English* to advance, never intending to engage themselves. A body of the enemy moved out of their entrenchments upon this, and came on in tolerable order with their broad swords and shields, without shooting an arrow, or firing a piece. They were all decently clothed in white vests and turbans, and seemed determined to engage hand to hand in the plain between the town and the trenches. The *English* officers were in some pain, seeing this body of *Indians* advance with so good a countenance, knowing their men were several of them new raised, and mixed with *Portuguese*, on whom there is very little dependence; but the great guns from the walls beginning to play, put them in confusion, and they retired to their trenches with much greater
 d haste than they came out, and our men advancing while they were in that consternation, drove them still farther; but there being no preparations made for levelling the trenches, and the day growing hot, the *English* retired into the town, and the enemy returned into their works, without any great loss on either side.

A FEW days after, it was resolved to make another sally with the greatest part of the garrison; and accordingly they marched out at the great gate opposite to the principal attack. The black soldiers, according to custom, retired under the walls almost as soon as they were out, to make room for the *Europeans*. The enemy kept close in their trenches, firing continually. Between the two attacks, upon the plain, stood a considerable body of musketeers and pikemen, against whom the *English* commander thought fit to advance; but had not marched many paces before a ball wounded him in the middle of his foot, which compelled him to quit
 e the field. The next officer thereupon took the command, and led them towards the enemy, who were drawn up in the plain. That body retreating, drew the *English* so far from the town, that they were intercepted by the *Moorish* horse; and the *Danes*, whom the *English* expected to have supported them, never advanced a step. In this exigency the *English* officer having thrown some grenades into the trenches, the *Indians* were so complaisant as to quit them, and make room for the *English*, who marched quite along them towards the town, till they came to the end of the works; but here they were met by the *Moorish* horse, yet, upon making one general fire, in which great execution was done, the horse scoured off, and left the *English* at liberty to march on to the walls, where they found the *Danes* drawn up in perfect security. In this action the *English* were one half of them killed or wounded: but, however,
 f it was by this seasonable assistance that the *Danes* preserved this town and fortress; for soon after, the rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a war that harassed his subjects, and brought

The rajah of Tanjour, incited by some bad neighbours, resolves to dispossess the Danes of Tranquebar.

Gallant behaviour of the English auxiliaries during the siege of the place.

By the help of which the Danes compelled the rajah of Tanjour to raise the siege.

^a HARRIS'S voyages, vol. i. p. 997.

¹ Idem ibid.

himself no advantage, retired into his own territories, and left the *Danes* at liberty to pursue a their trade, and restore their shattered affairs as well as they could ^k.

^k *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, p. 67.

S E C T. IV.

Frederic IV. takes a resolution of employing missionaries to preach the Christian faith amongst the Pagans. The steadiness with which, in spite of all discouragements, this excellent design has been pursued. An accurate account of the Danish settlement, fortress, port, adjacent country, dependencies, present condition, and future prospects from the colony at Tranquebar. Some conjectures on this subject, and the arguments for and against the Danish schemes truly and clearly stated.

Danish missionaries sent to Tranquebar by king Frederic IV.

BY these, and other such-like accidents, the commerce of *Tranquebar* was exceedingly reduced at the entrance of the present century, notwithstanding all the care that those, intrusted with the management of the company's affairs, could take; they therefore thought themselves at liberty to divert a part of their attention to putting things upon the spot in the best condition possible, that, by enlarging the town, and increasing the number of her subjects, their revenue at once might be augmented, and rendered more certain. In order to further this scheme, the *Danish* company, having applied themselves to their monarch *Frederic* the fourth, a prince of sincere piety, as well as great clemency and prudence, he inquired narrowly into the state of religion, which, he apprehended, ought to have been one of their principal objects in the conduct of that colony; and, receiving a very unsatisfactory account, he determined to send over missionaries thither: an action equally worthy of a Christian prince, and of a sound politician ^l (P). Upon this occasion, recourse was had to the celebrated doctor *Francke*, divinity professor of the university of *Halle* in *Saxony*, a man equally distinguished for his learning, piety, and disinterested zeal for religion; who, from amongst his numerous disciples, made choice of two, *Bartholomew Zeigenbalg* and *Henry Plutschau*, whom he recommended as perfectly qualified for so arduous an undertaking ^m. These therefore were received in that quality by his *Danish* majesty, and orders given that they should be sent by the next

^l HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352. p. 2.

^m Propagation of the gospel in the east. P. iii.

(P) The desire of propagating the Christian religion is natural to every prince who is sincerely influenced by his own belief of it; and to this principle the spreading of the Christian faith has been in a great measure owing. What advantages have attended this may be easily perceived, by comparing *Europe* with the other parts of the globe, and by considering the circumstances in which the inhabitants, particularly of the northern regions, were before their conversion, and the condition in which we behold them at present. The zeal, therefore, of spreading the gospel, as a scheme of happiness, into the most distant parts of the world, is at once a testimony of true beneficence, as well as solid piety; and experience shows us, that it has prevailed farther, and had much more powerful effects, than either human policy, or force of arms. A Christian prince, who desires to raise an establishment in countries at so vast a distance as the *Indies*, can never fix those hopes on any notion so probable or rational as that of converting the natives to Christianity, because this is the only way to intitle him to the especial favour of Providence, without which all hopes of prosperity are vain (46). Possessions acquired either by purchase or by conquest, turn to little account without people; and to think of sending sufficient numbers so far, is to hazard depopulation at home for the chance of raising colonies abroad. But to convert the natives, is, in effect, to acquire their bodies as well as to save their souls. Whoever becomes a good Christian, is a good

subject of course; and in the *Indies* more especially, where the natives have moral notions and moral habits from education, the consequence is so much the more certain. But, to form some judgment of the benefits that might arise from hence, let us only reflect on the advantages the *Spaniards* would draw from their territories in the *West Indies*, if those ten millions of people, which they are said to have destroyed there by that time their conquests were complete (47), were added to the present number of their subjects; according to a moderate computation, this must add to their annual revenue at least as many pounds sterling. Suppose the emperor of *Ceylon*, and all his subjects, were Christians and Protestants, can there be any doubt made that this would increase the commerce of that island in an extraordinary degree? One great argument in favour of the truth of the Christian religion is, that it contributes highly to our temporal interests; and if this be so, then the propagation of the gospel is the most perfect policy, and will be found so in the event. Plausible objections, no doubt, may be raised against this by men of subtilty, and who have the art of representing their notions in a fair dress; but they will have little weight with those who reflect, that human nature is every-where the same; and that what has spread learning, politeness, and happiness through one quarter of the world, is like, with due attention, to be attended with the same happy effects in any other.

(46) *Histoire de la Colonie de Tranquebar*, par M. La Croix, p. 521.

(47) *Purchas pilgrimage*, p. 662, 663.

a ships into the *Indies*; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of November 1705, at *Copenhagen*, they embarked on board the *Princess Sophia Hedwig*, and arrived in the month of April following at the *Cape of Good Hope*; and sailing from thence again on the eighth of May, they entered the harbour of *Tranquebar* on the coast of *Coromandel*, the beginning of July 1706 ⁿ (Q).

THEIR countrymen gave them but little encouragement upon their first coming over; and were so far from shewing any extraordinary zeal for this new establishment, that they made no scruple of treating it as a project chimerical and impracticable; into which belief they were led from a persuasion, that the missionaries would never be able to learn the *Damulian* language, which is commonly spoken throughout *Malabar*, to such a degree of perfection as to preach it fluently to a people naturally fond of oratory, and esteemed to speak their own language more correctly than any of the nations in their neighbourhood ^o. This did not at all discourage our missionaries, who, within a short time, set up a *Portuguese* school, where they taught poor children *gratis*. They next took a *Malabar* schoolmaster, with all his disciples, amongst whom they entered themselves, and were content to learn to read and write that language with the children; which they did with such assiduity, that in a year's time they became masters of it, and could read, write, and speak it, as well as any of the natives ^p. Mr. *Zeigenbalg* continued his apostolic labours with indefatigable zeal till February 23d 1719, when, being absolutely worn out with his incredible fatigues, he departed this life when not full thirty-six years of age ^q. As for Mr. *Plutscbau*, being of a weaker constitution, he was forced, after preaching there for some years, to return home; but his place was supplied by others, who, following the example of Mr. *Zeigenbalg*, promoted vigorously the design upon which they were sent, and made many converts. In the course of their mission they met with many difficulties and discouragements; but by an indefatigable diligence and exemplary life, and a fervent zeal for that gospel they preached, overcame them all (R).

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ⁿ *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, vol. i. p. 74.
27. ^p *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par Monf. LA CROZE, p. 537. *Propagation of the gospel in the east*. P. iii. p. 8.

^o *Propagation of the gospel in the east*, P. i. p. 26.
^q *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, par Monf. LA CROZE, p. 536. 567.

(Q) The pious design of sending missionaries to *Tranquebar* is said to have been suggested to *Frederic* the fourth by one of his chaplains (48); but whoever proposed it, the honour certainly belongs to that prince who carried so good a design into execution. Some possibly may surmise, that the scheme of sending Protestant priests into the *Indies* was, in some measure, a work of supererogation, considering the number of Popish monks and missionaries who are already there with greater advantages, better connected, and more effectually supported, than Protestant preachers can, with any probability, propose or expect. If therefore these, as themselves report, make continually multitudes of converts, why should they be disturbed? Or, on the other hand, if they labour in vain, and the harvest proves but thin, tho' the husbandmen are many, what reasons are there to hope? In answer to this, it may be truly said, that these considerations, instead of deterring, ought to have prompted, as very likely they did, a prudent and religious prince to pursue this measure with vigour. The jesuits, and other missionaries, do not so properly convert the *Indians* to Christianity as to Popery: they preach not the gospel according to St. *Matthew* or St. *Luke*, but according to father *Jerom Xavier* (49). They multiply their converts rather by teaching them exterior ceremonies than the doctrines of the Christian faith; and keep them in such a dependence on the church of *Rome*, and on themselves, as takes away all probability of seeing any national churches of Christians in the *Indies*. Whoever seriously reflects on these particulars, will easily discern why they have preached hitherto with so little effect, and what grounds there are to hope, that those who preach the gospel sincerely, who put the holy scriptures into the hands of the natives in their own language, who profess that God is no respecter of persons, who make not the least difference between new and old Christians, who de-

fire to see these people not profelytes only, but preachers, may succeed where they have failed (50). On the whole, therefore, the sending these missionaries was certainly a very prudent, as well as a very pious undertaking, flowing from just and laudable motives, and not from a hasty fit of enthusiasm; and which, as the reader will see in the next note, has been steadily and constantly prosecuted, to the honour of the *Danish* government, and the great benefit of the natives, through the visible blessing of God on the labours of the missionaries, and the assistance given them, more especially by their *English* neighbours, which they have generously and publicly acknowledged.

(R) The reader will easily perceive, that to enter into a regular detail of these matters would require a complete treatise, and that of no small extent. What, therefore, is said here to illustrate what has been already said in the text, is only with a view to prevent the charge of omitting, in a work of this nature, a point of such high importance; and, having premised this, we will proceed to some further hints. The missionaries first sent over met with many difficulties, and amongst others with these, which must have discouraged men of less piety, prudence, or application. They discovered, when they came to study, that the *Damulian* language was extremely copious, very elegant, and that they were fallen precisely in that part of the country where it was the most correctly spoken, and best understood: it was therefore necessary for them not barely to acquire this language, but to acquire it in the greatest perfection, that, in point of eloquence, they might not fall short of their opponents. Their grammars, dictionaries, and translations fully prove that they overcame this obstacle, and made the way smoother for those that succeeded them (51). They found a great coldness in their countrymen at *Tranquebar*, and indeed a general contempt of their design, as undertaken

(48) *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. La Croze, p. 535. See also the introduction to the third part of the *propagation of the gospel in the east*. (49) *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. La Croze, p. 333. (50) *The history of the church of Malabar*, by Dr. Michael Geddes, P. iv. (51) *Account of the religion and government, learning and economy, of the Malabarians*, p. 27, 28, 29.

A succinct description of the little principality of Tanjour, and of the considerable places therein.

WE are indebted to the letters published from these worthy missionaries for the largest, and clearest, and most certain account that we have of this country, taking in the dominions of the Indian prince to whom the sovereignty belongs, as well as the *Danish* colony, which is our proper subject. The principality of *Tanjour* extends in length, from east to west, about one hundred *English* miles; and in breadth, from south to north, about seventy'. This country is extremely well peopled; and the *Gentows* are here, as they are every-where else, ingenious, innocent, and indefatigable. The ordinary revenues of the rajah are about seven or eight hundred thousand pagodas; but, like the other princes of the *Indies*, he is supposed to have prodigious sums in his treasury'. He has always an hundred and forty trained elephants, and about three hundred horse, with a small body of infantry; but when he is disposed to take up arms, he can, by the help of his money, raise almost what number of men he pleases, but thirty or forty thousand without difficulty. He is, notwithstanding, tributary to the *Great Mogul*, who sometimes draws from him large sums besides his tribute. His capital, which is likewise called *Tanjour*, is large, and encompassed with a strong wall, and his castle, or place of residence, spacious, magnificent, and well fortified; insomuch that, notwithstanding the armies of the *Mogul* have sometimes over-run his country, yet they have never been able to reduce this place, though they have besieged it more than once. According to the computation of our missionaries, it is distant from *Tranquebar* about sixty *English* miles. The rajah of *Tanjour* has, besides, three other strong places in his territory, exclusive of the little port of *Karical*, and the fortress which covers it; and which are now, as the reader will see in the next chapter, fallen into the hands of the *French* (S).

' Account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 6. LE BRUN, DELLON, &C. Hist. des Indes Orient. tom. iii. p. 263.

TAVERNIER,

undertaken by persons ignorant of those circumstances that rendered it impracticable. In a little time they got the better of this; and, by a just application of small charities, procured more considerable assistance from all quarters, but more especially from *England*, where archbishop *Tennison*, and the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, entered heartily into their scheme, and procured them a printing-press, and printers, which were sent over. They were likewise very kindly treated by those intrusted with the *East India* company's affairs at *Fort St. George* (52). Some discouragements were thrown in their way, and many calumnies published concerning them by the jesuits and their creatures; which they refuted by the soundness of their doctrines, the probability of their lives, and the progress of their mission, which exceeded all expectation (53). They had great opposition given them by the rajah of *Tanjour*, and from the implacable malice of the *Moors*. By degrees they softened both, by making no returns, and by shewing that modesty, humility, and universal charity in their actions, which they recommended in their discourses (54). One only difficulty lay out of their reach to subdue, which gave them greater trouble, and retarded them more, than all the rest: this was, the general corruption of Christians, which was continually objected to them, and which they could not either deny or reform; yet in this they were no further unhappy than the *Portuguese* had found themselves, according to the report of *Francis Xavier* (55); who, upon his arrival at *Goa*, thought fit to preach the gospel to his countrymen, before he attempted to convert the heathens, finding their lives resembled those of idolaters more than Christians. However, from the exact behaviour and exemplary lives of the *Malabar* children brought up in their charity-schools, the natives are now taught to see what Christian principles will produce in practice, and the difference between real converts and those who become nominally so for some trivial advantage.

(S) The very last war, which proved so fatal to the authority of the *Mogul*, and so disastrous to all the Eu-

ropeans settled on the coast of *Coromandel*, of which we shall be obliged to speak again more largely in another place, took its rise from the then reigning king of *Tanjour*. *Daoust Ali Khan* was nabob or viceroy of *Arcatte* at the time that *Nadir Shah* deposed, and made prisoner, *Mohammed Sbab*, emperor of *Indostan*; and, instead of marching, with the numerous army under his command, to the support of his master, he formed a design of reducing all the *Indian* princes as far as *Cape Commorin*, in order to distribute their dominions between his son and his son-in-law (56). Those young men, being at the head of an army, speedily reduced the little principality of *Trichnapaly*, and from thence advanced into the neighbouring country of *Tanjour*. The name of the then reigning prince was *Sabagi Maha Rajah*, who had but just put an end to a civil war, that had constrained him to demand assistance from the *French*, and to promise them, in return, a town and port more commodious, and a district more valuable, than that of *Pondichery*, of which, at this very juncture, they were endeavouring to get possession by force (57). *Sabagi*, pressed by the *Moorish* army on one side, and having their allies the *French* upon his coast on the other, had recourse to that method which had been so useful to his ancestors; and, having chosen out of his whole army a sufficient number of determined men, he shut himself up in his capital, and sent his ambassadors to *Maha Rajah*, king of the *Marattes*, to implore his assistance; who accordingly, in *October* 1738, sent a powerful army to his relief, by which the siege of *Tanjour* was raised (58). In the mean time, the *Moors* had put the *French* in possession of *Karical*, as will be shewn at large hereafter, and is remarked here only to put the reader in mind of the alteration this has made as to the circumstances of the *Danes* at *Tranquebar*, who are now in the middle between *Pondichery*, which lies to the north, and *Karical* to the south of them; and there is little doubt to be made, that, in the space of a few years, the latter will be as much improved as the former; and what consequences this may have with respect to the *Danes*, is left to the judicious reader's consideration (59).

(52) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. La Croze, p. 556, 557.

orientale, p. 74.

p. 554.

tom. iii. p. 275.

(54) *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, tom. xiv. p. 481, 482.

(55) *Life of St. Francis Xavier*, translated by Mr. Dryden, p. 92.

(56) *Hist. des Indes Orient.*

(57) *Memoires historiques sur les missions de Malabar*, par L. P. Norbert, tom. i. p. 350.

(58) *Archives de la compagnie des Indes*, N. 161. C. 83. L. 1. F. 3. avec un memoire particulier.

(59) *Hist. des*

a As to the climate, in the months of *August*, *September*, and *October*, it is temperate and healthy; the land breeze warm in the morning, that from the sea cool and refreshing in the afternoon. In *November*, *December*, and part of *January*, the west wind blows, bringing with it, at the beginning, very stormy weather, much rain, and sometimes frost. From the middle of *January* to the end of *April*, the weather is temperate again; but from *May* to the middle of *July*, it is excessively hot; and sometimes there is a wind blows as if it came out of an oven or a furnace^u. In all these seasons the nights are not only temperate, but even chilly: the natives enjoy the hot, the *Europeans* the rainy or winter season, when every thing is fresh and green, and a variety of odoriferous flowers, shrubs, and trees, exhale a fragrance that may be conceived, but not described. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the days and nights are nearly equal. At the changing of the seasons they have commonly very tempestuous weather, attended with terrible storms of thunder and lightning, which frequently do a great deal of mischief; but, with respect to hail and snow, they are never seen in those parts; yet their water is so chilled in the winter, as to give them an idea of ice^w (T).

The nature of the climate, seasons, weather, and the annual alterations therein.

As for the soil, it is in itself extremely fertile, producing vast quantities of rice, many sorts of nourishing roots, and great variety of wholesome herbs, as well for the use of the table, as for the apothecary's shop: they have most of those fine fruits of which they boast so much in the *Indies*; and their flowers equally delight the sight and smell by their beauty and odour: yet this country has scarce any rivers, and but few rivulets, and is, notwithstanding, tolerably well watered: for in the summer, when every thing would be parched and burnt if it were otherwise, there come down land-floods from the northern countries, which the *Gentows* distribute with such dexterity over their lands, that whatever they cultivate is sufficiently nourished^x: yet, for constant and domestic use, they are obliged to have recourse to well-water, which, if it is not at all brackish, and is brought from any distance, bears a considerable price for that country; and on this account, in all the roads, at the distance of a league, or a little more, there are very neat structures built by charitable and public-spirited persons, where travellers may repose themselves as long as they think proper, and are in many accommodated with water *gratis*^y. There are also in the country of *Tanjour* very fine meadows and pastures, well stocked with cattle of different sorts. On the coast they have plenty of good fish; and birds and fowl, tame and wild, of as many different kinds as in almost any country. In short, the

Fertility of the soil, how watered, produce, and other particulars relative to the country.

^u Account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 11, 12, 13. ^w Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. i. p. 593. Description of the coast of Coromandel, by BALDÆUS. ^x Account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 17—20. ^y Hist. des Indes Orient, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 101.

(T) What is said in the text is taken from the plain relation of the *Danish* missionaries, and may, without doubt, be depended upon as to the facts; yet, as the weather hereabouts has afforded much speculation to the learned, and as the curious reader may probably expect that we should not slip over unheeded a matter so capable of affording him entertainment and instruction, we will endeavour, from the best authorities, to set this affair in as clear a light as we can (60): "It has always been considered as a thing very extraordinary, that in *Coromandel* the seasons differ from the heavens; for the sun there causes great heat in *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, and no rains. The *Moors* divide the year into three seasons, hot, wet, and cold. The heat, from the fourth of *May* to the fourth of *June*, is intolerable. The wind blows from the north, to which if you turn your face, you feel such heat in the air as is perceived near a furnace; for the sun is to the north at mid-day, and the stones and wood are very hot; but the water in the wells very cold, so that sometimes people are killed by drinking it when they are hot. The greatest heat is from nine in the forenoon to three in the afternoon, and then there is no travelling; but at other times it is temperate and tolerable, and the air clear, and travelling delightful. The wet season is from the first of *July* to the first of *November*; and the cold from the first of *November* to the first of *March*; and in *January* and *December* the cold in the night is sensible enough. There are here several things that deserve to be inquired into; for, from the first of *March* to the first of *July*, the sun is nearly vertical to them, and therefore no wonder if the heat be

" great then; yet one would think it should be as hot in *July* and *August*, when the sun is also over them, and hath the advantage of the former heat, and so should, in this way of reasoning, be greater: and, besides, how come the seasons here to differ from those on the *Malabar* shore, being both in the same climate, and having the sun vertical and remote at the very same time? and, which is more strange, there are not seventy miles, and in some places only twenty miles, between; so that you may come from the places where the air is clear and hot to where it is foul and rainy in one day." *Maffæus* (61) writes on this subject thus: "There are other things very strange in that country; but what more especially puzzles naturalists is, that, in the same months, there should be summer beyond the mountains of *Gate*, which run all the way to the promontory of *Comoren*, and on this side the *Gate* there should be winter, and constant rains, the people, tho' near one another, having opposite seasons. The best account hitherto given is, that it arises from the situation of the mountains which divide *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, running north and south, together with the stated winds; for, on the shore of *Coromandel*, the general wind is more felt, except in the summer months of *May* and *June*, which drives the vapours against the mountains, and makes rain in *Malabar*. The mountains are then observed covered always with clouds in the wet months, and the showers more vehement on them when it rains in *Malabar*; but, when it rains in *Coromandel*, the sky is clear on the mountains as in *Malabar* itself, excepting the months of *July* and *August*; for then it rains in both."

(60) *Varenius geograph. cap. xxvi. sect. 6.*

(61) *Hist. Indica, l. i. cap. 24.*

country

country affords every thing that can render it commodious and pleasant to such as are disposed to live in a manner suitable to the dictates of nature and right reason; that is, temperately in all respects; for it must be owned, that excesses are always dangerous, and sometimes fatal; but those, who are careful in avoiding these, commonly enjoy a good state of health^a (V).

The genius, manners, and employments of the natives, extent of their language, and other circumstances.

THE natives are naturally sensible and ingenious, very capable of being instructed in all sorts of learning, and have a surprising facility in acquiring mechanic arts. The *Malabaric* language is said to be divided into eighteen dialects, the principal of which are these three; the *Keren-dum*, which may be stiled the tongue of the learned, being chiefly used by the *bramins*, and confined to their religious mysteries; the *Damulian*, which is the proper and polite language of all the *Gentows* in this peninsula, taking in the compass of more than three thousand *English* miles; the *Wardagis*, spoken in the northern countries, and which differs from the *Damulian* in the same degree as the *Scottish* from the *English* language^a (X). The dress of the natives is clean, thin, and slight, for the conveniency of being easily thrown off when they are inclined to bathe, which they do frequently. As to their manners, the better sort of them are honest, courteous, and civil; the common people rude and unpolished, as in other places. There are many rich and great men amongst them; but the most part are but in middling circumstances, getting their living by the sweat of their brow; and, tho' they work hard, live frugally, and have but little to depend upon, yet they are commonly chearful and content: and as for beggars, except the *faquirs*, who are religious mendicants, there are none; for the *Gentows* say, that he who made the mouth to eat, made the hands to work. As there is little wood, and no timber in this country, the better sort of houses are built with brick; and the poor live in cottages made with clay, and covered with straw: but the *Europeans* build with stone, only one story high; yet their rooms are spacious, airy, and very commodious^b. Provisions are still very cheap, tho' much dearer than they were formerly. The *Gentows* live upon boiled rice, milk, herbs, and sweetmeats. The *Moors* live there as in other places, that is, as well as they can, and nobody better, if they can afford it. As for the *Europeans*, they have rice, herbs, eggs, fish, fowl, hares, veal, mutton, goats, beef, and pork. The soldiers live com-

^a TAVERNIER, SCHOUTEN, HAMILTON, and the missionaries. learning, and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 8, 9, 10.

SCHOUTEN, p. 592. Description of the coast of Coromandel, by BALDÆUS, and the missionaries.

^b Account of the religion and government, Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par GAUTIER

(V) There is a great deal of confusion and obscurity in what those writers say, who have visited this coast, about the overflowing of the rivers. The learned *Varenius* (62) says, that they overflow in the wet months, and are supplied by the rains that pour from the mountains of Gate. At first sight, these words seem to be plain; but, when better considered, we shall find them very obscure; for this ridge of mountains separating the two coasts, how shall we know what is meant by the *wet season*, that is, whether it refers to *Malabar* or *Coromandel*? since, as these are directly opposite, till that question is answered, the true sense of the expression cannot be known. On comparing, however, the best writers together, it appears, that the overflowing of the rivers, or rather the coming down of land-floods, is in the dry season, as is asserted in the text; without which, the earth would be then so parched that it would scarcely be habitable; whereas when the seasons are regular, from this special provision made by Divine Wisdom, and directed by human experience, all the arable and meadow lands are kept for some time two feet under water, which renders them wonderfully fertile, besides affording them the benefit of double harvests (63). The more the disposition of these countries, and the consequences that follow from thence, and from the annual motion of the sun, are considered, the more evident it will be to every competent judge of these matters, that they are conducted by unerring wisdom, and with that spirit of bounty and goodness that is universally discoverable throughout his works.

(X) We are assured by the reverend Mr. *Zeigenbalg*, who took incredible pains to make himself master of whatever knowledge was requisite to the discharge of his

pastoral duty, that the *Damulian* tongue, though very copious and significant, is yet very regular, and may be very easily reduced to the rules of grammar (64). They write upon palm-leaves, holding the leaf in their left-hand, and an iron stile or pencil in their right. They move the leaf forward till the line is finished, and then pull it back again, and begin another; and this they do with great dexterity, and will dispatch much business in a little time. In all their cities, and even in their towns and villages, they have schoolmasters to teach the boys to read and write; notwithstanding which, there are but few who attain either in perfection, and the number is still smaller of those who attain both; because, according to their method of teaching, it requires six years at least, and that with constant practice, to become an expert scholar, and a ready scribe. As for the females, they are never sent to school at all, except a few only that are bred up for the service of the pagodas, and are stiled *Attendants on the gods* (65). These have an admirable education, and are taught every thing that can contribute either to form their understandings, or to adorn their persons. In reference to the sciences, the other missionaries represent the natives as miserably ignorant, and amused with silly, trifling, and ignorant fables; but that worthy and diligent person we have before commended, and who had spent many years in cultivating that learning which he had with so much difficulty acquired, very candidly acknowledges, that, besides a mysterious allegorical theology, they have likewise systems of ethics, treatises of logic, rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, physic, geography, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, music, and the mathematics (66).

(62) *Geograph. cap. xvi. sect. 4.*

Malabarians, p. 17—20.

(63) *Account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the*

(64) *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 537, 538, 539.

(65) *Account of the*

religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 29.

(66) *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 443.

Account of the religion and government, learning and oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 29, 30.

- a fortably upon two or three dollars a month; a *Gentow* will live upon one; and those who spend high can hardly spend eight, or ten at the most. As for the luxuries of the place, they are tea, arrack, and fincken, which is a sort of small wine, not made of grapes, but from the juice of a kind of palm *. The *Moors* are implacable enemies to the gospel, and are very seldom converted. The rajahs, their courtiers and the bramins, have also an obstinate aversion to the Christian faith; and the common people are apt to insult those who have deserted paganism: yet, notwithstanding all this, the *Danish* missionaries have made a very considerable progress, and have excited a like spirit amongst their neighbours the *English* and *Dutch*; so that the number of new Christians is vastly increased, and they are, generally speaking, modest and sincere ^a (Y).
- b We will now describe the town, fortress, and fort of *Tranquebar*, which could not have been done with so much perspicuity, if we had not previously described the country. The missionaries say that it stands in the latitude of eleven degrees; but the *French* maps place it in ten degrees forty minutes, and in the longitude nearly of seventy-eight degrees from the meridian of *Paris* *. The compass of the city is between two and three miles, fortified with a good stone wall, and several bastions, well provided with artillery, and in no great danger of being taken by all the forces that the *Gentows* can bring against it. Before the gate that leads into the country stands a fine citadel; and the fort towards the sea is well-built, regular, the bastions supplied with brass cannon, and has commonly a garrison of three hundred men complete. Within the walls of the city there are three Christian churches: first, that of the jesuits or *Portuguese*, settled before the *Danes* came thither, and which they have always tolerated, and treat the Papists upon all occasions with much civility, though they have not made the most grateful returns †. *Zion* is the *Danish* church belonging to the garrison and old inhabitants, where service is performed in the *Danish* language, and according to the liturgy of that church. The third is that of *Jerusalem*, built by the missionaries, consecrated on the fourteenth of August 1717. Every Sunday morning they preach there in *Portuguese*, and in the evening in the *Damulian* tongue; and the children are catechised immediately after sermon: the same is repeated every Friday. There is also a large mosque for the *Mohammedans*; and five great pagodas, or pagan temples, for the *Gentows* ‡. We may easily collect from hence, that, taking in Christians of every denomination, *Moors*, and *Gentows*, the place is very populous, more especially at certain seasons, when the conveniency of trading with other *Europeans* invites thither strangers from the adjacent countries, who make frequently a pretty long stay there. We find no exact computation made either of the whole number of its inhabitants, or of the Christians, *Moors*, or *Gentows* that dwell there; yet some writers, who were well acquainted with the affairs of the *Indies*, assure us, that, after *Batavia*, *Tranquebar* is the handsomest and best built place in the hands of the *Europeans*; and express their wonder thereupon, that it has not been more considered by the *Danish* government, and rendered more advantageous in every respect, which, they say, might not only be done with certainty, but without difficulty; yet, in these cases, the reader will observe we report only, and do not pretend to decide ^b (Z).

Present state of the town and fortress of Tranquebar, and of its inhabitants, Christians, Moors, and Gentows.

THE

* Account of the religion and government, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 15.
 † Hist. des Indes Orientales, p. 101, 102.
 ‡ Account of the religion and government, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 2.

^a Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente, tom. i. p. 73, 74.
^b Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, p. 536, 537.
^c Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 93.

(Y) The progress of the *Danish* missionaries, or, to speak with greater propriety, the progress of the Protestant religion in the *Indies*, has been intirely owing to the steadiness of the court of *Denmark* in the support of this institution, for the maintenance of which its founder granted a certain revenue. In 1714, a council was erected for superintending the great work of propagating the gospel, composed of two privy-counsellors, and three ecclesiastics, upon whom the superintendence of this undertaking devolved. The persons sent to the *Indies* in the space of thirty-two years have been: in 1705, Messieurs *Ziegenbalg*, *Plutschow*, and *Bowring*; in 1709, Mr. *Grundler*; in 1713, Messieurs *Berlin* and *Adler*; in 1719, Messieurs *Schultze*, *Dahl*, and *Kirstenmacher*; in 1725, Messieurs *Bressler*, *Bose*, and *Walther*; in 1730, Messieurs *Richtsfug* and *Worm*; in 1737, Messieurs *Obuch*, *Widbrock*, and *Kohlhoff*. Within this space of time they have converted many thousands of the *Gentows* to the faith of Christ, not only in the district of *Tranquebar*, but in all

the adjacent countries, partly by their discourses, and partly by the books printed and published under their direction. By their unwearied labours the holy scriptures have not only been translated into the *Damulian*, but also into the *Mellician* and *Varugic* languages, and into that vulgar *Portuguese* which is spoken over all the *Indies*. The *Damulian* Bible has been printed twice, and the New Testament oftener. In 1716, a theological seminary was erected, in order to qualify the most capable of their scholars to become catechists, schoolmasters, and even preachers. Upon the extraordinary and unexpected success of this *Danish* mission, the *English* and *Dutch* have applied themselves to the conversion and instruction of the natives; and there is reason to hope, that we shall speedily hear of the good effects of their endeavours (67). *Incrementum concedat Pater luminum, à quo omnia dona per secula superne descendant!*

(Z) The reader will see at large, in the ensuing chapter, how great difficulties occur, and how many obstacles are

(67) *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, tom. i. p. 74.

The district of
Tranquebar,
and the towns
and villages
that lie therein
described.

THE district belonging to this town, which belongs also to the *Danes*, is of a very considerable extent, full of villages, and those crowded with people. The biggest of these villages is *Borejar*, in which there are thought to be very near as many inhabitants as in *Tranquebar*. The *Moors* have several mosques, and, within these thirty years, they have built a new one; and the *Gentows* also have several large and splendid pagodas: but the fairest and most pleasant of their villages is *Tilliar*, in which reside forty bramins, who have houses perfectly clean and neat. The road to *Tilliar* from *Tranquebar* is set with a double row of trees, which bear red, white, and yellow flowers, not unlike our lillies; and, as these are fresh and green through the whole year, it makes travelling, even in that hot country, very agreeable. Besides these, there are seven other places; viz. *Tsandarapari*, *Kottupaleam*, *Erukittantseheri*, *Tschattanguri*, *Dewanallur*, *Oruwamangalam*, and *Tschenkitankerei*, which, tho' far inferior to the former, yet are all of them well inhabited, with a pagod in each; and the grounds about them are well cultivated. There are still six more villages; viz. *Pommeampoettei*, *Killinschimedu*, *Calink-raipoettei*, *Singnurpoettei*, *Akkamenpoettei*, and *Elamenpoettei*, the inhabitants of which are fishermen, and such kind of people who acquire a subsistence by supplying the town of *Tranquebar* with fish; and also ply with their boats along the coast, carrying goods from place to place, as occasions require¹.

An account of
the harbour
and road, as
also of the ship-
ping belonging
to the place.

THE port and road of *Tranquebar*, tho' not much to be commended, yet are as safe and commodious as any in their neighbourhood, and capable of admitting larger vessels; so that a famous *Dutch* writer had good reason to say, it was strange the *Danes* made no better use of this place; tho' there seem to be no good grounds for his adding, that they had as good or better opportunity than the *English*^k. It is highly probable, that the chief reason of their having no greater success was, the want of regard to this commerce, which, either through negligence or want of ability, was shewn at home. In respect to those who reside there, it is not altogether so inconsiderable; for, by the help of the *Gentow* merchants, they maintain some kind of correspondence with the people of the island of *Ceylon*; tho' they can trade only in small vessels, and by stealth, as it is no easy matter to escape the vigilance of the *Dutch*, with whom also they have some dealings^l. They still keep up a few small factories on the pepper coast; and have a lodge, with a fine garden, as we have mentioned before, on the coast of *Bengal*, to which they have sent some missionaries of late to preach the gospel. It seems to be their great misfortune, that they are very seldom upon good terms with the rajah of *Tanjour*, who seldom finds himself in any tolerable state of security but he thinks of falling on the *Danes*^m. In 1718 he attacked them with the whole force of his country; and though he was then obliged to

¹ Account of the religion and government, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 3, 4. Malabar, by Mr. BALDÆUS.
^l From the letters of the missionaries.

^k Description of the coast of
^m Histoire des Indes Orientales,

are to be overcome, before a regular commerce can be settled in the *Indies* by a nation far more powerful, and in most respects better qualified for such an undertaking, than the *Danes*, even when encouraged and supported by the government for a long series of years; which was far from being the case of that company and colony, the concerns of which make the subject of this chapter. If we consider their progress at first, it was very extraordinary; if we reflect on the causes of their declension afterwards, we cannot but esteem it very natural: yet, after all, it must be admitted, that things might have been better managed, that is, those who had the direction of affairs at *Tranquebar* might certainly have made themselves more acceptable to the natives, and found more proper means to soften the prince in whose dominions they were settled (68). In reference to the people, we have the fullest evidence that they were in general humane, beneficent, and very well disposed. The following instance will put it beyond all doubt: in the month of September 1709, Mr. Zeigenbalg made a tour into the dominions of the rajah, and advanced as far as the town called *Perumulei*; where he preached publicly to a great number of persons of the first rank, among whom were many bramins (69). After his sermon was over, they told him, that he ran a very great risk in making this excursion; that the rajah had given positive orders for seizing such as should presume to preach the Christian religion to his subjects; that, in obedience to these orders, they might

make him prisoner, and send him to court; that, however, this was far from their intention; and that if, contrary to their advice, he was resolved to persist in his design, they would give him no opposition. To all this they added, that, as soon as it was known at *Tanjour*, he would be immediately arrested; and though, in all probability, the rajah would not put him to death, yet he would throw him into a close dungeon, to obtain a large ransom; that he had often proceeded in this manner against *Portuguese* priests; and that running thus precipitately into difficulties would render him rather a victim to his own obstinacy, than a martyr to his religion; for they assured him, that in this method he hazarded all to little or no purpose, because, if any of their countrymen were inclined to hear his discourses, they would certainly come to him at *Tranquebar*, where he might teach, and they be instructed, without danger. After this prudent representation, they entertained him very handsomely, assured him of their great respect for his person, and their willingness to hear him upon moral subjects (70). It is not easy to conceive how a stranger could have been better treated in any country; and therefore there are some grounds to suspect, that, if condescension and complaisance had been employed, and no bad examples given, the *Danes* might long ago have gained such an interest amongst these people, as might have turned to their advantage.

(68) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 78.
that missionary's own letter.

(69) Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, p. 551.

(70) From

a raise the siege, yet it has been conjectured, that pieces of eight prevailed more than bullets. Since that time, there have been so great distractions on the coast of *Coromandel*, that they have been less in danger than formerly; and, as their trade is now reviving, it is very probable that they will find the means of rendering themselves more acceptable or more formidable to this *Indian* prince, either of which would certainly have a good effect ⁿ (A).

The scheme in which they are engaged, of converting the *Indians* to the Christian faith, cannot fail of producing very beneficial consequences. Those converts, and their descendants, will be so many loyal and useful subjects to the *Danish* government, and may, by degrees, be employed in very different capacities; and it has been already observed, that, with a very small assistance, they apply themselves to some kind of trade or other, and get a comfortable livelihood. They may be also disciplined, and made at least better soldiers than any of their countrymen ^o. Besides, it is found, that the resentment shewn against these new converts, when the missionaries first went over, by their own nation, which was so great that they were frequently obliged to quit the country, begins to wear out, and the *Indian* Christians live at present in good correspondence with their pagan relations. As these people are naturally sober and industrious, as well as sincerely devout, so there is nothing plainer than that the acquisition of numbers of such persons must add both strength and wealth to their masters. We may therefore expect, in process of time, to see the face of things extremely altered in this part of the world, where the raising new commodities, for which their soil is as fit as any of the adjacent regions, and the introducing new manufactures, would either excite the *Danes* who reside there to aim at extending their commerce, or induce some of their neighbours, who have more money, to settle amongst them, and both encourage them by their example, and assist them for the sake of their own interest; which has been the case elsewhere ^p.

It may possibly be objected to this, that these conjectures are not very agreeable to facts; that, since the scheme of sending missionaries from *Denmark*, the concerns of the *East India* company declined, the little trade they had grew less, and the rest of the *European* nations, who had not taken much notice of them before, began in a great measure to forget that there was such a thing as a *Danish* company or colony ^q. There is no doubt that much of this might be disproved; and that without difficulty it might be shewn, that this objection has been actually made already. But, notwithstanding this, what has been before advanced is very consonant to experience as well as reason; for though the affairs of the *Danish East India* company might not mend, but rather grew worse from this period, yet the condition of the colony grew better daily: their villages augmented, the people lived better, and the government of *Tranquebar* found itself more and more secure. Besides, the stated accounts given by the missionaries, the return of some of them upon necessary occasions into *Europe*, and the rumours that were spread by the seamen employed in the company's service, were attended with extraordinary consequences; since there is hardly a country in *Europe*, which has not heard of, and approved, this measure (B).

As

ⁿ *Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente*, tom. i. p. 74.
the *Malabarians*, p. 56, 57.
the *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 352.

^p *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 568.

^o Account of the religion and government, &c. of
^q *HAMILTON'S* account of
Gesta et vestigia Danorum in oriente, tom. i. p. 74.

(A) A great part of what is suggested in the text has been actually effected since, by the concession of the town and fortrefs of *Tranquebar* to the *Danish East India* company, upon the renewal of their charter, who are obliged to keep the garrison complete, to pay the annual rent to the rajah of *Tanjour*, and to defray the public expences of the government settled there (71). As this commerce has been ever since increasing, and as the company have at present a constant and regular trade to the coast of *Coromandel*, the bay of *Bengal*, and the port of *Canton* in *China*, there is no doubt that gradual improvements are daily making. We shall have another opportunity of speaking of the extraordinary attention shewn to the recovery of trade by the northern nations in general, and the government of *Denmark* in particular, with the consequences that are likely to attend it, more especially if it should be supported by a spirit of discovery likewise, than which nothing is more probable, not to say certain. A new route to the *Indies* would produce surprising effects, as might be easily demonstrated by arguments, if the experience of what has been done since the *Portuguese* opened a passage thither by the *Cape of Good*

Hope, did not render all reasoning upon this head in a manner unnecessary.

(B) There seem to be good grounds to attribute the preservation of the *Danish* settlements in the *East Indies*, and the keeping the company on foot in *Europe*, to this religious design of propagating the Christian faith. King *Christiern* the fifth had renewed the company's charter, and granted them a further term of forty years, from *November* 28th 1670, when this drew towards a conclusion, which occasioned those applications that have been mentioned in the text. King *Frederic* the fourth inquired more narrowly into their circumstances; and perceiving plainly that no good could be expected from this society, unless their establishments in the *Indies* could be improved, and their capital in *Europe* could be greatly augmented, he chose to take this step of sending missionaries, which he judged most effectual for that purpose, without delay, at his own expence (72). At the same time he renewed his composition with the company; and agreed to take one hundred thousand weight of salt-petre, or eight thousand crowns, in lieu of all duties for homeward-bound ships, the cargo of which should amount in value to one hundred

(71) *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites*, par M. Roussin, tom. v. p. 22.
du Christianisme des Indes, p. 535.

(72) *Histoire*

The continu-
ance of this
colony the cause
of reviving
the commerce
from Den-
mark to
China.

As soon as a new spirit of commerce sprung out of those necessities, which the love of money and gaming had produced, and those great powers that were possessed of it shewed a just persuasion of its value, by the zeal which they expressed against the first attempts made to change its course, *Denmark* was next thought of; and that company, which had been so much neglected, was considered as a foundation upon which a noble superstructure might be raised. We see, therefore, that colonies ought not to be slighted, even when, thro' a concurrence of untoward accidents, they fall into a decline; for it is not to be conceived that any effect whatever of human policy should be exempted from those vicissitudes to which all subinary things stand exposed; but, for the very same reason, perseverance appears to be prudent, since, if the root be kept alive, when the bad weather is over, commercial plants never fail to shoot out afresh; and, when it is least expected, provoke by their sudden appearance, that attention which is necessary for their cultivation*. But, to speak more clearly, and to return from reflections to narrative, let us proceed to shew how that change which we have described was brought about, and what effects it has produced.

S E C T. V.

Proposition made to the late king of Denmark, for erecting a new company for carrying on the commerce of the Indies. An abstract of his majesty's charter, and an account of the progress of this undertaking. It gives umbrage, from the critical conjuncture in which it was set on foot, to the maritime powers, who vigorously oppose it. Appears to be a consolidating scheme, in which the old Danish East India company being comprehended, it stands on a quite different basis from that at Ostend.

The proposal
made, on this
important sub-
ject, to the
court of Den-
mark, by Mr.
Van Asperen.

UPON the ruin of the *Ostend* company, a *Dutchman*, whose name was *Josiah van Asperen*, who had been concerned in that affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he applied himself to *King Frederic* the fourth, a prince of great goodness and virtue, and who had nothing more at heart than promoting the welfare of his subjects by all the means that lay in his power^c. The scheme proposed by Mr. *Asperen* to his *Danish* majesty had a very fair appearance and great probability of success: he observed, that there was a strong spirit raised of opening a new trade to the *Indies*; that many people, who were very well versed in that trade, had engaged in the service of the *Ostend* company, the success of which would unquestionably have answered their expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the causes of its ruin were such as could not attend that project in any other country, but least of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted commerce to the *Indies* for above a century; that therefore there was nothing farther necessary to render the *Danish* company as flourishing as those of *England* and *Holland*, than to increase its capital by opening a new subscription upon advantageous terms^d. By the force of these arguments the king was prevailed upon to suffer his scheme to be put in execution; and, that it might be done more conveniently, the *Danish East India* company was transferred from the city of *Copenhagen* to the borough of *Altena*, a place belonging to the crown of *Denmark*, but situated close to the rich and free city of *Hamburg*, and therefore made choice of upon this occasion^e (C).

IN

* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 73.
* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 73.
traitez, par Mr. ROUSSET, tom. v. p. 2.

^c *Dictionnaire de commerce*, tom. iv. col. 1144.
^d *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et*

dred and fifty thousand crowns, or upwards; stipulating likewise to demand nothing more if the cargo exceeded that value ever so much, and to require nothing if the value of the cargo did not amount to one hundred thousand crowns (73). As soon as the success of the missionaries was known, he caused commissioners to be appointed, as we have already observed, for the future direction of the mission; waiting no doubt a favourable opportunity for putting the other part of the project in execution, that is, enabling the company to extend her commerce by augmenting the capital. We need not wonder, therefore, that, a proposal for that purpose being made, it was readily embraced, or that his Majesty

willingly consented that foreigners should have a share in the new subscription, by which a measure so beneficial to his subjects might be carried into execution, the success of which appeared to be very doubtful without obtaining such assistance.

(C) The design of setting up this commerce where they did, by placing over the building erected for the reception of the director and servants of the company at *Altena*, this inscription in large characters, "Here is the new *India-house* for carrying on the commerce to *Transquebar*, *China*, and other places," was purely for the convenience of obtaining subscriptions, and in that respect was well contrived by Mr. *Van Asperen*. But notwithstanding

- a In order to induce foreigners to engage in this undertaking, his *Danish* majesty thought fit to grant a new charter, dated in *April* 1728, for promoting the commerce of the said company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief articles of which were these^{*}; viz. The new subscribers shall have an equal share and right with the old members in all the concessions, octroys, and privileges, granted to the said company by his present Majesty and his august predecessors; and likewise in all the forts, settlements, revenues, houses, magazines, ships, effects, and in short whatever the company is possessed of at this day, or may acquire in time to come. The old shares or actions, which are in number two hundred and fifty, of one thousand rixdollars each, shall subsist and remain as they are, and shall have the same rights as the new shares. The directors shall declare and affirm, upon their honour, that all the debts
- b of the company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars in specie. The united company are obliged to discharge and pay the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, upon condition that the old shares shall have no dividends till the year 1733. Though there is no question that the accounts of the company are just, and that their debts do not exceed the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, it is nevertheless stipulated that, if the said debts should appear to exceed the said sum, the old shares shall be answerable for the overplus, and that the new subscribers shall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new share shall be one thousand rixdollars in bank, or specie, whereof twenty *per cent.* shall be paid upon the account of Mr. *Alexander Bruguier*, banker at *Hamburg*, or in the manner prescribed in the project published by the company at *Copenhagen*, *December* 16th, 1727. If there was any absolute necessity to make a further call the present year 1727, the same shall not exceed five or ten *per cent.* at farthest. The call for the next year shall not exceed twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* The remainder of the subscription shall not be called in without the resolution and determination of a general court of the company. If the intire sum of the said one thousand rixdollars for the new actions is not paid in the year 1738, the proprietors of the old shares shall have an interest at the rate of five *per cent.* allowed them for the sum they have paid more and above the new subscribers. There will be no other actions than shares of one thousand rixdollars, and half shares of five hundred rixdollars each. Every subscriber shall be allowed to take shares for the bearer, signed by the company; and such as please may have them inscribed in the company's books. There shall be paid for each transfer
- d two rixdollars to the company, and half a rixdollar to the poor. The creditors of the company are allowed to take new actions for the sums due to them, provided they discount on the said debts thirty *per centum* for the present year for each share, and twenty-five *per centum* for the next. The shares they shall purchase on this condition shall have the same dividends as the other new actions. The said share shall not be liable to any seizure or stop upon any account whatsoever, as it is declared in his majesty's octroy. The directors shall yearly communicate to the subscribers an exact and particular account of the affairs of the company. The dividend shall be regulated upon the said account in a general court of the company, by the majority of voices. The directors are not allowed to undertake any trade but the commerce in the *East Indies* upon the company's account, without the consent of the members thereof; and still less
- e shall they dispose of or lend the company's money, to any person whatsoever, for which they are to be answerable *in solido* in their own name and estate. They shall take an oath of exact observation of this article; and, for a faithful administration of the affairs of the company for the common benefit and advantage of the members thereof. All the merchandize which shall be sold in any other place than *Copenhagen*, shall be paid in the bank at *Hamburg* to one or more merchants, and most substantial traders, for the company's account. These merchants shall be chosen and appointed, in a general court, by a majority of voices, and in no other way upon any pretence whatsoever. The said merchants, or cashiers, shall pay no money but upon orders signed by three or four of the directors at least. The money to be paid this year shall be at the disposal of the present directors, till new ones to be added to them are chosen. The money

* Corps universelle diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. viii. P. ii. p. 150.

withstanding this, it subjected his project to various suspicions and imputations, from which it would have been otherwise free. In the first place, it was insisted upon, that this was a new *East India* company, to the institution of which the maritime powers conceived that they had a right to object; whereas the old company of *Copenhagen* was, even in their sentiments, established in its legal right to that trade by prescription. In the next place, it was given out, that the *East India* company at *Altena* was only an invention to revive the mystery of stockjobbing, and enable those who were in the secret

to compass immense sums under colour of a trade to the *Indies*, when in reality they meant to deal in nothing but moonshine. It was farther added, that the royal concessions in their charters were so very extensive, and so highly disinterested, that it was extremely difficult to apprehend an absolute prince as the king of *Denmark* is, by the voluntary surrender of the liberties of his subjects, meant to be bound by them any longer than till they have answered the concealed purposes of this plausible proposal (73).

(74) *Historical register*, vol. xiii. p. 204, 205, 206.

arising by the new subscriptions shall be laid out in sending ships to *Tranquebar*, *Bengal*, and *a* *China*, and for no other use whatsoever. No more money shall be kept in cash than what will be necessary for the fitting out and sending of ships, as in the preceding article. A general court of the company shall be called as soon as possible, in order to chuse four new directors out of the new subscribers, who may be all foreigners.

The news of this company gives a great alarm to the subjects of the maritime powers.

On the publication of this new charter, and Mr. *Van Asperen*'s soliciting his friends and correspondents in *Holland* to take a share in this subscription, a great inclination appeared to follow his advice^y; but, as this could not fail of giving great offence, more especially to those who were in the direction or service of other *East India* companies, it was not long before measures were taken to intimidate him, and take off those impressions that his applications had made^z (D). This certainly gave some check to that spirit which appeared in foreign countries in favour of this design; which, notwithstanding, had so great success, that those intrusted with the administration of the company's affairs, began to make preparations for such an expedition as might give them credit^a. Several persons also, well versed in the *East India* trade, repaired to *Copenhagen*, and shewed an inclination to enter into the service, where they were kindly received, and often consulted; by which this important subject came to be not barely known, but generally understood in that country; so that not only great expectations were raised of the success which might attend this scheme, but also a warm zeal for promoting it to the utmost, and this amongst every order of men, upon that sensible and salutary principle, that whatever contributed to the public benefit ought to be esteemed a thing of public concern^b. When affairs were thus circumstanced, preparatives, as it was very natural, were made with all imaginable vigour (E). b

Their application on this head to the court of Denmark by their ministers.

As soon as it was certainly known that the *Danish East India* company was actually on the point of sending ships to the *East Indies*, agreeable to their plan, and to the power given them by their charter, a resolution was taken by the maritime powers to act in concert in this affair, and to endeavour to deprive the new company of their sole support, which was his *Danish* Majesty's charter of incorporation. It was with this view that orders were sent to Lord *Glenorchy* and Mr. *Dassensfeldt*, the ministers of *Great Britain* and *Holland* at the court of *Denmark*, to act jointly in this affair, and to use their utmost industry to procure the repeal of the powers granted to this society; and, in consequence of these instructions, those ministers d soon after drew up and presented the following paper to the court of *Denmark*^c.

“ His

^y Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73.
^a Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxxxiv. p. 199.
^c Historical register, vol. xiii. p. 208.

^z Historical register, vol. xiii. p. 204, 205, 206.
^b Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

(D) As the *Sieur Van Asperen* was a burgher of *Amsterdam*, and had retired into a foreign country, and entered into a foreign service, without renouncing his burgherhip, this, according to the laws of *Holland*, was an act of felony; upon which a prosecution was set on foot, and carried to the last extremity, which was, executing him in effigie. An answer was also writ to his circular letter; in which, besides the objections stated in the last note, it was suggested, that the honour of the directors was no indisputable security, since one of them, tho' now a count, and honoured with a white ribbon, had been a bankrupt in *France*, and been driven out of *England* and *Holland* by prosecutions from his creditors; that the *Danish* company had made prize of a *Moorish* ship bound to *Surat*, and had sold her cargo for three hundred thousand crowns, till which sum, with interest upon interest, at the rate of twelve per cent. was refunded, the natives would exclude them from trade; and that therefore, the hazards considered, no prudent man would subscribe, notwithstanding all the fair promises and large privileges granted to the new company, which seemed, upon the whole, rather calculated to draw the money of other countries into *Denmark*, than to revive the drooping trade of the *Danes* with the *Indies*. This answer was dated *May* the first, 1728, from *Amsterdam* (75), and was highly relented by the *Danish* court; but, as it was signed by nobody, and the author could not be easily found, the complaints made against it had no effect (76).

(E) When the *Sieur Van Asperen* and his colleagues

saw what pains were taken to discredit their scheme, they held it expedient to demonstrate the falsity of some, and the fallacy of other objections. In a piece published at *Copenhagen* upon this subject, it was observed, that the erecting of a new *India-house* at *Altena* did not constitute a new company, as was evident from the royal charter, which was undeniably an ingraftment upon the old one; that, as to the credit of the directors of the *East India* company, there was no just reason to impeach it, since it was their interest to declare the truth, and since a provision was actually made in the charter to prevent the subscribers from being injured in case they did not declare the truth; that the story of the *Moorish* ship was an absolute falshood; and that, in fine, the very letter itself, being inconsistent and contradictory, ought to have no weight with any disinterested person; for one part was calculated to prove that the *Danish East India* trade could turn to no great account because of the circumstances of the company, which plainly admitted an intention to carry on an *East India* trade, and to carry it on upon the old company's bottom; whereas in the other part of the letter it was insisted upon, that this was a new company, and that they had really no intention to trade at all. It was impossible, therefore, taking things together, that all their objections should be true; but that there was nothing either absurd or improbable in presuming them all to be false, and calculated only to subvert a society established by the authority of his *Danish* Majesty, which ought to be respectable to all *Europe*, and more especially in the sight of his allies (77). This

(75) Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites, par Mr. Rouffet, tom. v. p. 27, 30, 31.
 (76) Historical register, vol. xiii, p. 204, 205, 206. (77) Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxxxv. p. 72.

- a “ His Majesty the King of *Great Britain*, and their High Mightinesses the States General
 “ of the *United Provinces*, foreseeing the injury the transferring the *East India* company from
 “ *Copenhagen* to *Altena* will do to the commerce of their subjects; and perceiving with con-
 “ cern, that almost at the same instant they are making so great efforts to stop the progress of
 “ the *Ostend* company, the King of *Denmark*, their good old friend and ally, is setting up
 “ another equally prejudicial to their subjects; have ordered the subscribing ministers to make
 “ most humble representations to his *Danish* Majesty, hoping, from his majesty’s friendship,
 “ that, as soon as he shall be informed of the uneasiness this novelty gives them, he will
 “ withdraw the privilege lately granted to that company, and leave it on the antient foot as it
 “ has always subsisted at *Copenhagen*: accordingly the subscribing ministers desire your Excel-
 b lency to make a report thereof to the king, and to procure them a favourable answer.
 “ Done at *Copenhagen*, July 31, 1728.”

GLENORCHY and ASSENDELT.

- WHATEVER address or moderation might be used, or how smooth soever its language, the King of *Denmark* and his council did not at all relish this memorial; to which however an answer was given, wherein his *Danish* Majesty insisted, that the maritime powers had totally mistaken the point, because it never was the king’s intention to erect a new company, or to transfer that which had now subsisted above an hundred and ten years from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*^d: that this appeared clearly from the very project of incorporation, which granted no new powers to the company, but barely confirmed the old ones: that the voyages proposed directly for *China* could not be esteemed an infraction of treaties, any more than the voyages formerly made by the company’s ships from *Tranquebar*: that, farther still, his *Danish* Majesty was not restrained by any treaty whatever from maintaining and supporting the commerce of his subjects to the *Indies*, either from their establishments in that part of the world, or directly from *Copenhagen*: that the law of nature and nations not only gave him a right, but made it his duty, to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to extend their trade as far as it was in his power: and that, finally, as he did not encourage this commerce with any view of injuring the *East India* companies in *England* or *Holland*, but purely with a design to benefit his own subjects, he could not discern how this should expose him to the resentment of any other power whatever.
- d How clear and full soever this answer might seem to the court of *Denmark*, it was far enough from giving any satisfaction to *Great Britain* and *Holland*; and therefore a fresh memorial was drawn up, to shew the insufficiency of this answer, and the right which the maritime powers had to expect that his *Danish* Majesty should comply with their demands, and withdraw his protection from the company. This memorial was delivered by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and the deputies from their High Mightinesses the States General, to Mr. *Greys*, his *Danish* Majesty’s minister at the *Hague*, in the summer of the year 1729^e, from which time it does not appear that any farther applications have been made on this subject, or that the rights of the *Danish East India* company have been farther controverted.
- f THIS warm opposition seemed at first to answer the end of the powers that formed it, but, in the issue of things, was really favourable to the design of the *Danes*. *Frederic* the fourth, who was at this time drawing towards threescore, and was equally unwilling to perplex himself with disputes, or to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, declined the support of the *Altena* company; but at the same time recommended the *East India* commerce to the care of the Prince Royal, his son, who not long after succeeded him by the title of *Christiern VI*^f. This had a double effect; for it prevented those from interesting themselves in the capital of the *East India* company, who had nothing in view beyond trading in actions; and it put many others upon resolving to contribute all in their power towards re-establishing a commerce, the value of which was sufficiently demonstrated by the jealousy that had been shewn about it. The dreadful conflagration by which *Copenhagen* was laid in ashes, prevented any great progress from being made by the Prince Royal in the life-time of his father; but when he was seated on the throne, and had recommended himself to his subjects by abolishing a farm of the excise which had been set up about four years before, and was extremely grievous to the people, he resolved to apply himself to trade, and to promote to the utmost of his power whatever might excite the love of industry amongst his people^g.

His whole administration at home and abroad was conducted intirely with these salutary views, and conducted with such address, that they perfectly answered his purpose. All the

paper war seems to have ended here, at least with regard to private persons; and with the greater propriety, since the maritime powers at *Copenhagen* and the *Hague*.

^d Recueil historique d’actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par Mr. ROUSSET, tom. v. p. 35. ^e Ibid. p. 37. ^f Mercure historique et politique. 1730, p. 581. ^g Introduit à l’histoire d’univers, tom. iv. p. 291.

order by Chris-
tians VI. who
enabled them
to carry on a
direct com-
merce to
China.

affairs of the *East India* company were by degrees brought into proper order; their house at *Copenhagen*, their docks, yards, and magazines, put into a good condition; and a commerce with *China* directly opened at a convenient season, and so prudently managed, that it has been constantly carried on ever since, and has grown more and more considerable in the space of about twenty years. The missions have also augmented during the same space; and the trade to *Tranquebar* has been rendered both more regular and more lucrative than it was in times past^a. It is indeed true, that the *Danish* may be stiled inconsiderable in comparison of the *English* and *Dutch* companies; but it is still a company, and a thriving company too, in comparison of what it was at the opening of the present century. What the consequences of this commerce may be in time to come, must be left to the conjectures of the judicious reader, as they lie without the province of an historian.

A strong con-
firmation of
the principle
laid down at
the beginning
of this work.

BUT, before we conclude this section, it may not be improper to put the reader in mind of a matter of fact, which very strongly confirms the doctrine we laid down when we first entered upon this subject. The matter of fact is this: that the attention of the *Danish* councils to trade has had no small influence upon the peace of the north, where they have taken no share in any war for these thirty years past; and in that space have not barely enjoyed the blessings of repose, but have cultivated and improved the arts of peace^b. The benefits derived from thence to all the subjects of the crown of *Denmark*, are sufficiently evident in the surprising changes made in the face of the country, the settling of a great variety of manufactures as well in other cities as in *Copenhagen*; and the increase of their shipping, which is become very considerable. We might also add to this the improvement of their marine, the wise precau-
tions taken to secure their just rights by treaties, and the vigilance that is shewn in equipping
and sending abroad their squadrons, to protect their traffick every-where, as occasion required,
if all the accounts we have from thence did not agree in representing an invariable attachment
to the common tranquillity of *Europe*, and the laudable hopes of making the people in general
easy and happy, the ruling maxims in the *Danish* cabinet.

How this
chapter stands
connected with
the history of
the *Ostend*
East India
company.

If any want of connection appear, or any difficulty be found, from the reference some part of what we have delivered necessarily has to the history of the *Ostend* company, that will be fully cleared up in a succeeding chapter, where we treat of the rise, progress, and suppression, of that company at large; but we could not divide our history of the commerce of this nation to the *Indies* without manifest prejudice to their rights, by considering the new charter as creating a new company, a point expressly denied by the crown of *Denmark*, and which seems to be decided in its favour by the acquiescence of those powers under the present method of their carrying on that commerce, who so warmly contested the establishment of any new society. The progress of this trade may, and in all human probability will, furnish them materials for a much more ample and accurate history; but, till these shall appear, the public, we flatter ourselves, will not despise the unwearied pains we have taken to render ours as complete as possible.

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

^b Introd. à l'histoire d'univers, tom. iv. p. 288.

C H A P. IX.

The history of the French commerce in the Indies, including a full and accurate account of their views in erecting, and the difficulties that occurred in supporting, an East India company in that kingdom; and comprehending farther a succinct account of the final decline of their East India company, and the plan and progress of the present company of the Indies.

S E C T. I.

Endeavours of the French monarchs to inspire their subjects with a passion for navigation and commerce. Henry IV. erects their first East India company, which sunk without ever attempting any thing: makes way for another more active, and for a little time successful; but, in the close, after varying their scheme, fall into a declining state, and are unable to sustain themselves in that capacity.

- a** **T**HE natural ambition, and great vivacity, of the *French* nation, have excited the wonder of some of the best writers of their own, as well as amongst their neighbours, that they came so late to understand the benefits of commerce, and the great influence arising from a naval force. But whoever considers this matter attentively, and consults what has been said upon it by one of the ablest as well as greatest men *France* ever produced, will find it no difficult thing to discover the true causes of the slowness shewn in applying themselves to points of such importance, and the little success they met with in their first undertakings of that kind. In the first place, they had not the spur of necessity which produced such wonderful effects upon the *Venetians* and the *Dutch*, who were forced for a subsistence upon those measures which in a short time raised them to wealth and power. Next, there were, generally speaking, great imperfections in their government, at least with regard to these matters; for sometimes their monarchs had too little, and at others too much power. In their former situation they were able to give but small encouragement to such projects; and, in the latter, the want of security in the possession of property was a bar to industry, and extinguished public spirit. Lastly, the vivacity, fickleness, and vanity of their tempers, rendered the *French* very unfit for things that required a calm, steady, and tractable disposition. If, therefore, we put all this together, and clearly comprehend what obstacles the abundance of a country, defects in government, and opposite inclinations in the people, are to the establishment of a solid and extensive commerce, we cannot be surprised at the small progress made in a long course of time by a nation, in other respects, very capable, as well as very enterprising.
- b** It will appear that these reasons are founded upon facts, when it is known how early one of the greatest *French* monarchs discerned these inconveniences, and with how much earnestness he laboured to find proper remedies. This was *Francis* the first, who, by his declarations in 1537 and 1543, exhorted his subjects to take long voyages, and laid before them the advantages that would result to themselves from complying with his desire. This conduct was imitated by the last of his immediate descendants, *Henry* the third, who in an edict, dated the 15th of *December* 1578, pressed the same point, but with very little effect; for either want of attention in the people, or the inability of the crown to give the necessary assistances, prevented any undertakings that, in a work of this nature, are worth mentioning. (A). However

A succinct view of the true causes why the French nation were so late in encouraging commerce.

At what time an extensive traffick was first thought of, and the East India trade attempted in France.

^a Testament politique du Cardinal de RICHELIEU, p. 83.
^b See SIR WILLIAM MONSON'S naval tract.
^c Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 14.

^d Essai sur la marine et sur le commerce, p. 62,
 Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. i. p. 1346.

(A) The candid reader will not be displeased if we remark upon this occasion, that the temper of the *French* nation is, after all, the chief reason why, with all their vigour and vivacity, they have hitherto made so indifferent

ever, in the reign of *Henry the fourth*, one *Gerard le Roy*, a *Fleming*, who had made several voyages to the *Indies* in the *Dutch* service, came and offered himself as a pilot, in case a *French East India* company could be established; and in consequence of his proposal, which, like every thing of that kind, was at first well received, and afterwards little regarded, such a company was formed under the king's letters patent, dated the first of *June* 1604, by which they had an exclusive trade granted them for fifteen years, on the setting out of their first ship^f. This design, however, came to nothing; but the same person revived his project in the succeeding reign, and by the assistance of some friends at court, procured a new company to be erected by letters patent from *Lewis* the thirteenth, dated *March* the 2d, 1611; but the same difficulties that rendered the former scheme abortive, that is to say, disputes amongst the proprietors, and want of money, had a bad effect upon this, so that for four years they undertook nothing^g. At the end of that period, two merchants of *Roan*, *Muiffon*, and *Canis*, petitioned the king, that the privileges granted to this inactive society might be transferred to them, offering to fit out ships that very year, which however was opposed by those who were interested in the former establishment; and therefore the court judged a coalition necessary, which was soon after brought about^h (B).

A new East India company set up on a coalition between the old adventurers and new ones.

UPON this letters patent were granted to the old and new proprietors, *July* 2d, 1615, which were registered in parliament the 2d of *September* following. In the succeeding year they fitted out two good ships, the command of the largest of which, with the title of general, was given to Captain *de Nets*, who at that time served the king in the marine. The lesser ship was bestowed on Captain *Beaulieu*, who had no other recommendation than meritⁱ. The voyage was in all respects fortunate and well conducted, though in the end it did not turn to any great account; for the *Dutch* president in the *Indies* having published an order, requiring all the subjects of the States General, that were on board those ships, to quit them immediately, the two captains found it thereby out of their power to bring home both the vessels; and therefore that which had been commanded by Captain *Beaulieu*, was sold to a little prince of the island of *Java*, and all their effects brought home on board the largest; notwithstanding which unforeseen misfortune, and the great expence with which this undertaking was attended, they managed so prudently as to make it a saving voyage^k.

Undismayed by their want of success in their first, the company resolve to send a second time.

THIS, however, did not discourage the company; on the contrary, they made the necessary preparations for another expedition, and took all possible precautions for rendering it successful, giving the chief command to Commodore *Beaulieu*, who sailed *October* 2, 1619, from *Honfleur* road, with three ships, the *Montmorancy*, of four hundred and fifty tons, and carrying one hundred sixty-two men, twenty-two guns, and twenty patereroes; the *Hope*, of

^f Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 82, 83. ^g Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 85, 86.

^h Relations de divers voyages curieuses, par Mr. MELCH. THEVENOT, P. ii. p. 128.

ⁱ Discours sur le voyage de general Beaulieu.

ferent a figure in maritime affairs. They were almost as early in their discoveries as any nation whatever; but, while other people improved and pursued their discoveries, the *French* intirely slighted theirs, and have never heard any farther news of that discovery to this day. But to be a little more explicit: In the reign of *Lewis* the twelfth, and in the month of *June* 1703, the *Sieur de Gonneville* doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and discovered a great country, to which he gave the name of the *Southern Indies*, where he remained upwards of six months, and brought home with him the son of a person of distinction (1). The truth of this fact, as well as several curious circumstances relating to it, are put out of all doubt by very authentic records of those times; yet no pains were taken to prosecute this attempt, tho', from the description of the country given by the gentleman before-mentioned, and by many others on board his vessel, it was such as would have tempted any other nation (2) to have made the utmost efforts for establishing a correspondence that must have been attended with honour, and might probably have been the source of great profit. If this temper had prevailed among the *English* and *Dutch*, his Catholic Majesty might have been the sole monarch of *America*, and the crown of *Portugal* might have monopolized the *East Indies* to our

times; for the reader will perceive it was no less than forty years after this singular and extraordinary event that *Francis* the first published his edict, in order to excite his subjects to undertake long voyages (3), and to enterprize something at sea for their own benefit, instead of lavishing away their lives in private quarrels, or in the maintenance of public commotions, which were the grievances of those times, and particularly in that country.

(B) The members of the company defended themselves by setting forth, that, if they had not been so early in equipping ships as might be expected, it was not through any fault of theirs, but arose from many untoward accidents which they could not foresee or avoid; such as the fatal death of king *Henry* the fourth, the unexpected demise of their patron and protector the duke *Dampville*, admiral of *France*, and of several of their captains and pilots; notwithstanding which, they were ready to equip ships for this service in as little time as their rivals (4). These suggestions determined the court not to take away their charter, but rather to associate with them those who had an inclination to engage in the same design, with an exclusive power of trading to the *Indies* for twelve years, and many other privileges (5).

(1) Memoires touchant l'establissement d'une mission chretienne dans le troisieme monde, autrement appelee la Terre Australe, Meridionale, Antartique, et Inconnue, presentee à N. S. P. le Pape Alexandre VIII. par une ecclesiastique originaire de cette meme Terre, 1663, 8vo. (2) Declaration du capitaine de Gonneville, datée Juillet 19, 1505. (3) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 14. (4) Dictionnaire de commerce, vol. ii. col. 1042. (5) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 162.

- a four hundred tons, one hundred and seventeen men, twenty-six guns, and twenty patereroes; and the *Hermitage*, an advice-boat, of seventy-five tons, thirty men, eight guns, and eight patereroes; all victualled for two years and an half. We have the history of this voyage written at large from that gentleman's papers, and a very curious and instructive voyage it is; and from thence it appears, that as these were stout ships, and well equipped, so the whole voyage was conducted with the utmost skill and address, and a good lading procured for both the large ships at the port of *Acben* in the island of *Sumatra*¹. Yet in some respects it was disastrous, the *Hope* being lost upon the coast of *Java*, or, as the commodore had very strong reasons to believe, was sunk by the *Dutch*, and all the men on board, and a cargo to the value of between seventy and eighty thousand pounds sterling; but, however, the commodore returned safe in his own ship to *Havre-de-Grace* on the first of *December* 1620^m (C).

THE consideration of this misfortune, and the fear of meeting with the like in succeeding expeditions, induced the company to confine her views to the island of *Madagascar*, in hopes that, if she could raise a powerful colony there, it might be a means to render succeeding attempts in the *Indies* more secure, but in this also, thro' a series of ill fortune and ill management, with which there is not either room or reason to trouble the reader here, they found the hopes they had formed disappointed, and that all their returns from thence fell very short of the expence that was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their settlementⁿ; so that, instead of contributing to the dispute of their original design, it served only to exhaust their funds, to discourage those who were in their service, and to discredit their undertaking to such a degree, that for many years together there was no more done towards the establishment of an *East India* commerce, than if no such company had ever been erected^o; and in all probability these sinister events would have stamped the character of impracticable upon every thing of this kind, amongst a nation equally ready to venture upon enterprizes the most difficult and dangerous, and to abandon even the most probable, if they do not immediately answer, in point of success, to their most sanguine expectations; a humour that prevails but too generally amongst the herd of mankind in all countries, and contributes more towards keeping them in indigence and misery than either barrenness of soil, or an unlucky situation; for all local evils admit of remedies, if the minds of men are but well inclined.

¹ Voyages de general BEAULIEU, p. 115. ^m Relations de divers voyages curieuses, par Mr MELCH. THEVENOT, P. II. p. 123. ⁿ Relation du voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en l'isle de Madagascar, isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique. ^o Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 85, 86.

(C) It was in reality the civil war which broke out in *France* that interrupted the progress of this company, disabled the members from contributing the sums necessary for its support, and diverted the attention of the government, without which it could not subsist. Upon this, some traders in *Normandy* endeavoured to avail themselves of the company's charter, from whence sprung the original design of making a settlement in the island of *Madagascar*, as we learn from the testimony of a person who was deeply concerned therein, and whose voyage

gives us light into many circumstances (6) that other writers endeavour to hide, particularly the bad behaviour of the *French* towards the natives, which, without doubt, gave a bad impression of the whole nation, and their early bent to privateering in the *Red Sea* (7); both which errors in management became more and more evident in the conduct of their successors, notwithstanding that they set out upon a better plan, and for some time at least were better supported, which rendered them so much the more inexcusable.

(6) Relation du voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'isle de Madagascar, &c. (7) Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar, par le Sieur de Flacourt, p. 205.

S E C T. II.

The famous Cardinal Richlieu turns his thoughts upon this subject; resolves to set up a new company, with more extensive powers, better funds, and under his immediate protection; all which, however, could not secure it success. Mr. Colbert enters into the like scheme, pursues it with equal ability and application; notwithstanding all which, the affairs of the royal *East India* company gradually decline.

- d BUT that wise and great minister, whose enterprising genius did so much good as well as Cardinal Richlieu's hurt to *France*, the famous Cardinal de Richlieu, resolved to revive this commerce, and Richlieu's undertook it, as he did all things, with great spirit. The royal privileges granted to this new project for establishing a new *East India* company were dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 1642, and contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting a society under the peculiar protection of so great a minister^p. Yet it fell out unluckily, at least for this establishment; he did not long survive this grant, which was a great prejudice to the company's affairs. However, *Lewis* the fourteenth, or rather the

^p Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 16, 17.

regency acting in his minority, confirmed those privileges by an edict dated the twentieth of September 1643. All these it quietly enjoyed for twenty years, during which space this third company sent every year a vessel to *Madagascar*; but the greatest part of them were either cast away in their passage, or lost the best part of their crews by the scurvy; so that though the name of an *East India* company was kept up in *France*, yet they were possessed of no such trade; but contented themselves still with fruitless attempts to settle a colony at *Madagascar*; a design, which, after all, they could never bring to bear^a. The time of their privilege being expired, the Duke de la Meilleraye attempted an *Indian* trade upon his own bottom; which ended in sending a ship or two to *Madagascar*, where he got into the possession of their settlements, and found them not worth keeping; though it is said that he made this attempt at a pretty easy rate, because, being master of the ordnance, he made free with the king's stores. On his death his son sold his interest in this island for about twenty thousand livres, which proved a great deal more than it was worth^a (D).

This company coming to nothing likewise, the trade to the Indies was for some time dropp'd in France.

THIS shews how little the *French* government agrees with commerce, and how difficult her ablest ministers find it to establish trade by dint of power. Yet it must be allowed Cardinal Richlieu took all the pains in this respect that was in the capacity of man; he sent for persons, who were best versed in trade, from *Holland*; drew abundance of rich merchants from different parts of *Europe* into *France*; formed the plan for the establishment of the new company himself, and engaged the principal persons for quality and fortune in *France* to embark in it. This step, which he conceived would most promote it, proved the ruin of the whole design; for, there being always some great nobleman at the head of this business, such as endeavoured to obtain employment in the company's service were forced to become his creatures; by which happy contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either merit or capacity; so that such as were the best judges of the means of carrying on this commerce with success, treated the *East India* company as a phantom, and never concerned themselves therewith. On the other hand, the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, being solely guided by experience, treated the affair of a *French East India* company with contempt; while the rest of the states of *Europe*, seeing *France*, with all her power, could make nothing of those repeated attempts, took it for granted that the *India* trade was designed by nature for the maritime powers, and never troubled their heads about it; a thing hardly credible, if we had not the authority of the best historians to support it^c.

The famous Mr. Colbert reviews this project, and, with the assistance of Mr. Charpentier, publishes his scheme.

BUT the scene soon changed when Lewis the fourteenth came to manage his own affairs, and had taken into his service such ministers as were equally capable of foreseeing and overcoming all the difficulties that could possibly be met with in the execution of the great designs they formed for the glory of their nation. The famous Mr. Colbert, so much distinguished by that great prince whose activity and prudence procured him many of those successes which rendered him the most powerful monarch in *Europe*, was the person who conceived the design of reviving the *French East India* company, notwithstanding all the misfortunes which had over and over disappointed the skill and care of his predecessors^d. But, before he made his intentions known to the public, he took care to be well informed in the affair he was to under-

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 86, 87.
^c Testament politique de Mr. COLBERT, p. 182.

^d Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 19, 20.
^e Essai sur la marine et sur le commerce, p. 113.

(D) As wise and great a man as this famous minister was, yet he very ingenuously confesses it was a long time before he could frame to himself any conception how that commerce could be beneficial to any kingdom, which carried out of it gold and silver; and he farther owns very freely, that, upon this principle, he disliked and discouraged the trade carried on from *Provence* to the *Levant*, as being chiefly driven with ready money, and bringing in scarce any thing which might not be accounted an article of luxury. But perceiving, that however unnecessary, these things were grown into common use; considering that, if his countrymen did not go to fetch them, foreigners would bring them into the ports of *France*; and being well informed, that the silver exported was *Spanish*, and not *French* coin, he penetrated his mistake, and saw plainly that a nation might be enriched by the carrying out of money, by its proving the means of bringing in more money from other nations (8). It was this notion that induced him to patronize the *East India* trade, which, as it sprung from his influence, seemed to expire with its protector. There were however, to

say the truth, some very untoward circumstances, which contributed to overwhelm the company. As for instance the murder of Mr. *Fouquet*, who, returning from *Madagascar* in 1646, was assassinated on the road to *Paris*, upon a false supposition that he had abundance of jewels about him, by which they not only lost the opportunity of consulting him on the affairs of that country, but also his memorials, and other papers, which would have been of singular use to them (9). Another misfortune was, the death of Mr. *Flacourt*, who, returning to *Madagascar* with the king's commission, as governor and commander in chief in *Madagascar*, was attacked in his passage by certain *Barbary* rovers, when his ship was blown up June the 10th, 1660, by which himself, and upwards of two hundred other persons, perished (10); and the death of the Duke de la Meilleraye, after he had comprised matters with the company, and was very intent upon giving them all the assistance in his power (11); which last blow engaged them to desist from all farther endeavours, and to surrender their privileges, in order to make way for a new establishment.

(8) Testament politique de Cardinal de Richlieu, P. ii. chap. i. § 7.
Flacourt, P. ii. chap. 4. (10) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 22.

(9) Relation de l'Isle Madagascar, par
(11) Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 87.

a take, by drawing to his acquaintance such merchants and seamen as were held to understand this subject best (E). It was from them he learnt the three principal difficulties in the way of that structure which he laboured to raise. The *first* was, the finding a sufficient fund for establishing such a company, as to which nothing had been done that could afford any probable hopes of success. The *French* merchants, fond of new projects, were ready enough in subscriptions, but slow in complying with the terms of their contracts after they had subscribed. The *second* was, a peremptory exclusion of foreigners, notwithstanding it was evident that the necessary funds for the carrying on so extensive a trade were not easily to be found in *France*. The *third* and greatest difficulty was, the granting and establishing such a degree of liberty and independency to this company, as might satisfy strangers and natives as to the security of their properties, and put the intire management of their affairs into the hands of such only as were esteemed fit to be trusted by themselves. All these things he weighed in his own mind; and, when he had sufficiently ripened his project, he communicated his plan to Mr. *Carpentier*, of the *French* academy, esteemed one of the best pens in *France*. As this paper was esteemed a master piece in its kind, explains the subject clearly, and contains abundance of curious circumstances: it may not be amiss to give the reader an extract of its contents; the rather, as we shall be obliged to refer to it often.

It began with this remark, that, as former schemes had failed for want of proper funds, there was no danger any thing of this nature should happen here, since, besides the constant protection which the government determined to give the king himself, and the greatest and the wealthiest persons in the nation, were resolved to furnish such large sums at the beginning as might put it on a level at least with the *Dutch East India* company at the time of its first establishment. In regard to any objection that might be raised from the disappointments which had overturned three companies already, it was observed, that few or no undertakings of this sort were attended with immediate success: that the *Spaniards* suffered greatly in their first expeditions to *America*, which did not hinder them from persevering in those designs, that had acquired them the empire of the new world: that the *English* colony in *Virginia* had failed four or five times, and yet was brought to perfection at last: and that even the *Dutch East India* company, which so much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its beginning.

THESE principles laid down, it was next shewn, that the island of *Madagascar*, a considerable part of which was then in the possession of the *French*, was a country capable of being improved to such a degree, as to become of more consequence, and of greater advantage, than any of the settlements possessed by the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*. In support of this it was said, that nobody would deny this settlement was incomparably more commodious and more secure than that of *Batavia*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheless made the capital residence of their company in the *Indies*: for, with respect to the place, the country of *Madagascar* was extremely agreeable, the climate equally temperate and pleasant, and the soil affording all the necessaries of life in the greatest abundance; whereas the territory about *Batavia* was so far from being fruitful, that the company were obliged to procure from distant places rice, fresh meat, and other provisions, for twenty-five or thirty thousand people, which could not but be attended with great difficulties, as well as a vast expence.

In respect to security, it was well enough known, that only a small part of the island of *Java* was in the power of the *Dutch*; and that the rest of the country, which was large and populous, was inhabited by a variety of nations, agreeing however in the fierceness and brutality of their natures, and in a bigotted zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, which made them hate and despise all Christians to the last degree: that the territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one

* Eloge de Mr. Colbert, par Mr. PERRAULT.

• Discours d'un fidele sujet du roi touchant l'establissement d'une compagnie Françoise pour le commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1664, 4to.

(E) We find this consummate minister speaking of this company to the king with very great modesty, and not only without arrogating any thing to himself, but with a fair acknowledgement, that whatever might result from this establishment ought to be considered as flowing from the plan of Cardinal *Richlieu* (12). This company, which was properly of his erecting, is generally esteemed the fourth *East India* company deriving its authority from the crown in that country. It may not be amiss to recapitulate the several titles by which these companies are mentioned in *French* authors. The first, then, is called the fleet of *Montmorency*, or the company of the

Moluccas, which subsisted from 1611 to 1642. The second they stile the company of *Ricault*, or the *Madagascar* company, which was that formed by Cardinal *Richlieu*, and continued from 1642 to 1656. The third had the title of the Duke de *Meilleraye's* company, because he compromised matters with them, and entered into a kind of partnership, which subsisted from 1656 to 1664, when the Duke of *Manarim*, son of the Duke de *Meilleraye*, and the old company made over their rights to that formed under the auspice of Mr. *Colbert*, who may be truly stiled the parent of commerce and naval power in *France* (13).

(12) Testament politique de Mr. Colbert, chap. iiii.

(13) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 1.

side on those of the king of *Materan*, who had more than once invaded them at the head of an army of upwards of an hundred thousand men; that, on the other, the city of *Batavia* itself was but twelve leagues distant from the dominions of the king of *Bantam*, who had likewise shewn himself their powerful and inveterate enemy; whereas the inhabitants of *Madagascar* were of a mild disposition, and so inclined to receive the gospel, that a settlement consisting of one hundred men would be in greater security there than one of a thousand and upwards in the island of *Java*: that, besides all this, by fixing their principal post in *Madagascar*, the *French* company would be better seated for trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, because it was equally convenient for carrying on the commerce of the *Red Sea*, or of the gulf of *Ben-gal*, and lay at the same time very properly for the dispatch of ships to *China* and *Japan*, affording a convenient place for refitting and refreshing in their return.

In reference to the execution of a project which these arguments were supposed to demonstrate probable and feasible, it was said in this memorial, that a fund of six millions, or three hundred thousand pounds of our money, would be necessary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large ships, from eight hundred to fourteen hundred tons, in order to embark such a number of persons for this island of *Madagascar* as might effectually and at once establish a considerable colony there; that there was no reason to doubt that his majesty would advance a tenth part of this sum: that the nobility, and other persons of fortune, would advance also the sums requisite to set this design on foot; and that, as the king was willing to take a tenth share in the setting out, they had reason to expect he would concern himself largely in future expeditions; that as a further encouragement, he was willing to grant the company an exemption from half their duties, both inward and outward, on all goods exported to or imported from the *Indies*; and, over and above all this, his majesty was content to take upon himself all the loss that might arise for the first eight or ten years; which was sufficient to shew how much and how sincerely he had this great design at heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its success; that as to private persons, they should be at liberty to subscribe in what proportions they pleased, till the fund was full; after which, no farther subscriptions should be received on any terms.

THAT the king would not only permit foreigners to take what share they pleased in these subscriptions, but, to encourage them thereto, would likewise consent that such as subscribed ten thousand livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thousand), or upwards, should thereby acquire the right of naturalization, without any farther ceremony, by which their relations, though strangers, should be capable of inheriting their effects in *France*; and farther, that, in case of a rupture with the state to which such strangers were subjects, their effects should never be liable to confiscation on any pretence whatever: that the affairs of the company should be managed by their own directors, chosen from amongst themselves, in whose hands the funds of the company should constantly remain; and that foreigners should be capable of being elected directors, provided they were interested in a reasonable degree in the stock of their company, and resided in *France*: that, in point of law-suits, the company should be made as easy as possible; and, after being heard in the first inferior court, near the place where the cause of action arose, they should be at liberty to appeal directly to the parliament.

Good effects of this memorial, which produced a new East India company, with greater powers.

THIS memoir was exceedingly well calculated to answer its end, by reviving the hopes of the nation, and by throwing the weight of former disappointments upon want of money and want of conduct; it was also well contrived to magnify the importance of *Madagascar*, and that without doubt a little at the expence of truth, that people might not be discouraged at the recurring to a measure that had so often failed, and that they might please themselves with the hopes of seeing the whole design quickly brought to bear; since a place of such high importance, though hitherto so indifferently managed, was still in the possession, or at least in the power, of *France*. Upon this basis, therefore, was raised the last *East India* company, which in some degree still subsists, and which was erected by a very large and well-drawn edict, in which every thing was put into the best form, and set forth with all the advantage imaginable, dated in the month of *August* 1664, and soon after registered in parliament, containing forty-seven articles; and fixing the actions, as they were then first called, at one thousand livres; reserving a power to the company of making farther demands upon her proprietors, not exceeding half that sum upon each share. All the advantages formerly promised to natives, or to strangers, were actually given, and every other method employed that might keep a good opinion of the government's favourable intention for this new company, the success of which, after so many fruitless attempts, it was believed it would do honour to that reign, and to the administration of Mr. *Colbert*, who, as he shewed great spirit in forming the plan, so his

* *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, p. 177—190.

* *La vie de Jean Baptiste Colbert*, p. 36, 37.

a constancy was visible in supporting this commerce with great firmness, and persevering in his care for it even to the last (F).

WHATEVER is heartily espoused by a prime minister will, in all countries, but more especially in those under an arbitrary government, find a multitude of advocates, and rise into general esteem, especially if it receives concurrence as well as countenance from the government, which in this instance was actually the case; for the king, as he had promised, paid three hundred thousand livres in ready money; and most of the great men of the court, either from motives of prudence or public spirit, interested themselves in like manner, and their example was followed by all who could afford it; so that in a short time the company was in a condition to undertake any expedition that should be judged most conducive to the end for which it was instituted. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, an effectual settlement was resolved upon in the island of *Madagascar*; in order to which, a regulation was drawn up for the intended colony, so well contrived in all respects as to attract, and that very justly too, the public approbation^r. It was indeed in many circumstances very strict; notwithstanding which, numbers of people offered themselves to go over and settle there; and accordingly, on the seventh of *March* 1665, four large ships, equipped as well for war as for trade, carrying in all five hundred and twenty men, sailed from *Brest*, and arrived safely at *Madagascar* on the 10th of *July* following. Such was the first attempt of this new company, which, being executed in all respects with spirit, diligence and success, raised a general expectation that all obstacles would be at length overcome, and that the great and magnificent promises made in favour of this establishment would be effectually performed^z.

THE first thing this new colony did after they arrived, and were settled on the place, was, to change the name, and that in honour of the heir apparent of the crown of *France*, then about four years old; so that, instead of *Madagascar*, it was for the future to be stiled *Isle Dauphine*. The next year a new embarkation was made; and, in order to excite still greater numbers to go thither, a description of the island was given, together with an account of the new colony, representing the former as a perfect paradise, and the latter as the happiest and best satisfied people in the universe; and, by affixing these papers in public places, and circulating them through the kingdom, the ends of the company were answered; and a great reinforcement of new adventurers sent over to the *Isle Dauphine* where a regular government was actually settled, together with the company's first and chief residence, agreeable to Mr. *Colbert's* original memorial, and in imitation of the *Dutch* establishment at *Batavia*^y. In the mean time that great minister employed his thoughts for compassing more essential advantages, and such as might render the commerce of the new company more agreeable to its title; being sufficiently sensible, that, whatever might be said for the present, it would not be long before the *French* would exclaim that their new *India* company had as yet brought nothing from the *Indies*. To second his views in this respect, many projects were offered, and not a few of those bold adventurers presented themselves with magnificent promises; but though the former were received, and the latter encouraged, yet the cautious minister, who knew of how great consequence it was to make choice of a right plan, and of proper persons to carry it into execution,

Which being countenanced and encouraged by the court, is quickly enabled to act vigorously.

Their colony sent to Madagascar call it Isle Dauphine, and endeavour several settlements.

^y Relation de l'établissement de la compagnie Française pour le commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1665, 4to.
^z Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 136
^r Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 38. 9. Methode pour apprendre la geographie, par Monsieur ROBERT, tom. ii. p. 248, 249.

(F) The plan of this great minister was, to raise himself and his family by the favour of the king his master; but, in order to do this, it was necessary to enable that monarch to raise vast sums upon his subjects. Mr. *Colbert* very well knew, that, to draw prodigious wealth from a nation generally poor, was impossible; and that to make a people, even moderately wealthy, bear repeated taxations, was a thing very grievous to a sovereign, as well as very unsafe for a minister. He ventured, however, as nobody was better skilled in the finances, to take some very bold steps, in order to fill his master's coffers; but as, in doing this, he attacked only public plunderers, the bulk of the people were so much the less offended (14). He next advised the king to employ large sums, out of what he had in this manner obtained, to promote industry, manufactures, and navigation, that his countrymen might be in the better circumstances, and the king have it more in his power to establish high taxes, without bringing his people into absolute indigence. Upon this basis he constructed an *East* and a *West India*

company, erected several manufactures, and formed the plan of a royal navy (15). It has been said, that he undertook too much; but the reason of mentioning these undertakings here, is, to shew how closely so wise a man thought all these designs connected, and the hopes he had, that, if steadily pursued, they would support each other. His notions were certainly right and his conduct too, so far as his immediate interest reached; for, by his skill and attention, he raised manufactures, and a navy, contrary to the sentiments of many, and beyond the expectations of all; and, if he was less fortunate in his schemes of commerce, it was because his instruments failed him, and it was impossible for him to exert even his own great talents effectually in places at so great a distance (16). All he could do he did; and all we mean to do, is, to shew what he contrived, upon what principles, what he achieved, and in what he failed; this being the only method from which the subject we are treating can be thoroughly understood.

(14) *Vie de Jean Baptiste de Colbert*, p. 24, 25.
sur la marine et sur le commerce, par M. Desselandes, p. 169.

(15) *Present state of Europe*, p. 263.

(19) *Essai*

was far from being hasty in his decision; and indeed every day's experience taught him, that, whatever it might be in other countries, there could not be a more difficult task in *France* than to establish an *East India* company; and this, notwithstanding he had the authority of the crown, and the good opinion of the better part of the nation, to support him in his design, without either rivals or enemies to give him any opposition^b (G).

But the company suddenly alter their plan, and resolve to enter on the East India trade at once.

AFTER mature reflection, however, and the necessary consultations with those who were placed at the head of the company's concerns, it was resolved, that, in the year 1667, some ships should proceed from *Madagascar* to the *Indies*; and that the care of fixing an introductory establishment there should be left to the joint endeavours of two very intelligent persons, who had been lately taken into their service. The first of these was Mr. *Caron*, who has been mentioned already more than once; he was a native of *France*, but had been for many years in the *Dutch* service, and had been raised in that service to the rank of president of the factory of *Japan*, where, for reasons which we have assigned in their proper place, he suffered severely; and, not thinking himself sufficiently considered for those sufferings, quitted the *Dutch* service, and returned to *France*, at a juncture when a man of his abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was caressed and employed^c. The other was Mr. *Marcara Avancin*, a native of *Ispahan* in *Persia*, and nearly allied to several persons of great rank in that empire, as also to some who enjoyed governments, and other great employments in the *Indies*; so that the company had good reason to expect great things from their abilities and experience^d (H).

THEY

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 136.

^c Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 40, 41.

^d Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. 136, 137.

(G) At this distance of time we may perhaps be in a condition to discern some errors in Mr. *Colbert's* plan, or rather to point out some defects; but, however, candid inquirers will find it very hard to perceive how these could be otherwise discerned, than from the event; and this being the case, it acquits him of all blame. His foundation was very broad; for he intended that the entire capital of the *French East India* company should have consisted of fifteen millions of livres, of which the crown was to advance nine, and the proprietors six (17). This was a very extraordinary encouragement; for in other countries the public had never contributed any thing except countenance and protection. He apprehended thoroughly the advantages derived to the *Dutch* company from her great establishment at *Batavia*; but it may be he over-rated the benefits he expected from the *French* settlements at *Madagascar*; and yet, patience, industry, and oeconomy, might have gone a great way in justifying even his sanguine expectations. But these were wanting; and, as the whole plan of his company rested upon this plantation, the disappointment was in some degree fatal; and it was a dreadful distress upon a new company to be obliged, as this was, after a great part of the capital wasted, to begin again. Yet, as we see, he did not lose his courage, but concerted a new scheme, in which he shewed vast abilities, and attempted the execution of it with vigour (18). But the obstacles he met with were not to be overcome; the best instruments he could procure were unequal to the undertaking; and other *European* nations were so well established in the *Indies*, that strangers had but little chance of succeeding, even if they had conducted their affairs with the utmost circumspection and frugality, which time and events could only teach, and which even the most penetrating statesmen might not be able to foresee.

(H) The great impediment in the way of this establishment was, the want of proper persons to carry it on; a want, of which Mr. *Colbert* was very sensible, and which he did all that it was possible for him to do in order to supply; and much more than could have been thought necessary, if the event had not shewn, that all he did was to little purpose. He saw that there was a certain spirit in free governments, from which companies received, by a kind of communication, the courage

and confidence necessary to venture on the boldest undertakings. In the place of this he introduced the royal attention and paternal tenderness of his most Christian majesty, who, out of mere affection to his subjects, not only contributed great sums to the original fund of this company, but charged himself from time to time with their losses, that the proprietors might not be discouraged with the disappointments incident to all new trades (19). He understood that in *England* and *Holland*, where there were always abundance of moneyed men and rich merchants there was a kind of an emulation in subscribing at the first setting on foot of their *India* companies. As this resource was wanting in *France*, he had recourse to the royal and ministerial influence, by which the principal nobility, and most opulent persons in the nation, were brought to concur in supporting this design, in order to make their court to those who had it really at heart; and as for those in a mercantile way, who were inclined to espouse its interest, he caused them to be taken into the direction; and, to render this disposition the more general, he imitated the example of the *Dutch*, by setting up several chambers (20). He perceived, that in maritime countries the affection of independency, and the desire of arriving at that power which naturally arises from property, was another strong motive to adventure in such undertakings. He procured, therefore, to balance this, repeated promises that the king would look with an eye of favour upon such as exerted themselves with a laudable degree of diligence, either in the direction or in the service of the *East India* company; and would bestow upon them honours and rewards which should descend to their posterity (21). But whereas the *English* and *Dutch* companies managed their own affairs, and were never at a loss to find proper persons to fill every station, this was a great hardship upon Mr. *Colbert*, who was obliged to search every-where for agents and to take most of them upon recommendation, and this too founded rather upon opinion than experience (22). He was also under the necessity of receiving and encouraging adventurers and deserters, that is, such as gave themselves out to be fit for service, and such as were either rejected, or had quitted the service in which they had formerly been (23). These were but indifferent tools to work with; but they were the only ones he had, and he took

(17) Relation de l'établissement de la compagnie Française pour le commerce des Indes Orientales, p. 5.
 Histoire des Indes Orientales, par l'Abbé Guyon, vol. iii. p. 137, 138, 139.
 (20) Histoire des Indes Orientales, par l'Abbé Guyon, vol. iii. p. 103.
 Relation de l'établissement de la compagnie Française, &c.
 (22) Essai sur la marine et sur le commerce, par M. Deslandes, p. 169.
 (23) Ramefort, Dufresne de Francheville, Guyon.

(18) His-

(19) Histoire de la compagnie des

(21) Re-

(22) Essai sur la marine et sur le commerce, par M.

a THEY proceeded accordingly from *Isle Dauphine*, as the *French* call it, and arrived the day *Upon which* before *Christmas* 1667 at *Cochin*, where they were well received, and very respectfully treated *their agents* by the *Dutch* governor; and from thence they continued their voyage to *Swally*, which is the *proceed to settle a factory* port of the famous city of *Surat*, in which they were to erect their first factory*. In 1669 it *at Surat* was judged for the company's service that Mr. *Marcara* should repair to the court of *Golconda*, where he had several particular friends, as well as near relations, in order to obtain, through their interest with the king, the privilege of trading through his dominions, purchasing whatever kind of merchandize they wanted, and employing manufacturers for the service of the company, as also for obtaining a licence to establish a factory at *Masulipatan*. This commission, taken all together, was extremely difficult, more especially as it was known that **b** the *English* and *Dutch* had not been able to procure smaller favours than these, though they had great interest in that court, and had been at vast expence to preserve it; nor was it any secret that their agents would give this *Persian* negotiator all the trouble and opposition in their power; and at the same time he was but indifferently supplied with money, which is as necessary, in such cases, in the *Indies*, as in *Europe*. However, the *Sieur Marcara* undertook very chearfully, and executed very happily, this important negotiation†. It is true, he was a long time about it; and rejected one phirmaund, or letters patents, from his majesty of *Golconda*, in which there were so many great qualifications and restrictions, that he judged they would have been of little use; but in the end he obtained a phirmaund, dated *December* the 5th, 1669, by which the *French* company were permitted to negotiate through all the king's dominions for ever, without paying any duties either inwards or outwards, either for the king's ships, or for those of the company; a privilege which the *Dutch* could never obtain, and which the *English* acquired in 1655 at a vast expence; and after having rendered, for twenty years together, very signal services by sea to the monarchs of *Golconda*. After this Mr. *Marcara* went to *Masulipatan*, caused his letters patents to be registered there, settled a factory; and, in quality of chief, carried on the commerce of the company with the same zeal and diligence that he had shewed in his negotiation‡.

ONE would have imagined, that, after such testimonies of his fidelity, and those too attended *But the Sieur* with such surprising success, the credit of this *Persian* gentleman should have been so thoroughly established, as well with the *French* court as with the company, as to be out of any *Caron soon* danger of suffering from sinister insinuations; and yet it fell out quite otherwise, for his com- *gains an as-* petitor, Mr. *Caron*, having acquired by his intrigues a superior interest there, obtained an *cendency,* *which is no* order from Mr. *Colbert*, in 1671, by which himself was raised to the second post in the *great advan-* *tage to him.* *India* company's service, and all the friends of Mr. *Marcara* removed from their employments, and subjected to prosecutions, though there was not a word said of him in that order, or the smallest mismanagement laid to his charge§. But things wore another face in *France*, where his character was injured by a multitude of aspersions; of which having notice from his friends, he transmitted such full justifications, that Mr. *Colbert*, having thoroughly examined into every thing, and made an impartial report to the king, his conduct was intirely approved, and his innocence acknowledged by a solemn arret. But it is fit that we should likewise shew what the **c** services were which his rival also rendered to the company, and by what projects he so effectually recommended himself to so intelligent and clear-sighted a minister, as to be able, though but for a short time, to abuse his confidence to such a degree, as to bring a person into disgrace who had deserved so well, and whose interest, as well as his experience, was of so great service to the company's affairs, without his giving so much as the slightest occasion for their displeasure, or even for their suspicion¶ (I).

IT

* *Memoires du Sieur MARCARA.*
moires du Sieur MARCARA.
compagnie des Indes, p. 63, 64.

† *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 43, 44, 45.*
‡ *Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 146.*

§ *Me-*
Histoire de la

all the precautions possible to render them fit for the purpose. Upon the whole, therefore, it must be granted, that though many of his expedients proved ineffectual, yet they were most of them well imagined and well applied.

(I) We have already mentioned the *Sieur Caron* so often, and said so much of him, that there is no need to enter, upon this occasion, into a retrospect of his character: it is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that tho' his capacity, activity, and experience, raised him very high in the opinion of Mr. *Colbert*, and gained him such a share in his confidence as to give him, from the first, a very honourable employment in the company's service,

and to intrust him at last with the principal direction of affairs; yet this was not done hastily or blindly, but, on the contrary, was accompanied with all possible precautions (24). For Mr. *Caron*, though born of *French* parents, not being a *French* subject born, was obliged to naturalize himself and his children, whom, together with his wife, he brought into *France*, and put into the hands of the government, as a kind of security for his behaviour; and, that he might be also under the strongest tie of gratitude, the king was graciously pleased to give twenty thousand livres by way of fortune with his daughter, upon her marriage with a gentleman of *Normandy* (25). Yet he no sooner came to act abroad, than a spi-

(24) *Memoires de Monsieur Marcara.*

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(25) *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, tom. ii. p. 40—54.*

7 I rit

His project of
attacking
Ceylon comes
to nothing,
and, in the if-
su, proves
his ruin.

It is allowed that the *Sieur de Carron* settled the factory at *Surat*, of which the *French* are still in possession, as also that of *Bantam*, upon the island of *Java*, which they held till, as we have shewn elsewhere, the *Dutch* became masters of that kingdom, or rather of the king, and, under colour of his authority, excluded them and the *English*; which, however, happened some years after this gentleman's death^a. The great experience he had gained during the time he served the *Dutch*, made these things easy and familiar to him; but what, without doubt, made him most acceptable to Mr. *Colbert*, was, the scheme of surprizing some of the fortresses in *Ceylon*, and bringing the *French* thereby at once into a share of the spice trade: In this he is on all hands allowed to have had a very large concern, if he was not the original inventor of it; and it must be likewise confessed, that the plan was very well laid. The minister was very desirous of seeing the *East India* company firmly established, a regular correspondence fixed, and rich cargoes brought every year into *France*; for he began to be convinced, that, if this was not speedily done, the last *India* company would be little better than the first; and that as the busy roving spirits of the *French* would not allow them to live long enough in a place to render it fertile, if it was not so naturally, or to accumulate riches if they were not at hand, and, in a manner, to be had for taking up; so, if this project had succeeded, which was supported by a competent force, and they could once have fixed themselves in any part of the island of *Ceylon*, for which it is said they had obtained the consent of the emperor of that island, it would have answered all these purposes, and would have given them a fortress, a port, and a share in the cinnamon trade, at a single stroke^b. But, as we have informed the reader, in treating of the affairs of the *Dutch*, how this affair miscarried, and how the *Sieur Carron* lost his life in sight of the port of *Lisbon*, on his return, it is not necessary that we should dwell longer upon it here, though it is certainly a piece of history that very nearly concerns this subject. By his death it came to be known, that though he had been very zealous and diligent, yet he had not been over-faithful in the management of the company's affairs, but had amassed much wealth for himself, of which the greatest part perished with him, while he was endeavouring to deposit it in a place of safety^c (K).

A resolution
taken by the
company to
quit the Isle
Dauphine,
and transfer
their residence
to *Surat*.

BEFORE this unhappy event fell out, the new *East India* company began to be weary of her establishment at *Madagascar*, chiefly as they acknowledged, through the ill management of those who were placed in authority, and principally intrusted with her affairs; but, in reality, because the country was fruitful, pleasant, and very fit for hunting, and other sports, to which those they sent over intirely devoted themselves, and thought very little of the conditions upon which they were carried thither. The necessaries, the conveniences, and the pleasures of life, were easily to be had; and, in acquiring these, the people thought they pursued their own interests, and would not forego them, or fatigue themselves, in respect to the interests of the company; who therefore desired that the king would resume his gift, which his most Christian

^a TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, LE BRUN, &c.

^b BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 457.

^c Journal de Voyages des Grandes Indes, Paris, 1698, 12^o.

it was raised against him by those whom the company principally intrusted; against which he was strongly supported, upon a presumption that this arose chiefly from envy, and from the spite they had against him as a stranger. There is indeed nothing clearer, than that he was the person principally relied on for carrying the scheme of a trade to the *Indies* immediately into execution; and that the court went so far, as to take all the measures possible to force such as were in the *Indies* to pay an implicit obedience to his orders, and to pursue his instructions in respect to commerce in all respects, and to their utmost extent (26). We may well imagine that this extraordinary confidence proceeded from the superior knowledge he had of the whole circle of trade in the east, which he was very able to set in the fairest light, as is evident from those pieces of his which are still remaining; and from which it is also clear, that he had made some overtures about an embassy to *Japan*, for which some have thought, and it may be justly, that, notwithstanding his former residence in that island, he was not by any means a proper person.

(K) It is somewhat difficult to fix the dates relating to this expedition; but there appears sufficient authority to prove, that the *Sieur Carron* sailed on the expedition against *Ceylon* in the month of February 1672 (27). Au-

thors are not exactly agreed what the errors were which he committed in the management of this important business; and yet they are almost unanimous in ascribing the miscarriage of this great design to some mistake or misinformation of his. However that matter may be, he actually embarked for *France* with all his effects, and arrived upon the coast of *Bretagne* towards the close of the year 1674 (28); but whether it came to pass through fear of his enemies, or, as his antagonist *Marcara* asserts, from the consciousness of his own misbehaviour, so it was, that he ordered the vessel to steer for *Lisbon*, where, as the reader is told in the text, he perished (29). By his death the *Dutch East India* company lost a dangerous and determined enemy, the servants of the *French East India* company a man whom they hated and feared, and Mr. *Colbert* a person from whom he had received great lights, and who perhaps might have been of farther use to him if he had lived; for whatever the slips in his conduct might be, there can be no dispute, that, from the experience of two-and-twenty years, in which he had served the *Dutch*, he had acquired a more comprehensive knowledge of the trade of the *Indies* than any of those he left behind him in the *French* company's service, as was evident from the confusion into which their affairs ran after his decease (30).

(25) Lettre du Roi (Louis XIV.) à M. de la Haye, datée de Versailles le 27 Décembre 1670.

du *Sieur Marcara*.

(28) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes p. 63, 64.

(30) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 40.

(27) Mémoires

(29) Mémoires du *Sieur*

a majesty accordingly did by his arret dated *November 12th 1670*^a; and thus, the *Isle Dauphine* being abandoned, the company's chief residence was fixed at *Surat*, where they had new powers and fresh favours granted them by the crown; for all which they were indebted to Mr. *Colbert*, as well as for the exemption from duties of all kinds, and indeed for every thing else that they could ask with any tolerable pretence, in order to encourage and render flourishing, if it had been possible, a commerce upon which he had set his heart^b; and that for no other reason, but because he thought it honourable and profitable for the kingdom, the welfare of which was the object of his ministry (L).

But all would not do; for, notwithstanding these repeated favours, it became every day more and more apparent that their affairs were in a bad condition, and that without some speedy remedy they would fall into absolute confusion. Upon this a general court was called of all the proprietors, at *Paris*, before whom a true state of their concerns was laid; of which, through the interposition of Mr. *Colbert*, a report was made to his majesty, who thereupon issued his declaration, dated *September 13th, 1675*, by which he first directed a dividend of ten *per cent.* to be paid to such of the proprietors^c as had completed all their payments; that, with respect to those who had not completed them, they should have time to the first of *July 1676*; and, upon completing their payments, should have a discount of ten *per cent.*: that the capitals of such as neglected to complete their subscriptions should be forfeited for the use of the company: and, lastly, that whereas, through the losses and discouragements to which all undertakings are inevitably liable, the *East India* company had incurred a debt of no less than four millions, his majesty, according to the promise made in the edict of his creation, discharged that debt, and also forgave freely and for-ever the said sum of four millions advanced for their service^d. This extraordinary generosity of the crown was followed the next year by a new favour, which had come sooner if it had not been opposed by the farmers general, which was, the freeing all merchandize bought at their sales from all duties inward and outward, except those transported to *Lyons*, and even those were to pay only a fourth of the usual duties upon entry, and those of the custom-house belonging to that city. Such was the situation, and such the repeated benefits bestowed upon this company during the ten first years of its subsistence; by which we see, that nothing but the care of the government prevented it from sinking into ruin^e.

d At the close of the year 1681 some private persons having insinuated that they were willing to embark their fortunes in a trade to the *Indies*, provided they might obtain licences; and the company likewise having signified to the king, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had a power to grant such indulgences; this favour was likewise added to the rest, and private traders were permitted to engage in this commerce upon the following conditions: That they should transport themselves and their effects on board the company's ships, both outwards and inwards: that they should pay their freight and passage before their departure: that the goods they brought home, precious stones only excepted, should be exposed in the company's sales, and their produce fairly accounted for: that these licences should be in force only for five years; and that, if they should be found prejudicial to the affairs of the company, the directors might abridge or cancel them at their pleasure^f. But, notwithstanding these advantages, and though they scarce asked any thing of their patron Mr. *Colbert* but what was granted, yet their affairs continued declining; and, as he died in 1683, the

^a Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 74, 75. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 158. ^e La vie de JEAN BAPTIST COLBERT. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150. ^f Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 71. ^g Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150, 151. ^h Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 224, 259, 342. ⁱ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 158, 159, 160.

(L) This project of abandoning the island of *Madagascar*, which the crown had yielded to them in property, reserving only a crown and sceptre of gold, of the weight of eight hundred ounces, upon the accession of a new king, was by no means agreeable to their patron Mr. *Colbert*; though, at the earnest request of the company, he disposed the king to accept of their renunciation, not doubting that in a short time the company would perceive how indiscrete a step this was, and apply for its restitution. But those who were in the direction of the company's affairs had very different sentiments; they knew, from experience, that their colonies were only a dead weight; and that, notwithstanding all the changes they had been able to make, those intrusted with the management of them preferred their own interest and pleasures to their duty; and, while they expected that the company should do every thing for them, would do

nothing for the company (31): for these reasons, therefore, as we shall see hereafter, they persisted in refusing this island when the property was again offered. But how right soever the directors might be in their notions, which were indeed founded on facts and ample experience, yet Mr. *Colbert* was far from being wrong in his notions, as time has fully demonstrated, and as will sufficiently appear in the course of this chapter. His only mistake was, if indeed it was his mistake, and not Mr. *Charpentier's*, in supposing that *Madagascar* might serve commodiously for the centre of the company's commerce with the *Indies*, as *Batavia* did to the *Dutch*; whereas the securing a post in this part of the world, though it was convenient, and even necessary, yet became so for quite another purpose; and ought rather to be compared with the *Cape of Good Hope* (32), as we shall have occasion to shew at large hereafter.

(31) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 162.

(32) Lallier voyage dans les Indes Orientales, p. 17.

spirit of this commerce might be said to expire with him^a. The body indeed of the company was kept up, not much perhaps to its advantage; they had not only a court of directors at *Paris*, but, in imitation of the *Dutch East India* company, chambers of direction at several ports, a council in the *Indies*, and, in short, the appearance and trappings of a great society, when at the bottom they were distressed and poor; so that upon stating a general account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that, instead of gaining one penny by their commerce, they had actually run out one half of their capital. This was attributed to several causes, but principally to three; the war with the *Dutch*, which lasted from 1672 to 1678; the frauds of the persons employed in their service in *Madagascar* and the *Indies*, who, though they were sent by the company, acted as if they had no other business there than to mind their own interests, which they did at the expence of their masters; so that some private fortunes were made, while the concerns of the public were running to ruin; and, lastly, to the supineness, timidity, or inability, of their subscribers, who had not paid in as they ought to have done, to the great detriment of their affairs^b.

^a La vie de JEAN BAPTIST COLBERT, p. 303.

^b Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 73, 74.

S E C T. III.

Various efforts made to restore their credit, and to keep their trade alive, in which they are sometimes assisted by, and sometimes meet with discouragements from, the ministry, which at length induces them to let out their privileges to private persons. The consequences of these licences, which, amongst others, produce a China company, and, upon the whole, turn to very little account, in whatever light they are considered.

To retrieve some degree of credit, it is found requisite to make a change in the company's administration.

TO remedy these disorders, and to retrieve, if possible, the trade of the company, it was resolved to change their system of government, to suppress all the little chambers of directors, and to put the whole management of the company's concerns into the hands of twelve directors residing in *Paris*, who were each of them to pay in thirty thousand livres upon the forfeited actions, and to be allowed reasonable salaries. It was also resolved, that all who had not paid in should forfeit their shares to the company; with a proviso, that if, in two years, they made good their payments, they should enter into their former rights, and have all their actions restored. This regulation was confirmed by a royal edict dated in *February* 1685, by which the king left the company free liberty either to resume the sovereignty of the *Isle Dauphine*, which they had surrendered in 1670, as has been before-mentioned, or to leave it as it then was in the king's hands. As the company were left at liberty to do as they thought fit in this affair, they, after mature deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their last resolution, and to quit this island intirely to the crown; which act of theirs was confirmed by the king's arret, dated *June* 4th, 1686^c.

New directors added to increase the much exhausted fund of the company.

IN the succeeding year eight new directors were added upon a very laudable motive, which was, that of increasing the capital of the company; for they were obliged to pay in ready money forty thousand livres in case they were possessed of twenty thousand of the company's stock, and sixty thousand if they were possessed of none; and these sums, together with those advanced by the proprietors, brought such a supply to the company's cash, that even the most intelligent people began to entertain great hopes, that, after so many disappointments, this commerce would be put upon a solid foundation; and these hopes were not a little augmented by the dividends made in that year, and in 1691, amounting, in the whole, to thirty per cent.; but these flattering expectations soon gave way to presages of another kind, that were better founded, and which were intirely owing to a new strain of politics that prevailed in *France*; whereas hitherto the power of the crown had been solely employed in protecting and advancing the commerce of this company, notwithstanding repeated losses and miscarriages; so now of a sudden, when this trade began to answer in some degree, that very power was employed to distress it; and the consequence was, that it made it plainly appear, that how difficult soever it might be to raise, yet there was nothing easier than for a minister to destroy, a trade by an ill-judged and untimely interposition^d.

When their commerce began to turn in their

IN order to understand this, which is indeed one of the most material points in the history of the *French* commerce, it is necessary to observe, that, finding gold and silver brocades and painted cottons, were goods of the quickest sale, they struck into that branch of trade, by which they were very considerable gainers; and, that they might encourage the artificers of

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 162, 163, 82, 83.

^d Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 81,

- a their own country, they imported chiefly white cottons, and caused them to be painted after the *Indian* manner in *France*, by which they had the command of the fashions; and, when people began to be tired with one sort of goods, they revived their appetites by introducing another. The demand for these goods being by this means kept up, and continually increasing, the manufacturers in *France* set up a general clamour, that they were sacrificed to strangers; and that, if a stop was not immediately put to the importation of these silks and cottons, they should be all starved. Upon this out came an edict, dated *January 27th 1687*, by which this branch of commerce was prohibited; and it was with very great difficulty that the company procured leave to sell off what they had in their hands, and what might arrive by the next ships; but, what was most extraordinary, they were required to break all their
- b moulds for printing, without considering that this was as much a manufacture for *France* as any other. As to the brocades, they were allowed some little indulgence, which however did but just keep them from sinking; with the assistance of some other favours, which the few friends they had yet left at court, not without much solicitation, obtained. By this instance the reader may see how little safety there is for trade under an arbitrary government, where all things depend at best upon the understanding of a minister, which is a very precarious tenure, and very often upon his caprice, or the influence that he is under; which is the most dreadful situation people can be in who have any property at all ^r (M).

- THESE, however, were but the beginning of their misfortunes; the farmers of the public revenue, who have generally speaking the ears of ministers more at their command than other people, insinuated, that their great idol the revenue was prejudiced by the privileges and immunities granted to the *East India* company; to which though their patrons readily listened, yet they knew not well how to proceed; for, to have gone roundly to work, and abolished these, would have been such an apparent infraction of the original edict, as would have been too glaring even in that country. But the farmers general soon got the better of this scruple, by shewing, that it was easy to enervate laws without repealing them; and furnished them with such a variety of expedients for this purpose, that though the company lost the benefit of their immunities, yet they were not taken away. The next step was, the forbidding the sale of piece goods to foreigners, upon a supposition that, if they could not buy *Indian* manufactures from the *French* company, they must purchase those of *France*; but, as they could not be forced to this, they bought none at all; and, as the company lost her profit, so the nation lost the whole produce of this branch of trade, and were much the greatest sufferers of the two. Then a high duty was laid upon raw silk, of which the company imported about seven thousand weight a year; and, though this produced a great deal, yet that could not prevent an absolute prohibition, under colour that this was prejudicial to the silk of *France*, though in fact the greatest part of it was bought by foreigners for ready money; and thus, by mistaking public spirit, those who were then in power were continually undoing all that Mr. *Colbert* had been labouring to do; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that, after a short gleam of prosperity, the affairs of the *French East India* company wore very quickly a more

^r *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

(M) It would be tedious to enter into an exact detail of all the expedients proposed from time to time by the company, and either accepted or rejected by the minister; the contrivances practised by the merchants and retail dealers, to make advantage of the company's distress, and to constrain them to take back goods at a high price, which had been in reality sold them at a lower; and the trouble they had to procure, by long and expensive solicitations, such temporary alleviations as kept them from totally sinking. All these things ought to have been previously considered, and such exceptions made in their privileges as might have prevented these disputes; for, to erect an *East India* company with full powers, and give the strongest assurances that those conditions should never be violated, and yet prohibit their importing the most saleable goods they could import, was not only inconsistent with the honour of the crown, but destructive of that principle of security upon which all rational hope of seeing commerce flourish is founded (33). There is no doubt that this inconvenience was foreseen by Mr. *Colbert*, and was the true reason why he at the same time erected a *West India* company, and laboured some other establishments, from a well-grounded judgment,

that, without a proper circulation, an *East India* company could not be beneficial to the kingdom. He had just and extensive notions of trade; and whereas his successors had recourse to expedients, he had always remedies in view; so that if this affair had happened in his time, we may fairly presume that he would have conciliated all the disputes between the company, the merchants, and manufacturers; and have procured satisfaction to all, by providing a proper vent for all their respective goods, which was the only effectual method that could have been put in practice (34). For want of this, the *East India* company was hated, cramped in her commerce abroad, and distressed every-where; which sufficiently shews how dangerous a thing it is to confide in the promises made by the ministers of an absolute prince; which those who make them may be often tempted, sometimes forced, to break, and which will be seldom thought, and never can be made binding upon their successors. In such countries, therefore, as trade can never be raised but by the interposition of the government, so it will be continually exposed to ruin from the same quarter (35).

(33) *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 77, 78, 79. trade considered, p. 59.

(35) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 179, 180, 181.

(34) *The advantages of the East India*

gloomy aspect than ever, notwithstanding all the pains taken by the most intelligent persons in the direction to set these points in a clear light * (N).

The great distresses of the company's affairs, notwithstanding all the helps that had been given them.

THE war that broke out in 1691, as it deeply affected the whole commerce of *France*, so it was particularly fatal to that of their *East India* company, which was already in so indifferent a condition as to be scarce able to support itself under the hardships which it suffered at home, without the addition of other attacks from abroad; and those by powers so infinitely superior in force, as to be able to complete, almost as soon as they had formed, the design of its destruction. They lost, as the reader will see hereafter, the only place of consequence they had in the *East Indies*, which they recovered again by the peace of *Ryswick*; but their affairs were then in so miserable a condition, that, though the directors resolved to make their utmost efforts to resume their trade as a company, yet they found that it would be so long before they would be in a condition to bring about what they desired, that they very willingly accepted, in the mean time, a proposal for carrying on the trade to *China* by a private person, under the authority of the company * (O).

A new China company arises out of a licence granted by this company to a private merchant.

THIS was effected by granting a licence, which was likewise confirmed by the crown, to one Mr. *Jourdan*, a rich merchant, who fitted out a very large ship, called the *Ambitrite*, for that voyage, which sailed in *March* 1698, and returned safely to *France* on the third of *August* 1700, very richly laden. The success of this voyage encouraged the merchant before-mentioned, and those who were concerned with him, to fit out the same ship again; and this they accordingly did in the following spring, and she returned in the month of *September* 1703, with as great profit as from her former voyage, though she narrowly missed being

* Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 81, 82, 83. p. 646. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 182, 183.

* Geographie Moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS,

(N) There are very few countries in *Europe* where the public revenue is raised in a manner more severe with respect to the people, more inconvenient with regard to commerce, or more expensive as to the crown, than in *France*, where those who farm the public revenue, their substitutes, and under-officers, acquire prodigious fortunes by methods most mischievous to society. While the *East India* company had but little trade, and while Mr. *Colbert*, and his son the Marquis de *Seignelay*, lived, these cormorants could not prey upon that body; for those ministers not only understood, but loved trade, or rather they loved it because they understood it. But when these great men were dead, and the importations of the company for a few years became pretty considerable, these ravenous people became very impatient, and were perpetually teasing the ministry about the injuries done to the revenue. The ministers, whose instruments they were, who had them in continual use, and who could supply no public necessities without them, listened, and indeed could not help listening, to their representations; in consequence of which new difficulties were gradually put upon those who had otherwise but too many difficulties to struggle with, and whose demands were rejected when they were ever so reasonable (36). Instances make these matters best understood, and therefore we shall produce one: The *East India* company had three thousand weight of coffee in their warehouses, for which they had actually paid duty; and they desired the liberty of being allowed to ship one third part of this for *Holland*, where there was a demand for coffee, and to be allowed to replace it duty-free out of their next cargo; which, though in itself highly reasonable, was refused, because the farmers were changed, and therefore it was said that those who were now intitled to the duties ought not to be prejudiced by a transaction in the time of their predecessors (37); and though this might be good exchequer logic, yet it was such a solecism in respect to commerce, that we need not wonder the directors of the *East India* company thought their proprietors hardly treated.

(O) The reader will be certainly surprised at various inconsistencies that are visible enough in the text; such as, that the company should have servants in the *Indies*,

with factories, forts, and garrisons, and yet carry on little or no trade; that they should be continually applying to the court for new favours when the old had produced so little effect; and that, in the course of so many assemblies of the proprietors, the true origin of all these evils should not be traced out. But, to speak impartially, though there might be, and very probably was, cause for some blame, yet both the directors at home, and those intrusted with the company's affairs abroad, rather deserved pity. The major part of the time their establishment subsisted, the crown of *France* was engaged in wars prejudicial to the commerce of her subjects in general, and more especially destructive to those who were embarked in this undertaking. In those short intervals of peace, which gave them time to look about them, they were certainly not idle; and their servants made them very large returns, which brought in immense sums of money at their sales, which might have given them an opportunity of retrieving things, if the proprietors could have been persuaded to have patience, but the sight of so much money excited a desire of receiving dividends which, not to call it unjust while they were in debt, was at least very inconvenient. However, in 1687 and 1691 they made dividends to the amount of thirty per cent. which put it out of their power to send proper cargoes to the *Indies*, where their servants had borrowed large sums, and bought vast quantities of goods upon credit (38). The directors were forced to make use of the same methods at home, the proprietors, who were so ready for dividends, being very backward in paying calls. Add to all this, that the magnificence with which the company set out, and which it was judged inexpedient for her to let fall, absorbed very large sums. Grievous disappointments, debts at a large interest, and bad oeconomy kept on to prevent a suspicion of worse, are principles so naturally productive of declension and destruction, that the reader can no longer wonder the *French East India* company was reduced to great extremity; but will be rather amazed that she was still able to creep on, when nothing came in for the present to their directors, and had no better fund for their future expectations than flattering hopes (39).

(36) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 298, 299. depuis 1692 jusqu'à présent, p. 75. (38) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes p. 84.

(37) Memoire sur le commerce du café.

(39) Histoire des

shipwrecked,

a shipwrecked, falling down the river of *Canton*, at her return^b (P). The success of these voyages, one would have thought, might have established this new company; but the general war in which *France* was then engaged against most of the princes of *Europe* rendered it impracticable; and thus the actual powers of the company lay dormant again, though she was still possessed of her rights, which extended to the coasts of *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin China*, and the isles adjacent; or, to put it in other words, which perhaps may raise more suitable ideas in the reader's mind, the rest of the subjects of *France* were excluded from trading to these places, in favour of a company that never had been in a condition to trade to several of them, in all the time which she had subsisted^c.

While the *China* commerce was thus let out, as it were, in farm, the directors exerted themselves as far as they were able, in hopes of restoring their affairs in the *Indies*, or at least doing something towards it; but, finding that absolutely surpassed their abilities, they were forced to apply themselves to the court in the beginning of 1701; and to confess, that they were again under such difficulties, that, without his majesty's gracious assistance, their trade and establishments must be let fall^d. *Lewis* the fourteenth, who retained the maxims which Mr. *Colbert* had so often impressed upon his mind, lent them eight hundred and fifty thousand livres, upon condition that the directors advanced each 40,000 livres, and the proprietors fifty *per cent.* upon their respective capitals. With this condition the directors complied; but the proprietors, or, as they are called in *France*, the actionists, absolutely refused it; which occasioned a warm and tedious dispute, which was not ended till the year 1704, when the court decided by an arret, that the proprietors should receive the profits, and be liable to the debts, of the company, in proportion to their respective interests in its capital: that a general state of their affairs should be immediately laid before them; and that they should be allowed to chuse a committee of five out of their own body, without whose consent, or at least without the consent of the majority of them, the directors should be restrained from borrowing^e. It does not appear that this had any good effect; for in 1708 they became in a manner absolute bankrupts; so that the king, by an arret, stayed all prosecutions at law against them for debt; and, that the trade to the *Indies* might not intirely cease, granted his permission for the company to enter into a treaty to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private persons who should be inclined to contract with them^f (Q).

In pursuance of this scheme, and the concession before-mentioned, they granted leave to Mr. *Croizat* to fit out two ships in the name of the *East India* company, upon condition that

^b Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 93.

^d Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1049.

toire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 189.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 193, 194.

^e Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 85.

^f His-

(P) The historians, who have made the *French* commerce the object of their care, mention several companies for carrying on the trade with *China*; and with these companies it is requisite that the reader should not be altogether unacquainted. The first of these was formed in 1660, chiefly through the care of Mr. *Fermencel*, a very rich merchant at *Rouen*, who associated with him several persons of great rank, upon principles chiefly of piety, as their great view was, to carry over certain prelates, whom the pope had appointed to preach the gospel in those countries (40). The fund of this company was one hundred and forty thousand livres, of which forty thousand were advanced by Mr. *Fermencel*. It is doubtful whether they had any regular establishment, or only a bare licence from the crown; however, the success was so indifferent, that the first voyage they made was likewise the last (41). The second company was erected by virtue of a licence from, or rather a treaty with, the *East India* company, bearing date *January* 4th, 1698, supported by an arret of council dated the 22d of the same month, and produced those two voyages mentioned in the text (42). In consequence of these, letters patents were granted to the proprietors, dated in the month of *October* 1705, by which they were incorporated under the title of The Royal Company of *China*, with the consent of the *East India* company (43). Their privileges determined at the same time with those of this company; and, in consequence of this, two or three ships returned into *France* in the space of eight years; but, as their car-

goes consisted chiefly of silk, they found a prohibition in their way, which disgusted the persons interested in this company so far, that they declined continuing this commerce (44). A third *China* company was, however, set up, by letters patents dated *February* 19, 1713, which was altogether independent of the *East India* company, and was to continue fifty years from the month of *March* 1715. They sent two ships to *China*, one of which returned to *Osford* in 1718, as the other did the same year to *Genoa*. However, in 1719, this, with many other companies, was finally absorbed in that of the *Indies* (45).

(Q) The pretence for obtaining this edict was, the appointment of a general assembly of the proprietors on the first of *January* 1709, in which it was presumed some method might be fallen upon to retrieve their affairs; and this made way for the licences, as well as for another expedient, founded on the favour of the crown, which permitted the company for once such an importation of piece goods as might enable them to pacify the most clamorous of their creditors, and gain them leisure to consider what next was to be done. All these expedients, though at first sight they appear to be marks of bounty and favour in the administration, yet in reality are so many instances that commerce is not natural to this country; and that where so much care is necessary to defend it from ruin, it can hardly ever thrive as in other countries, where the people have a natural turn thereto, and enjoy the blessing of a milder constitution (46).

(40) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 89.

(42) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 93.

(41) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 93, 94.

(46) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 193, 194, 195.

(41) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 152.

(43) Titres concernant le commerce de la *China*, p. 385.

(45) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1084, 1085.

But, finding that impracticable, having recourse to the former method of granting licences.

he paid them fifteen *per cent.* upon all the goods imported under this privilege, and two *per cent.* upon all the prizes they should make beyond the *Line*; with a farther reservation, that the company might be at liberty to bring home, on board his ships, ten ton of whatever commodities they pleased, without paying freight. It is reasonable to believe, that they found from this expedient some relief, which induced them to extend their project; and, for the preservation of their servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten millions in debt, they sacrificed themselves^a. For, in the year 1712, they entered into a treaty with some private traders at *St. Malo's*, by which they yielded up to them all their privileges as a company, upon the best terms they could obtain; and this with a view to supply such as were employed by them in the *Indies* with sums sufficient to keep under the interest of their debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into confusion^b. A miserable situation this! and yet the company found themselves unable to undertake any thing upon their own bottom; so that on the expiration of their own privileges, by the elapsing of their term about the time of the king's death, they warmly solicited a renewal of them, not from any hopes of reviving their trade, but purely with an intention to renew their agreement with the merchants of *St. Malo's*, that they might gain so much as might preserve their settlements, and not suffer such as they had employed to be utterly undone in their service^c (R). This naturally leads us to the *Indies*, where we shall resume the history of the *French* affairs, from the miscarriage of their design upon the island of *Ceylon*, down to the same period we arrived at in the history of the company, that is, to the determination of the fifty years granted by the original edict of creation, and without which previous detail what we are now about to relate would have been extremely embarrassed and perplexed, if not absolutely dark and unintelligible.

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1049.

^b Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 87.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 193, 194.

(R) It is not easy to conceive how these merchants of *St. Malo* could carry on their commerce to the *East Indies* with any considerable profit, if we reflect on the many inconveniencies to which they were exposed; for, besides the hard agreement made with the company, they laboured under a variety of restrictions. To mention only a few: the subjects of the *Mogul* made no distinction between them and the *East India* company, the debts of which were so large, that these private traders durst not send any ships to *Surat*, for fear of having their effects seized; they were likewise precluded from sending any vessels to *China*, on the score of the new company erected for carrying on that commerce; and, in consequence of the treaty of *Utrecht*, they were prohibited from sending any ships into the *South Seas*; which was one great point they had in view, and might certainly be considered as

capable of turning more to their advantage than all the other powers that were left them (47). But it seems that all these, and many other disadvantages, were balanced by this favourable circumstance, that private merchants only were concerned in this commerce, and managed their own money and their own affairs as they thought fit; so that they could go on with more vigour and less expence, make whatever changes they thought convenient, and reap all the benefits of the company's privileges, without being subjected to those incumbrances which inevitably attend on public companies under the influence of a minister (48). A lesson that ought to be regarded, and for the sake of which the pains taken in explaining this matter are certainly well bestowed.

(47) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 87. their contract.

(48) This appears from their not being obliged to throw up

S E C T. IV.

History of the company's concerns in the Indies; manner in which they acquired the town and fortress of Pondichery. Description of that place, and every thing belonging to it; pains taken to preserve and fortify it. Excellent behaviour of those intrusted with the company's affairs in the East, by whom all their possessions are maintained, and some degree of credit kept up abroad, though wholly lost at home.

An account of the company's affairs in the Indies, and in what manner they acquired Pondichery.

IN the very beginning of the year 1674, Messieurs *Baron* and *De la Haye*, directors of the *French East India* company, finding themselves blocked up in the city of *St. Thomas*, with the small remains of that large force which had failed from *France* on the expedition against *Ceylon*, and foreseeing that it would be a thing impracticable for them to hold out long, resolved to procure, if possible, a safe retreat; and, for that purpose, employed Mr. *Martin* to treat with *Circam Landi*, governor of the adjacent country for the king of *Visapour*, who had shewn himself at all times a friend to their nation, for any place that he should judge proper to answer this necessary end^k. Accordingly Mr. *Martin* repaired to *Pondichery*, and found no great difficulty in obtaining leave from the governor to fix there upon reasonable

^k Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 213.

- a terms. The town of *St. Thomas* being surrendered, the two directors marched thither with their small forces, where they continued to the beginning of *May*, and then left Mr. *Martin* in possession of the place, with a garrison of sixty men, exclusive of those on board the *Vigilante* frigate which remained in the road; intrusting him likewise with the money and effects belonging to the company, which were pretty considerable¹. Mr. *Martin*, considering that this wealth was of no service to him, and the danger to which he might be exposed with so small a garrison, if it remained in his possession, very wisely lent the greatest part of it to his friend *Chircam Laudi*, at the interest of one and a half *per cent. per mensem*; by which he made him his fast friend, and also procured wherewith to support his garrison without breaking in upon the capital. He then wrote an account to the company of his situation; and that, if they had any demand for piece goods, they might be as conveniently furnished from thence with those manufactures, to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns a year, or more, as from any other place upon the coast; which was the most agreeable news at that juncture he could have sent, and suited exactly with the report they had received from their directors at *Surat*: that, considering how small a force they had in the *Indies*, they could not form an establishment any-where more safely or more commodiously than at *Pondichery*; which they were the better able to affirm, as they had taken all possible pains to acquaint themselves with its advantages during the time they resided there^m (S).
- b They had any demand for piece goods, they might be as conveniently furnished from thence with those manufactures, to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns a year, or more, as from any other place upon the coast; which was the most agreeable news at that juncture he could have sent, and suited exactly with the report they had received from their directors at *Surat*: that, considering how small a force they had in the *Indies*, they could not form an establishment any-where more safely or more commodiously than at *Pondichery*; which they were the better able to affirm, as they had taken all possible pains to acquaint themselves with its advantages during the time they resided there^m (S).

- It was for these reasons that the *French East India* company directed Mr. *Martin* to procure that place for them on the best terms he could; with which order he complied exactly. This gentleman obtained from the before-mentioned governor, who first gave him leave to settle there, a licence to fortify and to secure his people and effects in the best manner he could: which he accordingly did, and settled under the protection of his factory a little *Indian* village of about forty houses, in which those who wrought for the company lived quietly and happily. Things had not remained long in this condition before he found his small establishment threatened with total ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi*, falling with a vast force into that part of the country, endeavoured to overwhelm him, as a dependent upon his enemies. However, Mr. *Martin* supplied by prudence what he wanted in force; and, by a timely application, brought about a treaty, which was managed on his side by an *Indian* prince, whose friendship he had secured, which ended in a licence from *Seva-Gi* to trade in his dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred rupees. This was in the year 1680; and he had the year before purchased the territory of the king of *Visapour*, whose inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive that the son of *Seva-Gi*, who was become sovereign of the place by right of war, might take it amiss if he presumed to raise a regular fortification without his consent; which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a posture of defenceⁿ.
- c This gentleman obtained from the before-mentioned governor, who first gave him leave to settle there, a licence to fortify and to secure his people and effects in the best manner he could: which he accordingly did, and settled under the protection of his factory a little *Indian* village of about forty houses, in which those who wrought for the company lived quietly and happily. Things had not remained long in this condition before he found his small establishment threatened with total ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi*, falling with a vast force into that part of the country, endeavoured to overwhelm him, as a dependent upon his enemies. However, Mr. *Martin* supplied by prudence what he wanted in force; and, by a timely application, brought about a treaty, which was managed on his side by an *Indian* prince, whose friendship he had secured, which ended in a licence from *Seva-Gi* to trade in his dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred rupees. This was in the year 1680; and he had the year before purchased the territory of the king of *Visapour*, whose inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive that the son of *Seva-Gi*, who was become sovereign of the place by right of war, might take it amiss if he presumed to raise a regular fortification without his consent; which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a posture of defenceⁿ.

- This was a very timely provision; for the *Dutch* began to be extremely disturbed at the flourishing condition of this little colony, and offered very large presents to the *Rajah*, in whose dominions it lay, in case he would dispossess the *French*. But the *Indian* prince, who was also son to *Seva-Gi*, rejected these offers with contempt. He said, "the *French* had fairly purchased that settlement, for which they paid a valuable consideration, and that therefore all the money in the world should never tempt him to dislodge them^o." The *Dutch*, however, resolved to carry their point; and, the war having broke out between them and *France*, they made dispositions for attacking it by force; which they did in 1693, when they came before the place with a squadron of nineteen sail, landed an army of between two and three thousand men, with a fine train of artillery, and six mortars. To make their conquest the
- d paid one thousand six hundred rupees. This was in the year 1680; and he had the year before purchased the territory of the king of *Visapour*, whose inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive that the son of *Seva-Gi*, who was become sovereign of the place by right of war, might take it amiss if he presumed to raise a regular fortification without his consent; which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a posture of defenceⁿ.

¹ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 790, 791. ^m Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 213, 214, 215. ⁿ Memoire dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1. ^o Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 231, 232.

(S) The reader may possibly think what we have advanced in the text invalidated by what we find affirmed, on their own knowledge, by some who have made voyages thither; who complain, that the climate is very indifferent, the soil barren, provisions scarce, the situation on the land side very inconvenient; as the road is open, without defence, and the landing extremely uneasy; from all which they conclude, that it is very difficult to say what the motives were that determined the servants of the company to make choice of this place (49). We have shewn what were their motives; they were in immediate want of a place, and this was the best that could be had. If most of these complaints were well founded,

in 1690, we shall find, from the subsequent account of this fortress, with how much industry and skill competent remedies have been applied; but it must be always remembered in what situation things were when Mr. *Martin* fixed himself here, and how very little it was in his power either to have changed his quarters, or to attempt any great matters; for, many years after he made his residence at *Pondichery*, what he did was indeed very wonderful; and we may certainly ascribe to his prudence, moderation, and diligence, the preserving for the *French East India* company any place whatever on the coast of *Coromandel* (50).

(49) Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par M. De Quæfne, tom. ii. p. 172.

(50) Histoire des

surer, they applied to the new Rajah, who was not of the same temper with the old one; and, for about twenty thousand pounds of our money, purchased the whole district. They then invested and attacked the place; which, after a good defence, Mr. Martin, who was still director-general for the *French East India* company, surrendered, upon very honourable conditions, on the sixth of *September* 1693, as we have already acquainted the reader in a former section^p (T).

Upon the resignation of it, the director-general Martin put Pondichery into a good state of defence.

This stroke, which seemed to put an end to the company's authority in those parts, proved, in its consequences, the happiest thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no sooner in possession of the place, than they raised new walls, erected seven regular bastions, and whatever else was necessary to render it one of the completest fortresses in the *Indies*, on account of its excellent situation, and to keep out the *French*. In 1694, upon the conclusion of a general peace, the place was restored to the *French*, who thereby acquired the property of *Pondichery*, and all those fine new fortifications, for so trifling a sum as five thousand pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* governor upon his delivering up all that he possessed; which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the orders of the States General, who, as they were great gainers by that peace in *Europe*, would not perplex themselves with the disputes between the two companies^q. As soon as the news of this was brought into *France*, the *East India* company received orders from the government to put that place into such a condition, as that, in case of a second war, they might not lose it as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a squadron was sent from *France*, with two hundred regular troops for the augmentation of the garrison, several able engineers, a vast quantity of military stores, and whatever else was requisite to secure *Pondichery* from any future attempts of the *Dutch*. The *Sieur Martin* was again intrusted with the command of the place, which in the space of four or five years he so changed, as that it was scarcely to be known. He not only completed the fortifications according to his instructions, and assembled a good garrison of between seven and eight hundred men, but built one hundred new houses, and laid out a regular plan for a large town, into which, by his own prudence and good management, he drew, within the space of five years, more than fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants; so that in the year 1710 it was become one of the most considerable places in the *Indies* in the hands of the *Europeans*; and, if the affairs of the company in *Europe* had kept pace at all with the improvements made by this gentleman in the *Indies*, the *French* company, in point of trade, might very soon have been in some measure upon a level with their neighbours the *English* and *Dutch*^r (V).

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^p Memoires dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1. 791. ^q Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247. ^r Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col.

(T) As the preparations for attacking this fortress could not be made without the governor's having intelligence of them so long before the siege began, he took the necessary precaution of sending the women, children, and other useless mouths, to the city of *St. Thomas*, where they were very kindly received, and very charitably entertained, by the *Portuguese* (51). The town was very far from being regularly fortified; or the garrison in any degree of proportion to the force that formed the siege; for which reason, though the governor Mr. Martin had taken care to be supplied with ammunition and provisions, as well as to throw up some new works, yet he did not think fit to let things come to extremities; but, having made such a defence as might justly intitle him to honourable terms, he surrendered upon articles that were for the company's benefit, and to his own credit (52). The garrison was permitted to march out with all marks of honour; vessels were provided to transport them to *Batavia*, from whence they were to be sent into *Europe*; and the governor was permitted to send for his wife and grand daughter from *St. Thomas*, without subjecting their baggage to any search. The governor's conduct was so well approved at home, that he was not only continued in his former employments, but the king was also pleased to honour him with the order of *Mount Carmel* (53).

(V) What chiefly attracted the natives of the country, and more especially weavers, dyers, painters, and other

manufacturers, to settle at *Pondichery*, was, the freedom as well as protection which they enjoyed, and the ready sale they had for their goods. It is true that the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danish*, had forts and factories at no great distance, where they would have been as welcome, and lived with equal security, but not upon so easy terms, or in such intire liberty. We may in some measure ascribe this mild and equitable administration to the temper, experience, and probity, of Mr. Martin; but we ought likewise to consider, that the *French* were the latest comers, that they were weaker, and that they had a great interest in procuring the natives to settle under their fortresses (54). It may be wondered how they found means to keep the *Indians* employed, and to keep the terms of payment with them in a pretty tolerable manner, notwithstanding the small assistance they derived from *Europe*; but, as their own subsistence, as well as the maintenance of the place, depended intirely on the right management of this point, they chose to act as factors for all strangers that would employ them; and by this means they lived upon good terms with their neighbours, and at the same time kept their subjects busy; and, tho' their profits were but small, yet still they were somewhat; which, to people who had scarce any other dependence, was a matter of such moment, that we may easily account from thence for their exact justice, and all their other good qualities, by which they recommended themselves so strongly to the natives of all religions (55). We may

(51) *Lettres interessantes et curieuses*, tom. xv. p. 19.
(53) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 246.
par P. Norbert.

(55) From private information.

(52) *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, p. 77.
(54) *Memoires historiques sur les rois de Malabar*.

- a HOWEVER, this was so far from being the case, that both this gentleman and succeeding governors were obliged to find means to support themselves; the factory and town by the trade carried on in it, and by the industry of the *Indians* settled there; in which they were so fortunate, that, while the company was daily declining, every thing carried the face of plenty and prosperity there, and none knew or felt any difficulty but the governors and their council, who yet were never tempted to oppress the people with taxes, or to endeavour to make their own circumstances easier by laying part of the load upon others. It is true, that when the town grew too large for the old fortification, it was found necessary to surround it with a new wall; but how clear soever that necessity, and however advantageous to the people, such an improvement might be, yet the governor found it absolutely impracticable to defray the expence without the assistance of the inhabitants. In order to procure this, he acted with equal integrity and caution; for, having first ordered the wall to be marked out, and part of it to be erected at each end, he thereby shewed his people at once the advantages which would be derived from such a fortification, and the expences that would attend it; so that when, in order to complete his design, he imposed upon the inhabitants a capitation tax of two pence a month, they were satisfied as to the end, and the sum raised by this imposition; and therefore, instead of murmuring or complaining, they paid it with the greatest cheerfulness, and gave the governor hearty thanks for the care he had taken of their interest^a. By this the reader may clearly see, that though the *French* pride themselves so much at home on the grandeur and absolute power of their king, and talk in so high a strain of his conquests, yet they affect quite another language in the *Indies*; for they value themselves there upon their justice and moderation, their having purchased the small territory which they possess, their having lived upon good terms with their neighbours, and their establishing so large a town, and acquiring so many thousands of subjects, purely by the equity and mildness of their administration. This fact, which is equally true and strange at the same time, plainly demonstrates, that common sense directs all to think the same way, and that the great difference of opinions, and what we call the temper and disposition of nations, arises purely from accidents in education and government. Independent of these, reason is every-where the same; which shews the reality and certainty of the laws of nature, to which all men return when the influence of power, and other accidental restraints, are removed^b. As we have shewn by what course of events this fortrefs of *Pondichery* is become the chief seat and capital residence of the *French East India* company, it will be necessary to give the reader a more particular description of it.

THE town, then, of *Pondichery*^c is situated in the province of *Gingy*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, in the latitude of twelve degrees north, and in the longitude of one hundred degrees thirty minutes, that is, seventy-eight degrees east from the meridian of *Paris*. It stands at the distance of one hundred yards from the sea-shore, and has nothing more than a road before it, so that they are obliged to carry all their goods in boats for a full league^d (X). The magazines

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 791.

^b Voyage dans les Indes Orientales, par LULLIER, p. 33. par Mons. DU QUESNE, tom. ii. p. 161, 162.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247, 248.

^d Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales,

guess in some degree at the consequences of these prudent regulations by the rents accounted for to the company from 1685 to 1710; which, notwithstanding the interruption suffered by the conquest of the *Dutch*, amounted to eight hundred thousand livres (56).

(X) The trouble and danger in landing is much insisted upon by some of the *French* writers of voyages, who differ as to the name of the boats made use of for this purpose; one calling them *Chelingues* (57), and the other *Lingues* (58). The former of these writers describes them thus (59): "Vessels (says he) cannot anchor nearer than half a league to the shore, which is very low, neither is it possible for either shallop or small boat to row with safety nearer than musket shot; because the sea breaks with so much violence, that nothing could save them if they went closer. The black people of the country come to take such as are desirous of going on shore, with their baggage and merchandize, in great flat boats, which are called *Chelingues*, the sides of which are very high. These boats are made of thin planks, not nailed, but barely

"sewed together with cords, without so much as bitumen, tar, resin, pitch, or oakum; so that the water comes in on all sides, and that to such a degree, that passengers run the hazard of being drowned, and goods being spoiled, every moment. I cannot tell why the company have not made a quay, since it would certainly save all the expence of these *Chelingues*, and put people's lives and goods out of danger; for these boats are so very insecure, that two men are constantly employed in throwing out the water with large leather buckets; there is another at the helm, and six labour at the oars; so that the wages of nine men in each of these boats would be saved by the company's being at the expence of a quay. They say, indeed, that all this coast is a quick sand, upon which it is impossible to lay any foundation." One would think this answer might have satisfied the gentleman; but he is, notwithstanding, very positive that a quay might be made; and adds, he would undertake to do it at the hazard of his head. However that matter be, this inconvenience appears to be a common complaint upon this

(56) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247. M. Du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 162.

(57) Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par

(58) Voyages dans les Indes Orientales, par Lullier, p. 29.

(59) Jour-

nal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par Du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 161.

magazines of the company, and of private persons, are both numerous and magnificent, as far as any thing of that nature can be so. They have a large and beautiful market place, six fine gates, eleven bastions for the defence of their walls, a regular citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred cannon upon their works, besides a good train of field pieces, bombs, mortars, and other military stores, in their arsenal *. The governor has a very fine house, with convenient offices, and whatever else is requisite for the service or credit of the company. On the west side of the town the company have a fine garden, beautifully laid out into public walks, and whatever else may contribute to the satisfaction and pleasure of the better sort of inhabitants; adjoining to which garden there is a fine house richly furnished, made use of for the reception of foreign princes and ambassadors, who, whenever they resort thither, are treated with infinite respect, and all their expences defrayed by the company; which has been found a wise and useful contrivance, of much more consequence to the interest of their commerce than the expence it occasions †. The other public buildings consist of a large convent of the Jesuits, where they have usually twelve or fifteen priests, who, besides officiating in that character, keep school, and instruct the children of the inhabitants in reading, writing, mathematics, and whatever else may be of use in civil life; for, as to the learned languages, they trouble not themselves about them, and indeed they would be of little service in this part of the world. There are, besides that of the Jesuits, two other convents, but not so considerable by any means as the former, which is the case throughout the *Indies* ‡ (Y).

The great extent, yet exact regularity, of the place, with the number of houses and people.

THE houses of the town are as regularly laid out as if it had been all built at once, though it is now near four leagues in extent. The *Europeans* build with brick; but the *Indians*, and other nations, use only wood, in that manner which we call lath and plaister; for the latter they have the best in the world, which is composed of all sorts of shells ground to powder, and wrought up into a kind of paste, which, when exposed for some time to the air, becomes altogether as white, and almost as hard, as stone. These houses are one story only, and are usually eight yards in front, and six in depth; and yet fifteen or twenty people live in them. They are but very indifferently lighted, so that it is not easy to conceive how they are able to dispatch their business in them. Their roofs are all flat, for the conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almost naked, agreeable to the custom of the country; for *Pondichery*, lying in the torrid zone, is extremely hot, though the climate is found by experience very

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 253, 254.
p. 97, 98, 99.

† Voyages dans les Indes Orientales, par LULLIER, num. 1.
‡ Memoires dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

coast, as the reader will see from what Mr. *Lockyer* has said on the same subject with respect to the *English* settlement at *Madras*, or *Fort St. George* (60): "Here being a very high surf, which sometimes breaks a great way from shore, our *English* boats are of no use for landing or shipping off goods. For this end, therefore, they have *Mussoolas*, large flat-bottomed ill-shaped boats, not nailed as ours, but sewed together with coyr-twine, whence they are so pliable, that the planks never start with the most violent shocks: their hire is six *Fanbams*, or eighteen pence a trip; but the company has seven boats *per Pagoda*, which is thirty-six *Fanbams*, and is money dearly earned, two or three turns a day being the most ten fellows can make; however, they are merry birds, howling out an *Ela*, *Yela*, as chorus to their songs, at almost every stroke." The reader will be hereafter informed in the text, that, supposing it possible to remedy this inconvenience at *Pondichery*, it is doubtful (at least in her present circumstances) whether the *French East India* company would think it expedient.

(Y) It cannot but be agreeable to the reader to be informed of a very singular act of dexterity, by which the Jesuits preserved this noble convent of theirs at the time *Pondichery* was taken by the *Dutch*, though they very well knew, that, by saving this edifice, the place must be lost (61). The church of the Jesuits was seated on an eminence that overlooked the citadel; and it was therefore easily foreseen, that, when once the enemy became masters of this place, *Pondichery* must soon fall into their hands. The governor posted as many men as he could spare on this important spot for its defence, and likewise directed the church to be undermined, that, if the *Dutch*

became masters of it, it might turn little to their advantage, and nothing to his detriment. The place, as he foresaw, was very soon attacked; the officer who commanded, and most of the men that were there, killed in its defence, after which the *Dutch* presently took possession. The business then was to spring the mine; but, to the amazement of the governor, the powder would not take fire. The soldier who was sent on this service applied the match over and over to no purpose; and at length threw a small quantity of dry powder he had with him upon the train, which scorched his face and his hands when fired, but without producing any other effect; the powder being so thoroughly mixed with oil, that it was impossible it should take. The success of this contrivance to save the church, obliged the governor to surrender. The suspicion fell strong upon the Jesuits, and it was soon reduced to a certainty; for the very person they employed, and who fled for fear of discovery, returned after the *Dutch* became masters of *Pondichery*, and had restored this church, at the request of the reverend father *Tachard*, to its original owners; by which the whole secret came out. The same reverend person, returning soon after to *France*, acquainted the ministry with the whole affair, magnifying the detriment the public had sustained from the method taken to save this building; but at the same time he was pleased to give the credit of this contrivance to the *Capuchins*, whose church he affirmed it to be; but unluckily the superior of that order returned likewise, and set the whole affair in its true light, as we are informed by an author whose veracity is above suspicion, and who has been a confessor, and almost a martyr, to the arts of these exquisite politicians.

(60) Account of the trade in India, p. ii.
text, tom. ii. p. 288.

(61) Memoires historiques sur les missions de Molabar, par P. Nor-

- a wholesome. One thing is very singular ; and this is, that it never rains, except seven or eight days, at the most, towards the end of *October*, which falls out constantly and regularly, and is therefore the more extraordinary^a. The native *Indians*, or, as they are called here, *Gentiles*, or *Gentoos*, are most of them weavers or painters ; and, though the best workman cannot earn above two pence a day, yet upon this he is able to subsist himself, his wife, and his children, their principal food being rice boiled in water, or wrought up into a paste, and baked upon the coals. The adjacent country is extremely well cultivated, and produces rice in abundance ; so that there is hardly a place in the *Indies* of greater plenty, or where they have flesh, fish, and fowl, on more reasonable terms ; and this notwithstanding they have no other water than what is derived to them from the overflowing of the *Colram*, and other great rivers, which
- b they preserve in lakes or ponds, and draw it for use through their plantations in artificial canals, after the same manner as in *Egypt* (Z).

THE governor, who is also director-general for the company, as he is lodged in a fine palace, so, on all public occasions, he makes a figure suitable thereto in every respect. He has twelve horse guards clothed in scarlet laced with gold, and an officer, who has the title of captain, commands them. He has also a foot guard of three hundred men, natives of the country, called *Peons* ; and, when he appears in public, he is carried in a palankin, very richly adorned with gold fringe. But all this pomp and state is displayed only on proper and particular occasions, upon the receiving of princes or ambassadors ; at other times his guards are employed in the necessary service of the company, and earn to the full the wages they are

c paid ; for there are very few settlements better regulated than this, which the reader will more easily believe when he is told, that, according to the last account taken of the inhabitants of this place, there appear to be in it no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Christians, *Mohammedans*, and *Gentiles* ; a thing altogether incredible, if the fact was not supported by testimonies not to be disputed^b. There cannot be a place better situated for trade than *Pondichery*, being in the midst of the *European* settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*, and having all the *Bay of Bengal* open before them ; so that the company's magazines are full of all the commodities and manufactures not only of the coast of *Coromandel*, but of other parts of the *Indies*, as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the coast of *Malabar*, as also of such as are imported from *Persia*, and the coasts of the *Red Sea* ; and here likewise are their warehouses for all sorts of

d *European* commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence, as occasions require, to the several markets in the *Indies*^c. The staple trade, however, of the place, is esteemed to be piece goods, of which the finest are made in the neighbouring kingdom of *Golconda*, and the best painted here ; they likewise have great quantities of silk raw and manufactured, gold and silver brocades, perfumes, spices, and diamonds, in which they are said to have made a great progress of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently situated, as being at a small distance from the finest mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongst them persons as well skilled in jewels as any in the world (A). The *French East India* company, therefore,

Magnificence of the governor on particular occasions, and the manner in which commerce is carried on from thence thro' the Indies.

^a Lettres edifiantes, tom. xv. p. 19. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 250. ^b Memoires dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1. ^c Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 750. Memoires dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

(Z) The reader has seen, that, when *Pondichery* was first in possession of the *French*, great complaints were made of its wanting almost all the conveniencies of life, and even those two great necessities bread and water (62). However, the complaints were a little louder than they need have been, since there is actually a river that runs through the town ; and, though the adjacent country be naturally barren and sandy, yet, through the industry of the natives, assisted by the skill of *European* engineers, water is so copiously and equally distributed, that they raise vast quantities of rice and great plenty of fallading : abundance of *Indian* fruits and *European* vines are cultivated there with such success, that they bear twice a year ; and, though it must be allowed that the fruit does not come to such full perfection as to admit of making wine, yet the grapes have a good taste, and are very wholesome and refreshing (63). The large account which we have given in the text is extracted from a memorial sent to the *French East India* company, which is allowed to be very exact by those who have visited that

fortress lately (64). We must also consider, that different countries and climates demand quite a different manner of living ; and it is in furnishing what is necessary and convenient for that way of life which best suits these, that plenty really consists ; for to expect what would be so in *Europe* upon the coast of *Coromandel*, is absurd and unnatural, and therefore those who visit such places, in a voyage to the *Indies*, stay there but a little time, and are unacquainted with the manners and customs of the place, are by no means proper judges (65).

(A) The finest diamonds in the *Indies* are found in the kingdoms of *Visapour*, *Golconda*, and *Bengal*, from all which the *French* settlement of *Pondichery* is at about an equal distance, which does not exceed an hundred leagues. The most common method at coming at these precious stones is, by purchase from the natives, who bring them with great secrecy to those in whom they have a confidence ; but seldom, if ever, above one stone at a time, which they sell as dear as they can (66). It is said that great caution is requisite in dealing with these people,

(62) Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par Du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 162—165. (63) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 251, 252. (64) Voyages dans les Indes Orientales, par Lullier, &c. (65) The reader will discern the truth of this by comparing books of this kind with each other. (66) Bernier, Tavernier, Lullier, &c.

therefore, can neither be blamed for the choice of their residence, which, all things considered, is the fittest for them of any in the *Indies*; or for the pains and expence they have bestowed about it, amounting, in the whole, about forty years ago, to about eight hundred thousand livres, or forty thousand pounds sterling. Since they have rendered it so strong and so commodious, that it may easily drive ten times the trade they ever had in this part of the world ^a.

The great inconvenience of wanting a port, and how this is in some measure balanced. ONE disadvantage it has, and that too very considerable, which is, the want of a port, for there is, as we have more than once observed, only a road before *Pondichery*, and that none of the best, the flux and reflux of the sea is not above a foot or two at the most, the landing very difficult and troublesome, ships not being able to come within a less distance than half a league of the place; so that every thing with respect to lading or unlading must be performed by boats always, with much trouble, and very often not without danger: yet even this situation, or rather this disadvantage in its situation, was very serviceable during the time that the *Sieur Martin* was director-general there; since, if the landing had not been both difficult and dangerous, the place, no doubt, had been taken and demolished in the last general war, during the reign of *Lewis XIV.* as well as in the first, or battered or bombarded by the *English* and *Dutch* fleets, if that had been practicable. For we must put the reader in mind, that, notwithstanding we have proceeded in the description of *Pondichery* almost as low as the present times, that we might shew its augmentations and improvements at one view, yet we are advanced in our history no farther than the beginning of the present century, at which time the sovereign council of the *Indies*, as it was called, was suppressed at *Surat*, because indeed it could subsist there no longer, and that swelling title conferred on those who had the direction of the company's affairs at *Pondichery*, which was made the seat of the director or governor-general of the *French* company by letters patent dated in *February* 1701, by which the factories of *Ougli*, *Ballezor*, *Kasumbazar*, *Cabripatan*, *Masulipatan*, and others, in the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Golconda*, were put under its direction, which, though it might seem an augmentation of honour and power, was in truth a new burden upon those who had the management of the company's affairs for above twenty years ^c.

How the governor, garrison, and the company's servants, supported themselves in this place. IN this space of time, as the reader has already seen from the history of the company, her affairs were continually declining from bad to worse, so that it is really matter of amazement how the servants of the company contrived to keep so many places as they did, not only with very little but almost without any assistance. The cheapness of the country, and their entertaining for the most part natives in their service, was a great help; to this they joined what little trade they carried on to the adjacent ports in the *Indies*; they likewise availed themselves, in their distress, by making up cargoes for the *English* ships, who bought without scruple where they could have them cheapest; then came the private traders with the company's licence, whom they also supplied: but all these contrivances could not keep them out of debt, or even help them to sums sufficient to keep down their interest, and thereby preserve some little credit to ^d

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 61, 62.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 182, 183, 184.

with whom civility will do much, but flattery nothing at all, the *Banyan* merchant esteeming complaisance a shrewd sign of insincerity. It is requisite to make a hard bargain, and not to give a good price, in hopes of being better used another time; for the *Banyan* will deal always upon the same foot, and, rather than sell an *European* cheaper than he did before, will find another chapman (67). These stones are sold for ready money, and of the newest coin. A fair reputation is the best method of attracting *Indian* merchants, who never deal but with those whom they esteem to be men of probity. We are told that the *Jesuits* drive a greater trade in jewels than either the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, or *Danes*; and it is very positively asserted, that, using the dress, the language, and the customs, of the *Banyans*, they frequently travel to the diamond mines with them, and make large purchases upon the spot (68). It may seem a little strange how these reverend fathers get their stones to *Europe*; but, with respect to this, we have a very singular story from a man of honour, and of their own communion, which will at once instruct and entertain the reader. These reverend persons, conforming to the mode of the country, wear the *Portuguese* shoes, with large wooden heels; and it so fell out, that a *Moor*, whom they had converted at

Surat, in a pious fit of humility, was very desirous of cleaning these holy mens shoes; but, being apprehensive that the fathers would not permit it if he had desired their leave, he with great secrecy took away two pair of shoes; and, retiring to a private place, fell to rubbing them very assiduously. He had not been long at his labour before he heard something rattle in their heels, which the poor superstitious creature took for an evil spirit; and roared out so violently, that the *Portuguese* came to see what was the matter, to whom he told his story; upon which this old Christian, who was better acquainted with the *Jesuits* than the *Moor*, ripped off the heel-pieces, and took out four neat iron boxes, made exactly in the form of wooden heels, in which were twenty rough diamonds of great value. The reverend fathers, being informed of what had happened, applied themselves to the *Portuguese*; and, partly by threatening him with the inquisition upon his return to *Goa*, partly by good words, and a reasonable present in ready money, recovered their diamonds; but the *Moor* made such a noise about the iron boxes and flint stones, as he took them to be, that all the traders of *Surat* were let into this secret, and the *Jesuits* in all probability obliged to have recourse for the future to some new invention (69).

(67) *Instruction pour le commerce des Indes Orientales*. p. 52.

(68) *Basnage annales des Peres de l'Ordre de S. J.* tom. i. p. 125, 126, 127.

a serve them upon emergencies ; infomuch that they were pitied by the wiser and better sort, and laughed at and contemned by the generality of the rest of the *European* nations, who saw with no small satisfaction how mean a figure the *French* made in the east, and with what inexpressible trouble they kept up factories that turned to no manner of advantage ^f.

But this, however, is very remarkable, that the company, which had been plundered and abused while she had funds, and was able to send supplies, was now served with great integrity, and with all imaginable diligence, when there was no other reward to be hoped for than fair words, and ample acknowledgements of their honour and fidelity. It is also worthy of notice, that all this time the town of *Pondichery* was gradually increasing, and, from four or five hundred inhabitants, came within that period to have between seventy and eighty thousand, merely from the mildness of the government, and the personal virtues of the *Sieur Francis Martin*, the founder of this settlement, and who lived to see it, and all that depended upon it, in a flourishing condition, while himself and his masters would have thought it a great felicity to have been barely even with the world, and not worth a groat. Some expectations, no doubt, they had upon the peace ; but when they found that this produced nothing, and that it was not altogether certain whether the company had interest enough to procure a longer term, we may very reasonably believe that they lost all hopes, and began to apprehend that they should be abandoned in the same manner that some of the *Portuguese* colonies were, when the affairs of that nation fell into confusion ^g.

An extraordinary instance of probity in those who were then intrusted.

c But as the seeds of destruction are often sown, and take deep root, in the time of apparent prosperity, so penetrating people, and those who are allowed to be the most capable judges of things of this nature, have been of opinion, that the *French* commerce had never lifted its head again in the *Indies* but for certain advantages which accrued to the company in this time of her humiliation ; for, as they never had any power, from the time of their settling at *Pondichery*, but what was produced by their address, this hindered that fierceness and haughtiness from appearing which quickly renders the *French* nation suspected, and in process of time insupportable, in foreign countries. By their remaining so many years in this depressed condition, which obliged them to study the tempers of different princes, and the disposition of various nations, they really acquired a settled habit of affability, moderation, and equity. They shewed all possible respect to the *Indian* kings and princes, their neighbours, and to all their great officers who came into those parts with forces ; by which they obtained the friendship of all, and very singular marks of esteem from some of them ^h. They frequently did good offices both to the natives and to the *Europeans*, by which they acquired the good-will of the former, and softened the resentment of the latter ; who, making use of them in their factories, as agents and brokers, not only forbore giving them any disturbance, but also gratified them for their services. They protected the people who had settled under the fortrefs of *Pondichery*, the works of which they were continually improving, and kept parties constantly abroad to scour the roads from the banditti, mairauders, and other plunderers, with which the country was infested ; and by this means attracted a sober, harmless, and industrious race of people, to settle in their territory, where they were sure of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour, though that seldom rose higher than a bare subsistence, with which, however, they were easy and contented ⁱ.

How many and great advantages accrued to the company from this circumstance.

By this manner of living in the *Indies* for the space of full fifty years they attained, and that very deservedly, a fair reputation, their fortrefs and their vigilance securing them from surprises or oppression, as their poverty defended them from envy, and their politeness from those insults to which otherwise that would have exposed them. Yet these were but inconsiderable benefits in comparison of that knowledge they acquired of the interior part of the *Indies*, by the facility which their intercourse with the natives gave them in passing from one court to another ; so that in this space of time there were multitudes bred up amongst them who had a more perfect acquaintance with the inland traffick, the places from which the richest goods came, and where the best manufactures were made, than could possibly be obtained by those who resided always in their own settlements, and who had not either the opportunities or the temptation to undertake any such new journeys ^k. By this means likewise many in quality of itinerant merchants and jewellers found means to pick up small fortunes ; and, returning into *Europe* on board the *English* or *Dutch* ships, became afterwards the instruments of that private trade which was carried on by the company's licence at *St. Malo's*. All these, though circumstances very little considered at a time when the company's affairs were so low that they were constrained to lease their privileges to save their servants from starving, yet contributed

Who by this conduct gain a very high reputation with the inhabitants of the country.

^f Lockyer's account of the trade in India, p. 277. 279. 286.

^g Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247. ^h Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 280. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 103. ⁱ Me-

moire dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 1. ^k Lettres edifiantes, tom. xv.

afterwards to carrying on the affairs of their trade with more ease, less expence, and consequently larger profit, than any other nation trading to the *Indies* (B).

Of what consequence perseverance is in points of this nature to a nation.

BEFORE we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe of how great consequence perseverance is in a concern of this nature. The *Portuguese* came into the *Indies* with a small force, which quickly became superior to any thing that could be opposed to them; so that, using the advantages that conjuncture gave them, they became as it were at once lords of the *Indies*. The *Dutch*, driven by despair, and having chiefly the spice trade in view, fell upon that part of the *Portuguese* settlements where they were weakest; and the rich cargoes which they carried home to a country where many had money, and many more had none, but were willing to do any thing to get it, easily excited that spirit which bore down all before it, and established a sovereignty in the *Indies*, vastly greater and richer than their possessions in *Europe*^a. The *English* trade was carried on in a middle way, without any tincture of the *Portuguese* haughtiness, or the *Dutch* selfishness. All these nations, when they came thither, had been for some time used to trade, and were well able to be at the charge of the first establishments. But it was otherwise with the *French*; they came last, when the trade of the *Indies* was almost engrossed by other people, who had wealth and experience on their side; found great difficulties in fixing themselves at all, and, when fixed, found little support from home: yet, by bearing with and struggling against these difficulties; by long-sufferings, and a resolution to remain there as long as it was possible, which, by the practice of a variety of expedients, they rendered practicable, not only contrary to the expectations of others, but perhaps also of their own; they have carried their point; which shews, that there are no obstacles that patience will not overcome, and no nation but what may be taught patience, since certainly that is not among the number of virtues for which the *French* are famous (C).

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

ships, &c.

^b Testament politique de Mons. DE LOUVOIS, p. 439, 440.

^c SIR WALTER RALEGH's discourse on the invention of

(B) This humour of travelling from place to place, and endeavouring to recommend themselves to such as are at the head of public affairs, where-ever they come, is very natural to the *French*, and has been also very useful to them, notwithstanding it has been ridiculed under the notion of levity and vanity by some of their neighbours. It is in consequence of this disposition that they make a greater progress, and gain a better footing, in almost all countries where they come, than any other nation. It is a proof of this that some of the best descriptions, and most accurate accounts, that we have of the *East Indies*, were written by *Frenchmen* who went thither in a private capacity, and chiefly with a view to make their fortunes. It is from the same turn of mind that we find them so ready to embrace settlements of any kind, posts either civil or military in the courts of eastern princes, which makes them and their nation better known to many of these little potentates than any other. While the kingdoms of *Vijapur*, *Goconda*, and *Bengal*, subsisted, there were always *Frenchmen*, or at least persons in the *French* service, that were residents in, and had considerable interests with, these courts (70); and, since they have been swallowed up by the power of the *Mogul*, the *French* have taken care to maintain the like correspondence with his nabobs, and have besides very assiduously cultivated a friendship with the *Indian* rajahs, or princes, great and small, dependent or independent of that empire; which has turned highly to their advantage, as the reader will see in the sequel of this chapter, and as indeed we are continually taught by the advices we receive from those countries (71).

(C) The great and enterprising Mr. *Louvois*, whose

work we have cited in support of what is advanced in the text, thought apparently in this way; and, though he did not live to see any very great points achieved either in the *East* or *West Indies*, yet he ventured to foretell the king his master, that the *French*, by their perseverance, would carry their point at last, and distinguish themselves in commerce as well as in negotiations and war. He acknowledged that this prophecy might very possibly expose him to be laughed at whenever it came to be known; but, notwithstanding this, he was positive, that, in process of time, those that laughed would find their mirth spoiled by his countrymen, who would attempt and succeed in overturning the settlements, and encroaching on the dominions, of other powers in *Asia* and *America* (72). He confesses that to his time they had not been very fortunate in these endeavours; but he comforted his master and himself with observing, that these are enterprises which are seldom prosperous in the beginning; and compares the progress of a rising naval power to that of a strong man walking upon a bad road, where though he may often trip, and sometimes fall, may find himself embarrassed in craggy paths, and forced to bear scratches and blows in passing through thickets and close woods, yet, keeping up his spirits, and pressing on, stopping now-and-then to take breath, and keeping the issue of his journey ever in his mind, he will sooner or later overcome all difficulties, and reach the place which he is bound. These suggestions and reflections of a *French* minister, who died so long ago (73), as *July* 16th, 1691, are not a little extraordinary, and the reader cannot well doubt that they have made a very strong impression upon his successors.

(70) Tavernier, Bernier, Carrié, Dellen, &c. persons residing in the *Indies*.

(72) Testament politique de Monsieur De Louvois, p. 223.

(73) From private information, and from M. S. memoirs of

(73) Histoire

S E C T. V.

The state of the company's domestic situation at the time of the demise of Lewis XIV. On what terms, and with what views, the regent duke of Orleans took up the concerns of this, and other companies; and what were the real ends proposed by that consolidation to which he gave the sounding and specious title of the UNION, that a revival of credit might in some measure result from the name.

- ^a **W**E must now return again to *France*, from the history of their difficulties abroad to that of their endeavours at home. Upon the demise of *Louis* the fourteenth, the founder of this company, and their kind protector and patron, thro' his whole reign the administration of affairs devolved upon, or at least was assumed by, the duke of *Orleans*, with the title of regent; a prince of great parts, and who, at his entrance on the government, affected whatever might procure him the character of being a lover of peace, a friend to the people, and the guardian of commerce. To him, therefore, as was natural, the distressed company applied for an additional term; the renewal of their privileges in that state in which they stood, was all that they desired; to have them augmented, was what they never hoped; for though, before the death of the king they had obtained a prolongation for ten years, to be accounted from the first of *May* 1715, yet this, like most of the royal favours they had received, was of very little use, since they had no funds left for carrying on their commerce; and, besides, the new term was so short, that it added very little to their credit at home or abroad. It was from the duke regent that they expected more solid assistance, and such helps from the treasury as might enable them to revive their trade. But the regent and his ministers were in sentiments quite opposite to those the company had flattered themselves with; and, instead of being at all inclined to part with money for other people to employ in trade, they were contriving how to make use of the sound and reputation of commerce to fill the king's coffers, to pay off the debts of the crown, and to discharge the loads which lay on the government, and upon the shoulders of the nation, by that series of contrivances which are still known in *France* by the name of
- ^b THE SYSTEM.
- ^c **THE SYSTEM.**

- It was with this view that the regent shewed so much favour and kindness to the *West India* company, and established its capital at one hundred millions, and thereby procured an opportunity of lessening that immense quantity of incumbrances which the long war had made necessary. But when the *East India* company came to represent the condition they were in, and sue for assistance, they soon found that they had to do with those who understood their affairs as well as themselves; and therefore, instead of governing them, as they had done former ministers, they were forced to put themselves intirely into their hands, and trust to their generosity and discretion. The consequence of this was very probably what they had not foreseen, since it proved to be the dissolution of the company in effect, by uniting them with that of the *West Indies*, which also swallowed up others; and this with a view of immediate benefit to the government, and perhaps a remote prospect to the advantage of the *East India* commerce, the state of which was now laid open to the very bottom, and the whole brought to public view, that the world might be induced to believe the squandering such large sums, the feeble progress, and at length absolute decay, of their traffick, was owing to mismanagement; which being corrected, a correspondence with the *East Indies* might become as beneficial to *France* as it evidently was to *England* or *Holland*. If we consider this revolution in the company's affairs, and the dissolution of their privileges, in a strict and absolute sense, we must look on the new establishment as the fifth *East India* company erected in *France*; but if reflecting upon other circumstances, such as carrying over the effects and debts of the old company to the new one, and some other particulars that will be hereafter mentioned, we are content to receive it in a more restrained acceptation, then it will be no more than a continuance of the old company, or at most a revival (D).
- ^d of the *West Indies*, which also swallowed up others; and this with a view of immediate benefit to the government, and perhaps a remote prospect to the advantage of the *East India* commerce, the state of which was now laid open to the very bottom, and the whole brought to public view, that the world might be induced to believe the squandering such large sums, the feeble progress, and at length absolute decay, of their traffick, was owing to mismanagement; which being corrected, a correspondence with the *East Indies* might become as beneficial to *France* as it evidently was to *England* or *Holland*. If we consider this revolution in the company's affairs, and the dissolution of their privileges, in a strict and absolute sense, we must look on the new establishment as the fifth *East India* company erected in *France*; but if reflecting upon other circumstances, such as carrying over the effects and debts of the old company to the new one, and some other particulars that will be hereafter mentioned, we are content to receive it in a more restrained acceptation, then it will be no more than a continuance of the old company, or at most a revival (D).
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THIS

* Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 335. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 195. † Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 114. ‡ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. i. col. 1261.

(D) In the latter part of the reign of *Louis* the fourteenth, when the public revenues of *France* were anticipated for several years; when the debts of the state were swola so high, that new denominations were introduced into the computation, and they reckoned not only by

millions, but milliards; and, when the wisest men thought all things most desperate, Mr. *Desmaretz* had the direction of the finances, who had been the disciple of Mr. *Colbert*, and, which posterity will hardly believe, found means, to the very death of his master, to maintain something

In the pre-
amble to the
edict of
UNION, the

THIS edict of UNION extinguished the title of both the *West* and *East India* companies, as well as of the rest of the societies comprised therein, and gave to the whole the comprehensive title of the company of the *Indies* (E). In the preamble of this edict we have a succinct

^r *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

like public credit. But, on the king's demise, he withdrew, and left the direction of all things to those enterprising spirits which the duke regent brought into employment (74). The first great measure they struck out was, a kind of political inquisition, by which all who had interfered in any manner with public money were called to a most rigorous examination; the very fear of which deprived many of their senses, and some laid violent hands upon themselves: yet, after all, this flaming tribunal produced nothing more than confusion, and the regent was forced to have recourse to milder methods (75). At this juncture Mr. *John Law*, a native of *Scotland*, who, by the exercise of his great abilities, had raised a considerable estate, offered his service; and proposed, with many improvements, a project which he endeavoured to set on foot in his own country twelve years before. His scheme was accepted; a new establishment erected, and prodigious quantities of old securities, being liquidated, were discharged by bank bills; which, in consequence of that establishment, and his management of it, had such an effect as could scarce have been expected. The *Mississippi* company, of which we shall speak particularly in the succeeding note, was next erected, which by degrees was to be charged with the whole foreign commerce of the kingdom, and the cash of this company was to be kept by the bank. This, in few words, as a very able writer well observes, explains the theory of the system, which was so much magnified by the creatures of power, that, when this new company changed its title for that of the *Indies*, with an augmentation of its capital, the new actions sold for one thousand and forty *per cent.* and the old ones for eight or nine hundred *livres* more (76). Mr. *Law* was comptroller-general of the finances, director of the bank, and inspector-general of the company of the *Indies*, so long as the rage of stock-jobbing prevailed; but when the bank-bills lost their credit, and the actions of the company began to decline, he was obliged to leave the kingdom privately, after losing all his places. This rotation of things happened between 1717 and the close of 1720 (77). There is no doubt that the principal, or at least primary view of the court, was, to free themselves in some measure from that load of debt which it was impossible to discharge; and, when this was in some degree effected, messieurs *Paris*, and other antagonists of Mr. *Law*, contrived, as the reader will see in the text, the gradual delivery of the company of the *Indies*, and the establishing its trade upon a regular and practicable basis. We have in this note anticipated much of the succeeding history, in hopes of rendering so complicated an affair in some degree perspicuous.

(E) All the *French* authors of any degree of eminence, who have written upon the subject of commerce, acknowledge the famous cardinal *de Richlieu* for its founder, and the celebrated *Colbert* for its restorer (78). The cardinal had countenanced several undertakings for carrying on and improving the *French* commerce on the coast of *Africa* and the *West Indies*, none of which had any tolerable degree of success, that is, they were very far from turning to the profit of those who were concerned in them, notwithstanding all the privileges, immunities, and encouragements, they received from the crown; so that to the eyes of the generality of mankind, and even to the greatest part of speculative politicians, they seemed

but so many commercial illusions. But to the penetrating view of *Colbert* they appeared in quite another light; for he clearly discerned that it was to these illusions *France* owed the possession of those dominions which she had in different parts of the world; and though these were but very small and inconsiderable, yet he judged the preservation of them to be a point of great importance; and it was this that induced him, at the same time that he set up an *East India* company, that is, in 1664, to set up a *West India* company also, in hopes that the time was come in which the *French* might make as great a figure in foreign commerce as their neighbours (79). But as the foresight even of the wisest men is far from being infallible, to this *West India* company came to nothing; and the like issue attended many other new companies, some of lesser, some of larger extent, that were set up with plausible appearances, and continued from time to time, with such alterations as were judged requisite, and which, notwithstanding they were well contrived, and wanted no assistance the ministry could give, yet proved in the end feeble and ineffectual (80). In the mean time, however, by the assistance of some or other of these companies, several establishments were made on the coast of *Africa*, the *French* colony in *Canada* preserved and augmented, several islands in the *West Indies* settled, a part of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo* reduced, and at length a new establishment formed on the famous river of *Meschaussi* or *Mississippi*, that is, in the language of the country, the *Great River*, deservedly so called, since it has a course of eight hundred leagues, and is navigable to within eight leagues of its source (81). This establishment, like all the rest, struggled in its infancy, that is, from about the year 1669 to the end of the last century, with almost unformountable difficulties; and had been at last utterly lost, but for the public spirit of the *Sieur Au bery Crozat*, who, having acquired by many years indefatigable application to commerce a very large fortune, engaged in its support, and procured letters patents, dated *September* the 14th, 1712, by which he was enabled to undertake what he thought necessary for promoting the interests of his country in that part of *North America* which is now stiled *Louisiana*, in which he was somewhat more fortunate than his predecessors (82). When therefore it was found necessary to the carrying on of THE SYSTEM to frame some new commercial settlement, to which the most dazzling advantages were to be ascribed, this was fixed upon, and the *Sieur Du Crozat* having resigned his letters patents which had still ten years to run, the king, by his edict dated in the month of *August* 1717, and registered in parliament on the 6th of *September* following, erected a new trading society, under the title of *Compagnie d'Occident*, the company of the west, or, as it was commonly called, the *Mississippi* company, the capital of which, by an edict registered in parliament the last day of the year before-mentioned, was fixed at one hundred millions (83). To this company, besides the original concession of the country stiled *Louisiana*, reduced into the form of a province, and described by that edict, there was quickly added the exclusive contract for castors or beavers skins from *Canada*; and in 1718 the company of *Senegal*, and the slave trade; to which, in 1719, fell in likewise the *East India* and *China* companies, from the motives which are set forth in the text (84).

(74) *Histoire du Visa*, tom. i. p. 3.

toire du Visa, tom. i. p. 24, 25.

le marine et sur le commerce, p. 87. l. 11.

naire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1051—1060.

(82) *Diſtionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1064.

(84) *Diſtionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1065, 1066.

(75) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368.

(77) *Histoire de Indes Orientales*, tom. iii p. 367.

(79) *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, p. 107.

(81) *Geographie moderne*, par *Abraham Du Bois*, p. 857.

(83) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 195, 196.

(76) *His-*

(78) *Essai sur*

(80) *Diſtion-*

- a history of the transactions upon which this union was built; for therein it is said, that the king, having principally applied himself to the restoring the commerce of the kingdom, and thereby repairing the losses occasioned by a very long and expensive war; and having already had the pleasure to see the circulation of money wonderfully quickened by the establishment of the *West India* company, his majesty had from thence been led to look into the state of the old companies erected before his accession to the throne, and in particular into that of the *East India* company, which he had found to be most deplorable. In the space of fifty years they had, notwithstanding repeated assistances from the crown, managed their affairs so indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their commerce intirely, and to take up with such trifling advantages as could be obtained by letting out their privileges. The king declared, he was satisfied that this did
- b not proceed at all from insurmountable disadvantages in the nature of that commerce, but from the mistakes and ill conduct of such as had been intrusted with the management of the company's affairs, who, in the first place, had their bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the traffick of the *Indies* upon too small a capital: that, in the second place, to keep up the credit of their own administration, and to countenance their taking such considerable salaries to themselves, they had made large dividends when there were no profits; and having by this means exhausted the company's stock, they carried on their trade by borrowing as much money as they could at very high interest: that, however, the king his great-grandfather having always protected and encouraged this company, and even granted them a new term towards the end of his life, they might have enjoyed it, or at least have drawn all the profits from it they could, if their conduct had not become so flagrantly bad, that neither the glory of the king, nor the interest of his people, would permit him to overlook it any longer* (F).

- ON the one hand, there were continual complaints from the *Indies*, that the company had borrowed vast sums of the *Gentiles*, without paying them either capital or interest, having, in the space of sixteen years, not sent so much as a single ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private merchants carrying on this commerce in the name, and under the authority, of the *East India* company, were so cramped and oppressed by the duty of ten *per cent.* and other gratuities to the company, that they were unable to pursue their trade with the same spirit and advantages which are enjoyed by the subjects of other nations; and besides, being afraid to go to *Surat* on account of the danger they were in of having their ships seized for the company's debts,
- d they found themselves obliged to purchase most of the *Indian* commodities and manufactures, which they brought into *Europe*, from foreigners, at a very high price, and this equally to their own and the nation's disadvantage. For these reasons, and others of the like nature alleged against the *China* and *African* companies, his majesty declares, that the privileges of all those companies are, by this edict of his, dated in the month of *May* 1719, revoked, extinguished, and suppressed. He granted at the same time to the new company of the *Indies* an exclusive privilege of trading from the *Cape of Good Hope* to the utmost extent of the *East Indies*, as also to the islands of *Madagascar* or *Dauphine*, of *Bourbon*, and of *France*, the coast of *Soffala* in *Africa*, the *Red Sea*, *Persia*, the dominions of the *Mogul*, of the king of *Siam*, and of the emperors of *China* and *Japan*, as also of the *South Seas*, from the *Streights of Magellan* or *La Maire* to the *East Indies* that way: forbidding all the rest of his subjects these several trades,
- e under pain of the confiscation of their vessels and effects' (G).

* This is precisely an extract from the preamble mentioned in the text.
p. 114.

† Hist. de la compagnie des Indes,

(F) In this, as in all papers of state, there is a mixture of falshood and truth; some things are exaggerated, and some extenuated, that the whole of the king's proceeding might wear a more plausible appearance. The raising the credit of the company of the *Indies*, in order to the augmentation of its capital, was the primary and principal design of the court, and the promoting the *French* commerce to the *Indies* only a colour and pretence. The making dividends, when they had it not in their power, might be a wrong measure; but was not to be attributed wholly to the directors, since they were compelled to it by the general assemblies of the proprietors (85). This false step was the real cause of the debts incurred in the *Indies*, and of their borrowing money at high interest; but it was necessary to make their errors and misconduct appear as flagrant as possible, in order to qualify so strong a step as that of dissolving the company that had been so lately continued; which, if duly weighed, might have been esteemed a dangerous precedent in respect to the

new company of the *Indies*, which could receive no higher sanction from the crown than that which had been cancelled in respect to the *East India* company by this edict of union.

(G) The reader is not to expect here a particular account of all the concessions made to the perpetual company of the *Indies*, and the prodigious favours heaped upon her in a short space of time, that she might the better answer those ends for which she was erected; and this for two reasons: first, because many of these concessions no longer subsisted; and next, because they have no relation whatever to our subject, which by no means requires that we should explain all those operations in respect of this company, which barely regarded the finances, but those only that are so connected with the history of the *French East India* commerce, that they cannot be separated or omitted, without running the hazard of rendering that intricate or obscure (86).

(85) Hist. de la compagnie des Indes, p. 84.
Le may consult the histoire du Visa.

(86) If the curious reader desires to be acquainted with these,

In what manner the former companies were consolidated therewith, and their privileges continued. He likewise grants to this company the possessions and effects of the other companies; at the same time charging them with all the just debts which those companies had contracted and were liable to. The better to enable them to discharge those debts, and to carry on the vast trade granted them by this edict, he created in their favour twenty-five millions in new actions, to be purchased only for ready money, on the same terms that the *West India* company possessed one hundred millions in actions, and with the like privileges and advantages in every respect. He likewise granted full licence and authority to import all sorts of manufactures of silk, silk and cotton, gold and silver stuffs, dyed cottons, as also painted and striped; on condition, however, that none of these shall be vended in his dominions, but be sold and disposed of to foreigners; for which reason they were to be deposited in magazines under double locks, the keys of one to be kept by the farmers general, and the other by the directors of the company, for the better preventing frauds and collusions. He likewise grants them leave to import all sorts of white cottons, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spices, metals, and whatever else the *East India* company might have imported under their privileges, arising from the several edicts of the late king his great-grandfather^a (H).

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 203, 204.

(H) The reader will perceive, that by this time they had totally overcome all their old prejudices in *France*, and were content to follow the maxims of the maritime powers, in suffering the company to bring whatever commodities she thought expedient from the *Indies*, notwithstanding the wear of them was prohibited in *France*; since it was absurd to restrain them from a commerce with other *European* nations, in goods which might be bought at the *English* or *Dutch* sales, even if all the former restrictions had been continued: yet we must not

suppose, that all these immunities and privileges were any more inviolable than the concessions before mentioned; on the contrary, they have been altered, augmented, or restrained, as the circumstances of things required; which it is fit should be mentioned, in order to keep the judicious reader's eye fixed to this point, that commerce is subject to a great variety of regulations in this country, and remains under perpetual dependence on the state (87).

(87) *Titres de la compagnie des Indes concernant ses diverses concessions et privileges, et son administration generale, depuis 1719 jusque à present, à la suite de l'histoire de la compagnie des Indes.*

S E C T. VI.

Upon the incorporation of all the old trading societies, the grants formerly made are confirmed, extended, and made irrevocable in the new one, which is therefore stiled the PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES, which from the beginning, and in its nature and operation, is a mere creature and engine of the state, which affords it not only countenance and protection, but actually provides for its subsistence.

All these declared irrevocable, and the new establishment stiled the PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES.

THIS edict had all the effects, and even more than was expected; and such an eagerness appeared of subscribing to this company, that, instead of twenty-five, the subscriptions amounted to fifty millions; which encouraged the *French* ministry to venture upon some new regulations, which were made public by an edict of the month of *June* in the same year: the principal of which was, that they should take off four times the number of old actions to be intitled to the new; so that, in order to purchase five thousand livres of the new actions, the subscribers were obliged to take twenty thousand livres of old ones. The great end the government proposed was, to find the means of calling in and suppressing that immense quantity of paper-money which was such a burden on the state; and, to this end, annuities to the value of twenty-five millions were created, which not answering that intention, the new company of the *Indies* offered their assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the rate of fifty millions in every month; so that the whole load of this paper, amounting in the whole to near sixty millions of our money, was to be extinguished by the end of *July* 1721^a. In consideration of the zeal manifested by the company in this proposal, the king was pleased, by his arret dated in the month of *July* 1720, to change the terms on which they held their privileges, and to declare them perpetual; restraining himself, and his successors, from ever treating them as other companies had been treated, in order to their establishment; and thus this company acquired that title by which they are now known in *France*; viz. THE PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES^b, with all the privileges of the other four companies confirmed to them for ever (I).

IN

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 1072.

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.

(I) In this edict, which is penned with peculiar pomp and peripatuity, and said to be made by the advice of the

duke regent, the duke de *Chartres*, the duke of *Bourbon*, and the count de *Charolais*, the prince of *Conti*, the count

- a** In two years time more it was settled and declared, that, in consequence of the annuities granted and assigned to the company from the crown, they should be able to divide annually the sum of ten *per cent.* which should be paid punctually for ever; in consequence of which, the directors were to be at full liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their constituents, because the dividends were to be regular and certain; and they were to manage things so, as that the deficiencies of one year might be made up by the profits of another. This last provision regards the *East India* trade, and not the value of the company's actions, considered as a kind of property, to which an annuity from the public is annexed; for, according to this new model, the company of the *Indies* comprehended as well the public credit, by taking into a participation of her capital such as had claims upon the state, and all the extensive commerce of the kingdom, having not only all the power of the *East India* company, but also of the *West India*, and other suppressed companies erected in her'. In these two capacities the rule of conduct prescribed by the government was very different, and yet, upon the whole, very rational, or at least very plausible; for, as public creditors, they were enabled to pay a fixed and settled dividend upon their actions; but, as a trading company, they were not bound to give any account, because, under the circumstances that things then were, it must have been under very discouraging incumbrances, which it would require pains and time to overcome; and the dividends paid to the actionists in the mean time, tho' in another capacity, was thought sufficient to make them easy till the face of their commercial affairs should wear a better aspect, and might bear to be exhibited without a veil ² (K).

This new settlement considered necessarily in two different lights; viz. as annuitants and traders.

- b** It is not a little uncertain who was the real author of this new system, very different from those that were made use of to amuse the *French* nation, and indeed all *Europe*, while that strange humour of stockjobbing lasted, which might be truly stiled a political madness, of which, however, the government availed itself highly, and, by the edict of union, drew out of that chaos without form or order this new and beautiful structure, which has been so truly beneficial to the public credit and commerce of *France*. To the perfecting of this, however, some further strokes were found necessary, and were accordingly in due time very dextrously applied. The capital of the present company of the *Indies* was, as we have before observed, composed of the original capital of the *West India* company, and of twenty-five millions added thereto upon the union of the *East India* company; but it was found requisite, in order to settle all on a just foundation, that the king should make a revision of the actions possessed by the pro-

The great political secret in the construction of this new and wonderful structure.

¹ Hist. de la compagnie des Indes, p. 111. Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 210, 211. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073. Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 211.

² Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073.

de Tholouse, and other peers of *France*, and of the certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, of the king (88), it is declared, in the first article, that the grants therein after-mentioned are in consideration of the company's discharging and taking up billets to the amount of six hundred millions, if so great a sum shall be standing out. In the second article, those billets are ordered to be burnt in proportion as they are brought in. In the third, the company is confirmed in her perpetual right to an exclusive commerce in, and sole government of, the province of *Louisiana*; and yet that has been taken from the company long ago. In the fourth article, the company's right to a certain duty upon castors, in lieu of their exclusive commerce in them, is confirmed. In the fifth, the cession made to the company of the rights, privileges, and establishments belonging to that of *Senegal*, is likewise confirmed; as in the sixth and seventh articles are their titles to the exclusive trade of the *East India* and *China* companies, and to all the effects of both those companies at home and abroad, subject to their debts. By the eighth article, a perpetual bounty of fifty livres for every ton of commodities or manufactures of *France* exported, and of seventy five livres *per* ton of goods and manufactures exported from the *Indies*, are confirmed to the company. The ninth article settles the several kinds of piece goods, which, tho' prohibited to be worn in *France*, the company may import; and regulates the manner in which they are to be kept and disposed of. The tenth grants them the liberty of importing for use and consumption in the realm, from the countries of their concession, all kinds of white cotton, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spices, metals, and other merchan-

dizes not prohibited, under the usual duties. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles regard the manner in which their concerns with the proprietors and creditors of the dissolved company shall be settled. The fourteenth grants them to perpetuity all the rights, privileges and exemptions of the old *African* company, which, however, do not remain in their hands. This edict is sealed with the great seal of *France*, on green wax, registered in parliament, and approved in council.

(K) It would require a particular treatise, and that of no inconsiderable length, to enter into a complete discussion of all the transactions and operations of the company within this period, during which they were made the engines for liquidating, adjusting, and cancelling those immense demands which private persons had upon the state, and with a view to which the company of the *Indies* had been obliged to expose her credit, and to consent to a conjunction with the bank; which was fatal to one, and was very near being so to both establishments; but the administration saw so clearly the necessity of sustaining the company of the *Indies*, and had so probable, tho' so distant a prospect of reviving foreign commerce by her means, that they neglected nothing which could be possibly contrived to keep up the spirit of the actionists, and to lay a foundation for public credit, by extricating this society from all difficulties, and this by degrees, and through the intervention of a variety of methods, in which the absolute power of the crown had a large share, was in a great measure effected, and people in general began to have a good opinion of property vested in this capital (89).

(88) Hist. des Indes, tom. iii. p. 209.

(89) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1072.

prietors of this company, in order to distinguish between such as had acquired their property fairly, and by purchase, and such as had thrust themselves into the company's books only to serve their own purposes by stockjobbing. It was in consequence of this revision that, by an edict in the year 1723, the king fixed the actions of this company to fifty six thousand, and which formed a capital of one hundred and twelve millions for their dividend, upon which they had a yearly revenue assigned them of eight millions four hundred thousand livres ^a.

Another instance of the government's attention and regard for the company's interests.

By another arret in 1725, five thousand of these actions were cancelled and burnt; so that the capital of the company, by this means, was reduced to fifty-one thousand actions, and their dividends secured by the annual payment of eight millions from the farmers-general of the farm of tobacco, the exclusive, perpetual, and irrevocable privilege of vending which had been granted to the company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the profits arising from the furs imported from *Canada*; so that the fund for the payment of their annual dividends was as effectually secured as it was possible a thing of that nature could be in *France* ^b. As for the commerce of the *Indies*, it was assigned to them as a collateral advantage, not to be touched for the present, but to be employed in strengthening the funds for restoring and maintaining that important trade, discharging all the incumbrances thereon, and putting it in a condition to become as certain a security for the payment of still higher interest to the proprietors than they have hitherto received: it is therefore no difficult thing to apprehend, that, upon so fair a prospect as this, the actions of the company of the *Indies* rose into higher credit both at home and abroad than any thing of that kind had ever done in *France*, more especially when people found by experience, that dividends were regularly paid, and the funds upon which they were assigned certain and stable (L). ^c

Which, notwithstanding, were not in such a situation as to enable them to carry on their trade.

BUT to return now to what is more properly our subject, and inquire how the commerce to the *East Indies* was bettered by these projects and contrivances: it is very certain, that those who were intrusted with the direction and management of the company's concerns had a far greater weight of business upon their hands than those who had the care of the *East India* company's affairs. It was likewise very certain, that they acquired nothing by the grant of all that the other companies possessed, since they were charged at the same time with all their debts, which rose to a much higher sum than the value of their effects; and it was farther certain, that the purchase-money of their actions did not remain in the company's hands, but went into those of the government, who indeed seemed to have a title to it from the funds established for paying interest on the whole capital; yet, after all, this scheme was very well contrived, perhaps was the very best upon which the public credit and commerce of that kingdom could be established ^d.

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1080. de la compagnie des Indes, p. 154.

^b Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 373.

^c Hist.

(L) The perpetual company of the *Indies* having so well answered the intentions of the government, and public affairs being now in a more settled condition, it was a very wise and prudent resolution to put this company, with which almost the whole foreign commerce of *France* was intrusted, upon such a basis as might remove, in the highest degree possible, all apprehension, and even suspicions. In order to this, the king, by his edict, read and published while his majesty was sitting on his bed of justice in parliament, consisting of nineteen articles, gave the highest sanction to their affairs that the most absolute authority could confer; and as it was foreseen that nothing could turn so much to the advantage of this establishment, as convincing the world that, whatever it had been, it was now, and was ever to remain, a trading company, without intermeddling with any other matter, or embracing any other project. The eleventh article of that edict was conceived in the following terms (90): "As in confirming the company of the *Indies* in her privileges of commerce, which can never turn to the advantage of the state, unless they occupy her whole care, and are intirely directed with that view; our intention is, that the said company shall promote and improve the commerce of our kingdom, without interfering in any manner with that of private merchants; we therefore declare, that, for the future, the said company shall pretend to no other exclusive privilege whatever than what is expressed in, and confirmed by, the present edict. As it is also known to us from ex-

perience, that in the same proportion the establishment of this company is useful and necessary while intirely occupied in the management of those important colonies, and other considerable branches of commerce which we have conceded thereto, it would be contrary to all good order, to our interest, and to those of the company, if she should meddle in any manner whatever with our finances; we therefore, in the most express terms, forbid and prohibit the said company from interfering with our affairs or finances at any time, it being our will and pleasure, that she shall be and remain, conformable to her institution, purely a trading company, yielding her application solely to the support of the concerns committed to her care, so as to improve by her wisdom and oeconomy the effects of our subjects interested therein; without permitting that the funds of the company of the *Indies* shall, upon any occasions whatsoever, be applied to any other use than that of her commerce." To complete this settlement, the king, by another edict, consisting of thirteen articles, exonerates the company of the *Indies* from all former transactions whatsoever, cancels all engagements with the crown that might turn to her prejudice, and declares null, void, and annihilated all pretensions grounded upon the operations preceding that edict, which, as well as the former, bears date in the month of *June* 1725 (91), and, together, are considered as the fundamental charters of the perpetual company of the *Indies*.

(90) Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 376.

(91) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1087, 1088, 1089.

- a** We shall shew this in a very few words. It has already fully appeared, that little or nothing could be done for supporting the trade to the *East Indies* but by the government; and therefore the *French* ministers very wisely thought it was as well to take it immediately into their own care, and to advance the sums requisite to maintain it, as to let other people manage it, and then, from time to time, to indemnify them from losses, which perhaps might proceed from their own management. With the like prudence they reflected, that, considering the state of things at that time, immense sums of money would be necessary to set them right; and that, if this came to be known, the proprietors would grow uneasy and suspicious; and therefore they took care they should not be troubled with accounts, which could be no hardship while they received regularly a reasonable dividend; and, lastly, they foresaw, that when the commerce was put upon a proper foot, so that some profits arose from it, it would be highly requisite to suffer these to accumulate for some time, that a proper stock might be raised as well in *Europe* as in the *Indies*; which, they knew, could never be done, if the proprietors had an insight into their own affairs, because a majority of them would be always for a present dividend, without troubling themselves about what might happen for the future: against all which evils they took care to be guarded, in a manner with which every-body was pleased at first, because they had nothing immediately to hope, and because very few penetrated the meaning of those precautions, which, in another country indeed, how just and necessary soever they might be, could not well have been taken^d.

The means of doing which they were to expect entirely from the public treasury.

- b** But, notwithstanding all these prudential methods, the ministry were very sensible, that, unless something was speedily done that might carry the aspect of reviving this trade, and reviving it with effect, suspicions would quickly arise, and murmurs speedily follow; and therefore, while they had money in their hands, they judged it best to enable the company of the *Indies* to do something extraordinary, so as to answer the high idea that had been conceived of the advantages that were to flow from this great revolution. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 1720, three ships were fitted out, which, besides carrying a large cargo of *European* commodities and manufactures, had on board a great quantity of silver in specie and bullion^e. This was certainly very judicious; it raised the credit of the company in *Europe*, augmented the value of their actions, and excited a general expectation of what this would produce. The ministry, however, who were extremely well apprised of the true state of things, could not flatter themselves with much hopes; they very well knew, that not only this, but much more must be done only to put things in motion, to recover some little degree of credit, and restore honour to the nation, and respect to the *French* flag in the *Indies*. They set, however, the best face upon the matter they could, and treated the business as done when it was but just undertaken. The directors likewise ordered improvements to be made, and magazines to be erected at *Port L'Orient*, as if vast returns were to be made; and tho' this was a measure attended with expence, yet, as it might be some time or other necessary and useful, as well as for the present very expedient, they were fully enabled to act in a proper manner^f.

The first assistance, derived from peace, and how applied at home and abroad.

^d Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 374, 375.

^e Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 867.

^f Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073.

S E C T. VII.

The great efforts produced by these wise regulations, which, by degrees, brought about two establishments which hitherto had been judged impracticable in France, an effectual commerce with the Indies, and public credit. Upon the breaking out of the war with Great Britain in 1744, the court being no longer in a condition to supply the sums necessary for the support of the company, the state of their affairs is laid open to the proprietors, which has an unexpected bad effect on the system that had been hitherto so well conducted.

These have a great effect on their affairs in the Indies, which afterwards sink lower than ever.

AS those who were intrusted with the company's concerns in the *Indies* could know nothing ^a of this mighty change in their affairs at home, so, when they received this news, and those ships, they could not but be extremely astonished. These supplies, which exceeded their hopes, their wishes, their conceptions, came as it were out of the clouds; and coming also backed with assurances of a regular correspondence for the future, it is easier to imagine than express how much they were transported. However, as they made an honest use of what they received, and began to discharge their debts in several parts of the *Indies*, the best part of it was soon absorbed, and consequently they were able to make but slender returns to *Europe*. Their sanguine expectations met with a sudden and severe check; for the downfall of the SYSTEM, as it was styled in *France*, happening soon after those ships sailed, the directors were disabled for two years from complying with their promises, or so much as sending a single ^b ship; which exposed their servants in the *Indies* to railery and ridicule from other *European* nations, unhinged their credit again, and threw them into so sad a situation, that it may be truly affirmed the *French* were never in so bad a plight as in the year 1723, from the very time that they first settled in the *Indies*. Such strange and surprising changes, than which nothing can be more contrary to the nature of commerce, must have had a dismal effect; the rather, because the director at *Pondichery*, and those who were intrusted with the management of other factories, could not, at that distance, have the least comprehension of the causes of this conduct of their directors, and, after what had happened, could have very little, if any, confidence in their new masters ^c: but, as there was no remedy, they were obliged to endure this evil, great as it was, as well as they could, comforting themselves, if that phrase may be properly used, that, let things take what turn they would at home, they could never be in a worse way abroad than they were; but two ships arriving the next year, and seven others in the space of two years following, they began to recover both their courage and their credit, and found themselves also in a capacity of making some, tho' not very considerable returns; but, however, these, such as they were, had a good effect, and created a general opinion, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, that the *French* trade thither would still subsist, and turn to a better account than hitherto it had done ^d.

An impartial and circumstantial account of the true state of the company of the Indies.

YET, in the midst of this seemingly settled and regular establishment, the perpetual company of the *Indies* remained upon such a foundation, as nothing of the like nature ever stood upon before; and with respect to which the time will not be lost to the reader, if he will be pleased to reflect this company had a vast capital, but nominal only; for in reality, and at the bottom, they were without funds; their commerce, as described, or rather prescribed, by the edict of UNION, was beyond comparison more extensive than that of any trading company in *Europe*, and the means of carrying on this as much out of comparison less ^e. Besides all this, there was another circumstance no less extraordinary than the other two; which was, that the directors of this mighty company, whatever they might seem in the eye of the world, were really under direction themselves; that is, they depended for instructions, ships, money, and every thing else, upon the ministers of state; and yet, to speak from what time and experience have taught us, these very instances of weakness and instability appear to have been the sources of all their good fortune ^f; for the directors, in quality of that employment, having the capacity only of representing the state that things were in, and the necessities they were under, had no temptations to depart at any time from truth; with this additional check upon them, that, if they did, it would have been certainly discovered, and themselves removed ^g.

^e Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1081, 1082.

^f Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 367, 368,

369. ^g Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1081, 1082. Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

^h Hist. de la compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 585.

ⁱ Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 368.

^k From private information.

a On the other hand, the ministers of state, knowing that their continuance in power must always depend upon the maintenance of public credit, took care to furnish the directors with such supplies as were requisite to keep the machine of their commerce in constant motion, that the opinion which the public had entertained of the restitution of their affairs, might be fortified from their progress. Thus this balance, which originally arose in some measure from necessity, and in some measure from accident, was more happy in its operations than any contrivance that could have been formed by human wisdom to have answered those ends ^a (P).

It was in consequence of this system, procured by a prudent management of all occurrences, ^{Which, tho' preserved and supported by the ministry, recovered, but with much difficulty, and very slowly.} and a constant attention to every incident which either happened, or had a probability of happening, that things went on in this way for about fourteen years; during which space some-
 b times three, sometimes four ships were sent every year to the *Indies*; and the affairs of the company were by these means recovered and restored, tho' but slowly. They had still great difficulties to struggle with; for, in proportion as their commerce revived, their expences enlarged, by their being obliged to re-settle their old factories, and to establish new ones; so that in all this space of time there was very little, if any, clear profit accrued from their trade. On the contrary, they ran some years into debt, but not, however, without prospects of future advantages: but as the other trading nations in the *Indies* were intirely unacquainted with the secrets of the *French* commerce, so, judging by appearances only, they were fully persuaded, that their trade was in a flourishing condition, because they saw it visibly extended, and the returns made to *Europe* far more regular, and at the same time more considerable also, than
 c they had hitherto ever been: yet, notwithstanding all this, if they had gone on in the same manner, it would have been many years before they would have been able to support themselves, and carry on their trade upon their own bottom; for gradual supplies were still necessary, and the continuance of peace enabled the ministers to furnish them, yet always in a frugal manner, and sometimes sparingly ^o.

THE directors, having the disposition and management of these supplies, as well as of the returns from the *Indies*, were obliged to make the one go as far as it was possible, and the other rise as high as they could; which contributed greatly to save appearances, and to keep things in tolerable order, tho' they could not help perceiving, and even remonstrating sometimes, that this was living merely from hand to mouth, and consequently mis-spending that
 d season of tranquillity, when, if ever, they might have an opportunity of retrieving their affairs ^p. ^{Mr. Orry and de Fulvy, being at the head of the finances, grant them effectual assistance.} But in the year 1737, Messieurs *Orry* and *de Fulvy* being at the head of the finances of *France*, which they managed with surprising success, the company fell naturally under their care and protection: they saw plainly, that larger supplies were necessary to extricate them from the difficulties under which they laboured; and therefore, having first made a strict inquiry into their affairs, and taking care to put them into the best order possible, they furnished them with such sums as were necessary for augmenting their commerce; so that, in the short space of two years, they doubled their returns, and, in three years more, brought them to thrice as much as they had formerly been. By this management, their sales at *Port L'Orient* became regular and considerable, increasing in such a manner, that the public sale in the year 1742
 e produced twenty-four millions of livres, or about one million of our money; besides which, they reserved in their magazines goods to the value of four millions of livres more; and the first ships that arrived in 1743 brought home still a more valuable cargo. This extraordinary change in the company's affairs alarmed and amazed all *Europe*, but more especially

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1087.
 private information.

^o Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

^p From

(P) There cannot well be a stronger proof of that excellent maxim, that whatever government is best administered is best, in comparison of those that subsist at the same time, than this conduct of the *French* ministry towards the company of the *Indies*. There are certainly many defects in an absolute, and many advantages in a free government, in reference to trade; and therefore, in the former, the utmost wisdom of a ministry consists in discovering expedients to supply some of those deficiencies, and plausible methods of concealing the rest. The *French* ministers not only did this, but extracted out of that chaos, into which all things fell upon the ruin of the *system*, a plan of universal commerce, more perfect, because more practicable, than any that had been conceived either by *Richlieu* or *Colbert*; which if they did not immediately manage to the best advantage, yet they so managed as to preserve and keep it on foot, and with won-

derful address fixed the new establishments at *Louisiana* upon such a basis, as not to need the care of the company, and this without losing sight of their concerns in the *Indies*. They found these not so easily reduced into order; they met daily with new difficulties at home and abroad, which to surmount required a larger expence than the finances could possibly spare; and this obliged them to have recourse to palliatives, and to content themselves with doing a little where much was wanting. Their conduct, upon the whole, was very commendable; and if the consequences that have attended the measures of their successors appear with much greater lustre than the fruits that followed their endeavours, yet if we duly attend to the times when, and the circumstances under which, these first efforts were made, we cannot refuse a just tribute of applause to their authors (92).

(92) Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

the maritime powers, who saw with infinite concern a company, that but a few years before was looked upon as sunk and destroyed, now rising into as high credit as any of their own^a. But perhaps their concern would have been in some measure alleviated, if they had but so much as suspected, that this prosperity was chiefly artificial, and consequently much more in the power of accidents than, in all appearance, it seemed to be (Q).

How much the care of this important company has influenced the system of the French politics.

WE may from hence discover what great benefits accrued to *France* from pursuing the maxims introduced by the regent, and which seemed to govern the court during the pacific administration of cardinal *Fleury*. We may likewise perceive what the real motives were, which, upon certain occasions, produced so much real or pretended complaisance for the maritime powers, since, as the sequel will shew, any rupture with them must have exposed this tender system to storms and tempests that it could not have sustained; and it helps us further to understand why the court of *Versailles* entered so easily into, and continued so steadily to prosecute, whatever measures were thought necessary for procuring, first the suspension, and then the suppression, of the *Ostend* company. They knew that, if this establishment prevailed, it must be at the expence of some other, and most probably of their own, as it was still the weakest, and in reality much weaker than either friends or enemies conceived. If these reasons did not prevent the war with the late emperor, it was intirely owing to the cardinal's persuasion, in which he was not mistaken, that the maritime powers would take no share therein; the hopes of settling a branch of the house of *Bourbon* in *Italy*, and annexing *Lorraine* to *France*; all which was done without running into such an expence as might affect the affairs of their commerce, the great consequence of which, as it was now better known, so it was more attended to in *France* than ever; which lesson, tho' taken from times past, may have great use in times to come, as it gives us true notions of the moderation of this court, and what those losses are which she is least able to repair, and by which she must be most sensibly affected, notwithstanding the figure she makes upon the continent, and the terror that may arise from her numerous armies^b.

By what means that salutary system came to be unwillingly relinquished by the French ministers.

WE may very justly attribute to the same causes, at least in a great measure, that parsimony for which the cardinal was so much condemned at the beginning of the last war, his indefatigable endeavours to have procured a neutrality with one of the maritime powers, and to have avoided, if it had been possible, a direct breach with the other, as foreseeing that this would not only be highly prejudicial to the commerce, and thereby lay open the weakness of *France*, but also bring to light the manner in which it had been for so many years sustained, as well as put it out of the power of the ministry to sustain it any longer. These considerations, which made no manner of impression upon those who preached up the king's glory, and his having it in his power to give law to *Europe*, were, however, intolerable to another race of men, who had the good of their country sincerely at heart, and thought the king's glory could never be provided for so well, as by rendering his subjects rich and happy; besides, they only could and did foresee what events would follow this spirit of giving law, and extending the *French* influence where its power could never reach, and where consequently they must trust to the honour of those who received their wages whether they would earn them, or whether, in regard to their own interest, they would not manage matters so as to receive them as long as possible; which was an expence their treasury could not bear, and which must therefore quickly put it out of their power to make those annual payments which had been hitherto the only true and availing resource of their *East India* company^c (R).

It

^a Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369—372.

^b From private information.

^c Collected from the propositions made to the company on the part of the crown, after the war was declared against Great Britain.

(Q) It was to this signal and well-timed assistance of the minister, that the *French* company of the *Indies* owe their revival and thorough establishment. The situation of public affairs at that time in *France* was such, that the royal treasury might have been full, if this prudent measure had not been taken of employing those large sums that would have been useless in the king's coffers for the service of the nation, without any hazard of the crown's losing by this judicious confidence. We see clearly from hence, that how repugnant soever arbitrary power may be to a spirit of trade, yet, when this arbitrary power is directed by able and honest men, it may be so managed as to be serviceable to commerce in an extraordinary degree (93). But how plain and evident soever these facts render this deduction, yet we ought to take into our consideration at the same time, that this is a support of so extraordinary a nature as cannot often happen, and is

consequently not to be relied on; which is also an observation of importance, and which, for that reason, we shall endeavour to explain more largely in the subsequent note.

(R) It was a notion that prevailed generally among the common herd of politicians in *France*, as well as in other countries, that cardinal *Fleury* acted upon maxims very different from the cardinal ministers his predecessors. In this, however, they were strangely mistaken. Cardinal *Richieu*'s plan was very extensive, and, as we have fully shewn, commerce had a considerable share therein; but the then conjuncture of affairs required his attention to other parts of his scheme, that is, the extending the power of the crown at home, and its influence abroad, in both which he went very great lengths, and was very steadily, as well as successfully, followed by *Mazarin*, *Colbert*, and *Louvois*. These ministers did not, however,

lose

- a It was some time, however, after the last war began, before any suspicions of this kind reached the company, or the public. On the contrary, the former exerted herself as if, in such an emergency, she thought it her duty to give her assistance to the latter. All this, however, was calculated to keep the true state of things as much concealed as possible as long as they could be concealed at all; and, the dividends being likewise regularly paid, the actions of the company were kept up very high, which gave no small credit to the nation; nay, so far were the proprietors from having the slightest notion of the real state of things, that they disapproved the public spirit of their directors, speaking of the offers they had made for the king's service as a direct proof, that the trade of the *Indies* was carried on for the benefit of the crown, contrary to the promises that had been made them^a. This suspicion, having once got abroad, met with a general reception, at least amongst such as were interested in the company's stock, who were firmly persuaded, that if part of the produce of their vast sales had not been diverted to supply the expences of the government, their dividends might have been increased to fifteen, or even twenty *per cent.* and from these surmises, instead of being thankful for what they had, and for all that had been done for them, they murmured that the directors kept every thing secret; that they were shut not only out of the management, but from the knowledge of their own concerns; and that, whatever benefit this might be to the state, it did not alter the case with respect to them, who were deeply injured by it. So easy a thing it is for people to mislead themselves, and to believe confidently, that things are as they wish them to be, for no other reason than because they wish them so, and suffer their interests to be the only guides both of their desires and of their opinions^b.

But this alteration in their conduct, being produced by necessity, was long as possible.

- c But, the war with *Great Britain* increasing the expences of *France* on the one hand, and lessening her income on the other, the secret at last came out; and Mr. *Orry* was forced to acquaint the directors of the *East India* company, that the king's affairs were in such a posture, as would no longer permit him to supply the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own bottom, and to carry on their trade for the future as well as they could^c. This unexpected stroke demolished the whole fabric which had been raising for so many years, and reduced the actions of the company to eight hundred, from two thousand and upwards^d. The main cause of this was, the several propositions made by Mr. *Orry* to their directors, that either the proprietors should subscribe upon their actions, or suffer their dividends to be postponed for a certain time, or should come to some agreement amongst themselves for compounding these two methods, by advancing part in ready money, and allowing their dividends to go in discharge of the rest^e. The motive that obliged the ministry to this discovery was, the necessity of having money to carry on the *East India* trade, which they knew must be ruined even by a temporary stagnation; which money since the crown could no longer furnish, it was necessary that the proprietors should. But to this it was answered, that hitherto the proprietors had been no gainers by that trade, had no general accounts made up to them of it, and, according to the confession of the directors themselves, were to have received no such account, if this accident had not happened, by which they asserted, that their properties had already lost one half of their value, and might very probably lose part of the other half; so that they were least in a condition to pay when this demand was made, which would have been sufficiently grievous even in the midst of peace, and when their actions were highest^f.

At length, however, they were constrained to open this affair to the proprietors of the *East India* company.

- Mr. *Orry* told them in return, that they had no reason to complain of the king, or his ministers, who had hitherto supported this trade for their advantage, without their contributing to it at all; that, if they had received no profits from their trade, it was because no profits had accrued; and this not through any ill management, or because this commerce had not been carried on to great advantage, but by reason of that immense load of debts which lay upon them at their first establishment, and which the profits of the trade were to pay off, and the prodigious

The ministers refute all the objections raised against their propositions for the support of the trade.

^c See the Paris gazettes during the first years of the war.

^w From private information.

^x *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. cxvii. p. 497.

^y *Hist. des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 375.

information, as well as from the public gazettes.

private information.

^b *Hist. des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 374.

^z This harangue was printed in the gazettes.

^a From

lose sight of the other part of his plan; for, as we have seen, *Colbert* had it particularly at heart, tho' the circumstances of things during his ministry were not all favourable to his measures. But cardinal *Fleury*, with those moderate and yet active ministers whom he brought into business, discerning the propriety of the season, and being perfectly apprised of how great consequence it was to work on that part of *Richlieu's* system which was yet unfinished, applied themselves with such assiduity and

secrecy, took every advantage so dexterously, and amused and cajoled those who could alone have opposed them with so much address, that, if their schemes had not been disconcerted and unravelled by the authors of the late war, they must in a few years have carried their point, and all *Europe* would have seen with astonishment the *French* company of the *Indies* making a figure there, that their wisest statesmen looked upon as a thing impracticable (94).

(94) From private information.

gious expence the company had been at, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, for putting their a commerce on a solid and certain footing^b; that, to remove doubts upon this subject intirely, and that they might be satisfied of the truth of these particulars, a general account of their trade should be laid before them, by which they would see, that, though slowly, it had been continually improving, and that, of late years especially, it had thriven exceedingly^c. From which also they might be satisfied, that even at present it was so far from being in a desperate condition, that, notwithstanding an immediate sum was necessary for carrying it on, yet there was no danger of their being called upon for another supply, since what was now asked would be sufficient to put the company into a condition to maintain itself without intrenching upon their dividends, which should for the future be as regularly paid as they had been in times past^d. It is from this general account that strangers, as well as the proprietors, have come to so distinct a b knowledge of their affairs, since, had it not been for this unexpected accident, they would never have let the world into the truth of an affair which they had concealed with so much care for so many years, which nothing but necessity could force them to reveal, and which had such immediate bad effects as they very well foresaw it would: notwithstanding that, all things considered, the proprietors had less grounds to complain than they imagined; and, if their great expectations were defeated, they had at least the satisfaction of knowing, that they had been better served all this time than their predecessors had ever been at any other; and, after all, there was a better prospect than ever, if they could but have a reasonable degree of patience, and bear with some kind of temper a misfortune that would admit of no other remedy than what the ministers proposed^e (S).

What consequences attended these declarations, and how far, and in what degree, they operated.

THE worst consequence that attended this affair, with respect to the nation and the company, c was, the letting all *Europe* see, that this commerce was a thing not to be carried on in *France*, as in other countries, by a society of private persons incorporated by public authority, but must be directed, upheld, and managed, by ministers, or at least in subordination to them; so that whereas in other countries trade supports the state, in this, on the contrary, trade cannot flourish, or even subsist, but from the attention, and through the assistance, of the state^f. As to the company, it shewed, that, notwithstanding appearances, it was very far from being upon a level with other companies, tho' never any of them in any country had been so much cherished, or received such supplies from the government that gave them being; yet after all, this affair, which made so great a noise at the time, passed over easier than could have been expected: the d proprietors, after a little murmuring, submitted to what they could not help, and, by the assistance of a few lotteries, are pretty well extricated from the difficulties brought upon them by this declaration^g. To say the truth, their stock, even since the return of peace, has not risen so high as it was before; but then it has risen as high as could be expected, and the regularity of their sales and dividends has been again restored^h.

^b Hist. des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 374.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 375.

^c Mercure historique et politique, ubi supra.

^d Hist.

^e From private information.

^f Hist. de la compagnie des Indes,

^g See the gazettes and other periodical pieces since.

^h January 1, 1757, the actions of the

(S) The reader will, no doubt, make many reflections upon these matters of fact, which are so singular and extraordinary, and will, in all probability, not take it amiss if we drop a few hints upon the occasion. It must certainly seem very surprising, that the ministers of a monarch so jealous of his authority should condescend to enter into a discussion of their own conduct, and that of their predecessors, with so much mildness and moderation; which demonstrates, in the most sensible manner, how closely commerce is connected with liberty, and how necessary it is to admit one, in order to obtain the other. Whence it may pass for a certain rule in politics, that, where trade thrives, the government grows daily better, if not in its principles, at least in its administration; and, where trade declines, it shows, that either the government is altered for the worse, or that the executive part of it is in bad hands. We may from hence also perceive the tenderness of public credit, which, tho' sustained for so many years by the regular payment

of dividends, could not bear so small a check, even when so much pains were taken to render the motives of it apparent. The par of the *French* actions was 1500 livres; and the whole capital, consisting of fifty-one thousand, amounted to seventy-six millions and a half; and as the company received annually eight millions from the farmers general, this was a sufficient fund for their dividend at ten *per cent.* so that we need not wonder at their advanced price: but when, upon this shock, they fell to half their intrinsic value, it afforded such as were able to enter fully into the true state of things an opportunity of making near twenty *per cent.* of their money, exclusive of their expectations from the *East India* trade; and very probably foreigners availed themselves of this conjuncture. Whether the company remains in that situation into which she was put by this exigency of state, or whether she has since received the like assistance as formerly she met with from the ministry, is what we cannot decide with any certainty.

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the company's proceedings in the Indies, and an accurate account of their settlements, and particularly of those two important islands of France, while in the hands of the Dutch styled Mauritius; and of Bourbon, formerly called the Isle Mascarenhas; the pains taken to put them into their present condition, and the prodigious advantages accruing from these new establishments.

- a** **I**T must also be allowed, that, in the course of the last war, the *French* government took particular care of the company's concerns in the *Indies*, and supplied them with a sufficient force not only to defend themselves, but to act offensively, as will be seen in another place; as, on the other hand, the care of those intrusted with the direction of affairs, as well in the islands as in the *Indies*, manifested their zeal and diligence by the preservation of the places with which they were intrusted, tho' vigorously attacked. As we have now conducted this history from the earliest endeavours of the *French* to fix a correspondence with these remote countries, so there remains only one thing more to be done, and that is, to describe their possessions in *Africa*, in the *Indies*, and in *Europe*, which have a reference to this commerce; and then the reader will be able to judge for himself as to the future prospect of this nation in regard to a branch of trade, which, for about a century and a half, has been the great object of her desires and endeavours, which has employed the skill and diligence of her ablest ministers, and which has cost her infinitely more than was expended by other nations, that have managed it with incomparably better success. These are points extremely worthy of our knowledge at present, and which bid very fair for occupying also the attention of posterity; so that none can, with better title, pretend to a place in Universal History, which ought to give an idea of whatever has occupied, or may hereafter occupy, the arms or councils of those nations most conspicuous for wealth, power, and influence, and most likely to exert themselves in the improvement and augmentation of those in times that are to come; of which no true judgment can be formed, but by reflecting upon what has already past, and considering attentively what we are next to represent, that is, the state they are now in.

The present state of the company of the Indies settlements and commerce in all parts.

- b** We will begin our account of the places actually in the possession of the perpetual company of the *Indies* with a description of the *Island of France*, which seems to belong to this society in a peculiar manner, as not being included in the concessions made to any of the old *East India* companies. We might also, if that was at all necessary, justify this method, by observing, that, though it has not been above thirty years settled by the *French*, it is almost one hundred and twenty years since they had some intentions of fixing there; and that it was in consequence of their disappointment in this design that they went first to the island of *Madagascar*, as will hereafter appear*. In order to make this account as complete as possible, that from hence the value and importance of this settlement may appear, which is at present very considerable, which, if the best judges may be believed, is likely to become more so every day, and of which, notwithstanding we have no tolerable description even in the best modern books of geography, we will begin with giving the reader a succinct but clear view of the situation, nature, and quality, of this island. We will next enter into a short history of its possessors, from the time it was first discovered by the *Europeans*. We will then shew how it came into the possession of the *French*; what improvements it has received since it came into their hands; and from what motives it is at present beheld in a light so very different from that in which it was before looked upon by the most intelligent *European* nations, and even by the maritime powers.

An account of the Isle of France, its situation, produce and importance.

- c** **T**HE *Isle of France* lies in the latitude of twenty and twenty-one degrees south, having the island of *Bourbon*, which is the nearest land, to the south-west; the island of *Diego Roys* on the north-east; the *Indian* ocean directly open to the north; the great island of *Madagascar*, and the continent of *Africa*, on the west; and the unknown southern continent on the east¹. The climate is pretty warm; but withal very wholesome; the air serene, and very little exposed to hurricanes, of which they have seldom more than one, and sometimes not that, in a year. The soil is, generally speaking, red, and stony; very mountainous towards the sea-coasts, but within land there are many spots both flat and fertile. The whole extent of the island is about fifty leagues, and the form nearly circular. Some of the mountains are prodigiously high, and

The natural history of this island.

* Relation du voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en l'île de Madagascar, îles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique. p. 1.
¹ Géographie moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 818.

their summits covered with snow all the year round. They make, however, no despicable appearance, as they are clothed with trees of different kinds, that entertain the eye with perpetual verdure. The whole island is well watered, or at least there is no part but may be so, by the proper application of art and industry in its inhabitants^a.

Advantages
and commodi-
ties.

THIS country produces all the trees, fruits, and herbs, which grow in this part of the globe, and in great plenty; but it was and is still famous for its ebony, esteemed the most solid, close, and shining, of any in the world. Besides the black, which is the most valuable, and indeed particularly distinguished in *Europe* by that name, there are also trees of the same kind which are red, and others of a citron colour^a (M). Groves of oranges, both sweet and sour, are common, as well as citrons; and the pine-apple grows spontaneously in very great perfection. It is true they have but very little rice, or indeed of any other grain; but this defect is, in some measure, supplied by admirable potatoes, and other nourishing roots, but more especially of late by the planting of *Manioc* from *Brazil*^b (N). There is a sufficient quantity of black cattle, and plenty of venison, wild fowl in abundance, of different kinds. The lakes, rivers, and the sea that surrounds it, are full of fish of different sorts, many of them large, wholesome, and delicate. It was formerly famous for land and sea tortoises, of an enormous size, the flesh, eggs, and shells of which were excellent, but these are now become more rare. However, it

^a Voyage de LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 64, 65. 1750.

^b Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 186, edit. à Genève, Memoire de LA BOURDENAYE, tom. i. p. 18.

(M) It is a point strongly disputed, whether the ebony known to us be the same with that mentioned by the ancients, with whom it was in great credit, not barely as a beautiful kind of wood, but for its physical uses, more especially in curing diseases of the eyes (95). Ebony, during the greatest part of the last century, was in very high esteem in *France*; insomuch, that they gave then the name of *ebonists* to such as we style cabinet-makers, because they chiefly wrought in that kind of wood (96). What contributed greatly to sink its value, was the dexterity with which it was counterfeited, chiefly by staining pear-tree, filling up its pores, and giving it an artificial gloss after it was polished. The red ebony is styled *Cassandilla* by some writers; and though it is not either so close or so heavy as the black, yet it is very beautiful, and wrought with more ease. In the *West Indies* they have a kind of green ebony, which is not only valuable for the uses before-mentioned, but also considered as an ingredient in dying, affording a deep, rich, and strong colour (97). The citron-coloured ebony, of which there is a great deal in the *Ile of France*, is frequently very beautifully veined, which enhances its price, and renders it a great curiosity; and yet, after all, none of these woods bear any thing like the price that they formerly did (98); but as this depends only upon what the world calls fashion, it is not at all impossible, that, some time or other, they may resume their credit.

(N) The savages of *Brazil* call this root, in their own language, *Manioc*; from whence are derived all that variety of denominations under which it is known to the learned and unlearned, the bare recital of which would take up a line or two. The most common name, however, amongst *English* writers is *Maniot*; and, for its general use, deserves to be more largely insisted on (99). The inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, and other islands, are not destitute of this plant, the root of which they call *Taca*, but the *Mexicans* style it *Quauacamotli*, and, after it is prepared and reduced to flour, *Cassavi*, as we are assured by *Moravians*. All the other people of *America*, from *Florida* even to the straits of *Magellan*, make their bread of it, though they are not destitute of the frumentaceous grain called *Mays* (100). The *Maniot*, which is natural to *Brazil*, and there most carefully cultivated, is a shrubby plant, which grows from five to eight feet in height, with a woody, twisted, nodous, brittle stalk, containing a pith like that of alder; the leaves are digitated like of those of the lupine, or black hellebore; the flowers pentapetalous, and of a pale yellow colour;

the seeds like that of the ricinus, but of no use. The root is not unlike a parsnip, and turgid with a lacteous juice. After it is taken out of the ground, it is put into a hand-mill with iron teeth, and turned by two men, and ground to meal, which is afterwards subjected to a press, by which all the superfluous and noxious humour is evacuated, and the mass left quite dry: this done, they pass it through a sieve, called *Urapeba*, then set it over the fire in a flat-bottomed vessel of earth or copper, and stir it about till it is duly dressed. What is half dressed is still moist and esculent, and they call it *Farinha relada*, that is, meal dressed, but not dried. What remains, and is intended to be reserved, they keep stirring over the fire, till it is perfectly dried; for the drier and better dressed, the more durable it becomes. The plant being pressed, yields a liquor, called by the natives *Manipuera*, which poured into a vessel, after two hours sticks to the bottom: hence is produced another sort of meal, better than the former, and yielding more flour; this they call cream of *Tipica*. Of the water of this meal, what subsides to the bottom serves to make a sort of comfit, called *Tipicete*, of an excellent taste: there is also a sort of gum, or rather amyllum, which serves for the same use. This liquor *Manipuera* is most greedily coveted by all sorts of animals, for its pleasant and sweet taste, but is present death to them; yet, what is strange and remarkable, while it remains unpressed in the root, nourishes every animal except man. Besides the former preparations, of the root dried in the sun there is made another sort of meal (1), and a whitish flour, which make fine white bread and biscuits, as good as those made of wheat, and very much resembling them. The root reserved intire, without grinding, serves to feed cattle and beasts of burden. The plant is miserably infested by worms, and whole swarms of ants, and not only the stalks and leaves, but the very roots, are greedily devoured by wild beasts, as well as domestic animals. It is easy to discern from hence, why the introducing of this kind of improvement, attended with much labour, some difficulty, and the great advantages of which could not be immediately understood, met with some opposition; as also, that, after the culture was become a little familiar, the different methods of curing, preserving, and preparing the *Manioc*, were thoroughly diffused, and peoples palates in general reconciled to this sort of diet, it grew into universal acceptance and esteem, more especially as, with due care and attendance, the annual crop might be depended upon (2).

(95) See this article in Dr. James's medicinal dictionary. ii. col. 186.

(97) Histoire naturelle des isles Antilles, p. 92.

(96) Dictionnaire de commerce, edit. 1750, tom.

col. 186.

(99) See this article in Dr. James's medicinal dictionary.

(98) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii.

S. Domingue, tom. i. p. 67.

(1) Hist. Brasil, p. 95.

(100) Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou

tom. i. p. 379—384.

(2) Voyage aux isles de l'Amerique, par Labat,

a may, upon the whole, be styled, if not a rich, yet a pleasant and plentiful country, where the inhabitants, with a reasonable degree of care and pains, may be furnished with all the necessities, and even conveniencies of life; more especially, since it is now annually visited by vessels from *Europe* and the *Indies*. We shall conclude this description with observing, that it does not harbour either serpent, frog, toad, or other venomous animal. The most disagreeable creatures therein were bats of a prodigious size, which some old writers of voyages style flying cats; but these are, in some measure, extirpated^p (O).

Some antient geographers having mentioned an island in these seas, called *Cerne*; this probably gave occasion to the *Portuguese* to bestow that name on the island of which we are speaking, notwithstanding that *Pliny* expressly places it in eighteen degrees thirty minutes of south latitude; so that for this, as well as other reasons, we may pronounce them in a mistake. They discovered it in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, according to their usual custom, put on shore some hogs, goats, and fowl, that they might multiply, and supply the necessities of those who should, at any time, call there, the island being uninhabited; and some think that they likewise planted there certain fruits and seeds from *Europe* and the *Indies*. Being the extensive empire they held, the numerous enemies they had to cope with, and the smallness of their own numbers, we may much rather wonder that the *Portuguese* sought out and described so many countries as they did, than that they reduced and settled no more. However, what they did served to make the place remarkable, and the *Dutch* had it early in their charts, as well as another island, called *St. Apollonia*, with which this has likewise been confounded, and which is now very justly believed a fiction, since modern seamen could never meet with any such isle^q (P).

The *Dutch*, in the second voyage they made to the *East Indies*, under the command of the Admiral *James Cornelius Vanneck*, came thither, on the 18th of September 1598, with five ships, and anchored in a safe port, capable of containing fifty large vessels. They found the country, which probably had been for many years undisturbed, abounding with cattle, fowl, fish, and fruits; so that they landed such of their crew as were sick, who speedily recovered: and, having supplied themselves with all kind of refreshments, and bestowed the name of *Warwick's Haven* on the port where they anchored, in honour of their vice-admiral, they continued their voyage, and entered, as an useful observation in their journals, that this island might be as commodiously visited by outward-bound ships as that of *St. Helena* in their return. But though many of their countrymen reaped the benefit of this advice, and though they named this island after Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, yet it was near forty years before they thought of settling there; and were then just before-hand with the *French*, who actually sent a

Mistakes about this island, visited by the Portuguese, and supplied by them with hogs and goats, &c.

Visited by the Dutch, who settled in it, and bestowed upon it the name of MAURITIUS.

^p Voyage de LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 70—72.

^q Voyages de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 157.

^r Geographie moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 818.

(O) We have, in *Leguat's* voyages, a very good description of this island, upon which himself and his companions resided for some time (3). These people sailed from *Holland*, July 10th, 1690, with a view of settling in the island of *Mascarenbas*, now styled the island of *Bourbon*, and which, if they could have settled, they proposed to have called the island of *Eden*; but finding that in the hands of the *French*, eight of them were put on shore on the desert island of *Diego Rajs*, or, as they styled it, *Rodriguez*, where they remained two years and twenty-one days, and at length, growing weary of the solitary life they led there, ventured, in a vessel of their own framing, to sail to the island of *Mauritius*, then in the hands of the *Dutch*. We may, from their description of the island of *Diego Rajs*, which is equally copious and curious, frame a just notion of that island of which we are speaking, before it was settled by the *Europeans*, when the land and sea tortoises were met with in the greatest plenty and perfection, and other natural advantages were undiminished by the resort thither of strangers; for the candid reader will distinguish between the times in which the several accounts we have of this country were given, and not conclude so rashly as some have done, that because modern travellers see none of those prodigious tortoises that were able to move with four men upon their backs, therefore the old relations are false or exaggerated; whereas, by comparing the description of these two islands, in the state they both

were about sixty years ago, it will appear highly probable, that the old accounts are as accurate, and as authentic, as any that have been since published (4).

(P) We find in *Hondius's* general map of *Africa* all the three islands mentioned in the text, very tolerably laid down; that of which we are particularly speaking is thus marked, *I. de Sirne*, alias *Mauritii Insula*, and is placed in the latitude of somewhat more than twenty degrees south, and in the longitude of seventy-nine degrees. In this map there is no name given to the island of *Mascarenbas*. In *Danckert's* map of *Africa*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1661, we have that now called the *Ile of Bourbon*, laid down some degrees more to the south than it ought to be, under the title of *I. de Mascarenbas*, and to the north-west lies another island, called *St. Apollonia*; which shews, that though this map is very beautiful, and well engraved, yet it is not at all accurate, or to be depended upon. In the map of *Madagascar*, taken from *Samso*, and published by *Nicholas Sanson*, there are two large islands, to which the name of *Mascarenbas* is given in common, and to the north-west of them is an island, styled *St. Apollonia*, otherwise the island of *Maurice*. In *De Lisle's*, and the best modern maps, the island of *Mauritius* is placed, as it ought to be, between the latitudes of twenty and twenty-one degrees south, and in the longitude of between seventy-four and seventy-five degrees; and the island of *Mascarenbas* lies south-west from thence, without any mention of *St. Apollonia* at all.

(3) Voyage aux Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 64, 65.

(4) The reader may be satisfied of this, by consulting the authors that we have cited in the order of time in which they visited these places.

vessel thither from *Dieppe* for the like purpose, who found the *Dutch* in possession, and very busy in raising a fort, that might command the haven, and the place where ships took in water (Q).

The Dutch and French break faith with the natives, which ruins this settlement, and that of Madagascar.

ABOUT the year 1640, the *Dutch* had two or three little settlements, besides their fort, upon the island; but wanting slaves to cultivate their plantations, they sent over a bark to *Madagascar*, where the *French* had just begun to plant, and prevailed upon the governor, and another officer, to steal fifty blacks, of those that were settled under their protection; which scandalous breach of faith proved the ruin of both colonies, for the people of *Madagascar* never had any confidence in the *French* afterwards; and as for the negroes that were carried to *Mauritius*, most of them fled into the woods and mountains, where they became what in the *Indies* they call *Marons*, that is, outlaws or banditti; and as they readily afforded shelter to all who would join them, the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they had a constant garrison of fifty men in the fort, were continually exposed to their insults and depredations, which, with other incidental calamities, made them weary of the place, where, through the company's parsimony, but chiefly through their own laziness, they were sometimes in great want, notwithstanding that ebony bore a good price, they were also able to have raised considerable crops of indico and tobacco. At length therefore they quitted the island, but whether gradually, or all at once, is a little uncertain, and left the wild negroes in possession, who kept, notwithstanding, for the most part, in their fastnesses, from whence they sallied upon the crews of such ships, as came thither for refreshments, and often surprised and cut them off; which occasioned such complaints at *Batavia*, that the general and council came at length to a resolution, that the island should be resettled, believing that such precautions might be taken, as would obviate all the objections raised against the colony at *Mauritius*.

The Dutch resettle the island, but are again constrained to quit it.

THIS was accordingly done, and three establishments formed, one on the north-east, another on the south-west extremity of the island, and a third upon that which is called the *Black River*. To this place state criminals were frequently banished, from *Batavia* and other colonies, and orders were given for erecting a stone fort, with magazines and warehouses, for the conveniency of such *Dutch* ships as touched there; which very quickly put things upon a better foot than they had been. The seeds of mischief, however, remained, and some new ones began to take root, and display themselves very apparently. On the one hand, the *Marons* remained lords of the interior part of the island, so that the *Dutch* were forced to confine their settlements to the sea-coasts, and this led them very naturally to an illicit trade. Amongst those who were banished thither, some were very skilful in this kind of traffick, the governor's allowance was but small, his perquisites not very large, and therefore he was but seldom able to withstand temptation. *English*, *French*, and *Portuguese* ships met with strange accidents, which obliged them to put into *Mauritius* to refit, though the inhabitants had hardly any thing better than canoes, nor so much as a dock or a yard where they could build a bark, but they had magazines, into and out of which goods could be conveyed with singular dexterity. About the beginning of the current century, the directors of the *Dutch East India* company in *Holland* came to have so thorough an understanding of the practices at *Mauritius*, that they resolved to withdraw the colony; which was accordingly done, some say in 1703*, and others, with more probability, in 1710*: and thus the *Dutch* government and the name of *Mauritius* were extinguished together.

* Relation du voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en l'isle de Madagascar, isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique, p. 1. Histoire de grande ile de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLACOURT, P. ii. c. 8. From private information, which may be depended upon. * HAMILTON's account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 154.

(Q) It was with a view to the settlement of this island, that Francis Cauche, of Rouen, made his voyage to *Madagascar*, and the adjacent islands, of which he has given a very entertaining and instructive account. He informs us, that they arrived at the island of *Diego Rays*, in the latitude of twenty degrees south, and forty degrees east from *Madagascar*, June 25th, 1638, in which island they set up the arms of France. From thence they proceeded to *Mascarenbas*, two degrees from the tropic of Capricorn, and set up the French arms there likewise. After twenty-four hours stay, they went and anchored at *St. Apollonia*, one degree nearer the line, where they found the *Dutch* settled at a port on the south-east extremity, where they were building a fortress. The next

day they went to the north-west end of the island, where they found an *English* vessel of five hundred tons, and carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, homeward-bound from *Batavia*, laden with spice, the crew of which offered to assist him in dispossessing the *Dutch*; which proposal they did not think fit to accept. This author assures us, that the bats in the island of *Mauritius* are as big as crows, and their heads resembling foxes, hanging by a claw at the end of their wing on the branch of a tree, whenever they sleep, or recline to refresh themselves. He also affirms, that there were thornbacks in these seas, of such prodigious magnitude, that one of them would serve three hundred men (5).

(5) Relation du voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'isle de Madagascar, isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique, p. 1. 2. 3.

^a We have no distinct account at what time, or in what manner, the *French* took possession of this deserted isle; but it must have been during the space that the old *East India* company's privileges subsisted, since we find it conveyed, with the rest of the company's territories, to the company of the *Indies*, by the name of the *Isle of France*, yet possession was not formally taken till more than two years after; the edict for uniting the company being in May 1719, and the monument of possession taken, and the new name imposed, erected by the Chevalier *De Fougerey*, is inscribed September the 3d, 1721^b. It seems that in this, as in other cases, the *French* government had a mind to make the world believe, that to begin and perfect was the same thing; for, by an edict, dated two months after possession was thus taken, a provincial council was erected in the *Isle of France*, dependent, however, upon that of *Bourbon*, the council there being declared superior upon this occasion; and the *Sieur De Nyon*, governor of the *Isle of France*, was directed to take his oath of office in the superior council of the *Isle of Bourbon*, before he presumed to take his seat in his own, where he was to be assisted by six counsellors, which might very probably be the better part of all the masters or heads of families in the island^c (R).

Granted by the title of the Isle of France, to company of the Indies, by Lewis XV.

^b But, notwithstanding the magnificent figure it made upon paper, the company of the *Indies* had much ado to resolve, after more than ten years trial, whether they should keep this potent colony, or leave the island to the wild negroes again, as the *Dutch* had done. To say the truth, the grounds of this perplexity were by no means trifling. The company had furnished all who went thither, either whites or blacks, with utensils, arms, and provisions, to be paid out of the fruits of their industry, which were so great after their arrival and establishment, that they could never maintain themselves, but continued a dead weight upon the company. At length, in 1735, it was resolved to send over *Monsieur de la Bourdonnaye*, with the swelling title of *governor-general* of the *islands*, both the councils, by his advice, being declared independent, and that superior in which the governor was present^d. Upon his arrival in the *Isle of France*, he found it in as miserable a condition as ever colony was, very thin of people, and those ignorant, lazy, and seditious, as if they had not been as they really were, naked, defenceless, and starving. This gentleman went to work with all the vigour and public spirit imaginable, and at the expence of making every man under his command his secret enemy, though they all professed that he was the wisest, gentlest, and best of governors, he soon put things to rights, and brought the greatest part of them to believe that he really was, what out of servile flattery they called him^e.

Yet this settlement, for many years, but very unprofitable.

^c *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, p. 381. *M. Bruzen la Martiniere*, tom. iv. p. 180. *moire de la Bourdonnaye*, tom. i. p. 18.

^d *Le grande dictionnaire géographique et critique*, par *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, p. 357. ^e *Me-Idem, ibid.*

(R) We are very sure that the *French* were not possessed of this island in the summer of the year 1717; but we are no less sure, that, very soon after, the captain of a ship from *St. Maloes* took possession of it, on behalf of his most Christian Majesty, and the *French East India* company, though, as to the exact time or manner, we can affirm nothing distinctly; for the reader will observe, that this transient possession is very different from that formal one, mentioned in the text. This last seems to have been done by order, and was performed in this manner. A large post was set up in a conspicuous place, and on the top thereof a pole forty feet high, with a white flag. On the post was inscribed a kind of instrument of possession, in *Latin*, to the following effect (6):

Long live Lewis the fifteenth, king of the Gauls, and of Navarre. Let the king live for ever! whose pleasure it is to unite this island to the rest of his dominions, and, in testimony thereof, to bestow on it, for ever, the name of the Isle of France. In praise and honour of so great a prince, Jean Baptiste Garnier de Fougerey, captain of the ship called the Triton, native of the town of St. Maloes, in Little Brittany, erected this white standard, September 23d, 1721, and on the 3d of November following, with the blessing of God, set sail from hence, on his return to France.

We may reasonably conclude, that the edict for settling the

provincial council was issued with a view to an establishment upon this island, and to give some kind of lustre to the new company of the *Indies*, who, in this respect, seem to have proceeded exactly on the scheme of their predecessors, supposing that whatever plans they formed in *France* might be carried into execution in these distant islands, in such manner and form as they thought fit to prescribe, provided they were at such an expence as appeared to them requisite for that purpose; but it seems they were miserably deceived, and that for a long course of time, since, when *Mr. de la Bourdonnaye* arrived in his government, and expected to have found, according to the information of the company, four or five engineers, and several public structures, he was not able to meet with one; for though they been sent over, they were so little able to agree with the council, that, except one *Malatto*, they had all quitted the service. As for public works, he found in the *Isle of France* a small wind-mill, carried up to the height of eight feet, but unfinished, a little house for an engineer, and some magazines, begun four years before, the walls of which were about as high as a man could reach; in short, about three hundred yards of masonry-work; and in the island of *Bourbon*, those employed in the service of the public had been industrious in the same degree. At his departure, he left about eleven thousand toises of masonry-work, built under his direction (7). All the success, therefore, that the *French* have to boast in the *Indies*, has been owing to the superior capacities of a very few private gentlemen, who happened fortunately to be in their service.

(6) *Le grande dictionnaire géographique et critique*, par *M. Bruzen la Martiniere*, tom. iv. p. 180. *moire de la Bourdonnaye*, tom. i. p. 18—25.

(7) *Me-*

Improved, for-
rified, and ren-
dered of the
greatest conse-
quence by Mr.
de la Bour-
dennaye.

HE sent for young negroes over from *Madagascar*, bred them up in honest and religious principles, and then made use of them against the *Marons*, whom he obliged either to submit, or to quit the island. He found in the island scarce a planter, manufacturer, or soldier; he made every able man that resided there all of these, by shewing him that it was his interest, and placing the essence of his power in his own example. When he came, there was nothing but cabins; in the space of a few years, besides private habitations, he erected magazines, arsenals, barracks, fortifications, mills, quays, canals, and aqueducts, particularly one that carried fresh water down to the port, and to the hospitals, three thousand six hundred toises in length, which effectually removed the most troublesome circumstance that hitherto had impeded their thriving. They had never been skilful enough to clean or repair the smallest vessel for their own service, but were forced to lay them up when foul or decayed, till some ship came in, when they could hire the carpenters to do what they wanted. They had not either roads, carriages, or sawing-mills; the governor enabled them to get the better of these wants, and, in eighteen or twenty months, brought down a large quantity of serviceable timber to the port, where he provided yards, wet and dry docks, pontons, canoes, shallops, and whatever else was requisite for careening, which he performed as effectually as in *Europe*. In 1737, he launched a brigantine; in 1738, he built two good ships, and, towards the close of the year, put one upon the stocks of the burden of five hundred tons. In a word, in four years time the port of the *Isle of France* was as fit for building or careening as *L'Orient*, the business as effectually done, and with more expedition^d (S).

Methods by
which the
inhabitants
have been
drawn to im-
provements
agreeable to
the company.

ALL these public services could never have been brought about, if he had not attended, at the same time, to the personal interests, and private advantages, of every planter in the island. A few instances will suffice to set this important affair in a clear light. In the first place, he prevented their ever being distressed for food, that is, for bread, which had often happened before, and was the principal cause of their poverty. He did this, by obliging them to plant five hundred feet square of *Manioc* for every black man and their families. At first they were very averse, and some were so wicked as to destroy these plantations, after they were made; but, by degrees, becoming more accustomed to this diet, they acquired sagacity enough to perceive, that brown bread was better than none. He next prevented their slaughtering cattle at random, obliged the crews of the company's ships to be satisfied, during their stay, with fish and turtle, when it was absolutely requisite; and, by this temporary short allowance, secured to them perpetual plenty. He put them upon raising commodities and manufactures of which they never thought; and, amongst the rest, he set on foot sugar-works, for the profit of the company, which brought in, when he left the island, sixty thousand livres a year^e.

Mr. de la
Bourdennaye
accused in
France, not-
withstanding
all these ser-
vices.

ALL these strange things were performed between 1735 and 1740; and from thence we may account for that otherwise inexplicable mystery, how the *Island of France* came to be in a condition, when the *British* squadron arrived on its coast, so diametrically opposite to all the accounts with which the most intelligent persons here were able to furnish the administration. But, for all this, Mr. de la Bourdennaye was on the point of being disgraced, when he returned; the company of the *Indies* was implacable, the ministers in general prejudiced, and the good-natured Cardinal de Fleury very sour. Mr. de la Bourdennaye insisted upon knowing the causes of all this, and refuted every charge so clearly, that the company had nothing to say; the ministers were convinced, and the cardinal satisfied. In the course of his justification, he shewed, that he never was possessed in property of a foot of land; that he never traded for a single livre; and that he had decided but one law-suit all the time he was governor. He farther shewed, that the inhabitants of the *Isle of France* were able to carry on a legal and bene-

^d Supplement au memoire du Sieur DE LA BOURDENNAYE, p. 51, 52, 53.

tom. ii. col. 1207. Supplement au memoire du Sieur DE LA BOURDENNAYE, p. 50.

^e Dictionnaire de commerce,

(S) The reader will very probably ascribe it either to partiality or credulity, that what is advanced in the text, and in the last note, as indubitable matters of fact, stand upon no other authority whatever than the assertion of the person to whose conduct they do so much honour. To justify this proceeding, and to give the reader as much satisfaction on this head as is possible, he is desired to consider the following remarks. First, that these are not general, vague, indeterminate accounts of wonderful things done, and vast improvements made, but plain, direct, and distinct facts, which if they had been falsely asserted, must have turned to Mr. de la Bourdennaye's utter confusion. Secondly, that all these facts have been juridically examined, while this gentleman was a close prisoner in the *Bastille*, when his enemies had

all the opportunities, and all the provocation imaginable, to refute them, notwithstanding which, the truth of his allegations has been acknowledged, and certified under the hands of his judges. Thirdly, that the accounts given here of the state of the *French* islands, by such as had visited them before the year 1735, agreed exactly with Mr. Bourdennaye's representation, as did also the circumstances in which they were found by Admiral Boscawen, when he took a view of them, in his passage with the fleet of his allies to the *East Indies*. Upon the whole, therefore, we must say fairly, that the man of merit is a citizen of the universe, and that those acquire some share in him, who have the honesty to own, and courage to applaud, his virtues.

a ficial commerce, in goods and manufactures of their own, both to the *Indies* and *Europe*[†] (T). It is now time to step over to the other island of *Bourbon*, and see in how strange a manner that colony was originally formed, and what in process of time have been the advantages gained thereto, and improvements made therein, by the companies to which it belonged.

We have already given the reader some account of the repeated attempts made by the French *What the French proposed to themselves from establishing settlements on the coasts of Madagascar.* to establish a settlement upon *Madagascar*, or the isle of the *Dauphin*, as they call it, of which they kept possession above one hundred years, and to which they yet maintain a title. They had three principal points in view in attempting this settlement[‡]: the first, was the fixing a powerful colony in a commodious place for carrying on the trade of the *Indies*, without which they judged it in a manner impossible to make any considerable progress, knowing well that they should be warmly opposed by the *European* nations already in possession of this commerce. In the next place, they conceived that a very profitable intercourse might be carried on with this island which would be highly beneficial to their navigation, augment the number of their seamen, increase their shipping, and, in many other respects, facilitate their schemes for extending their trade; and lastly, they proposed, by making this establishment the centre of their commerce, to put it into so good a condition as not only to answer all the ends of affording protection and refreshment to all their outward and homeward bound *East India* ships, but farther flattered themselves that the colony might be rendered so populous, and the towns and fortresses so defensible, as, in case their success in the *Indies* should provoke the maritime powers to endeavour their destruction even by open force, they might find such a resistance here as would effectually preserve that trade when it should be acquired (V).

[†] *Memoire de la Bourdennaye*, tom. i. p. 18—25.

[‡] *Discours d'un fidele sujet du roi, touchant l'establissement d'une compagnie Francoise pour le commerce des Indes Orientales.*

(T) When we attentively consider the methods taken by the *Sieur de la Bourdennaye*, we may easily comprehend how all these vast alterations were wrought. Numbers of young *Indians*, brought from *Madagascar* at thirteen or fourteen years of age, well treated, and brought up to several trades, were able to perform many things that could never have been expected from black slaves; and he even engaged those unhappy creatures to exert themselves in another manner than they had done formerly, for the sake of living more at their ease, and in somewhat greater plenty. As the whites recovered in the hospital established for the relief of such as were in the service of the company of the *Indies*, they were immediately employed some way or other for their own benefit, and that of the colony; so that all improvements were disposed in such a manner, as not only to go on together, but to assist and facilitate each other. However, if in the circle of the *Sieur de la Bourdennaye's* scheme there was any circumstance more excellent than another, this happy thought of cultivating commodities of great value, as well in the *Indies* as in *Europe*, ought so to be esteemed. The sugar that is raised here has a constant and regular vent at *Surat*, as, on the other hand, cotton and indigo are staple commodities for the homeward-bound ships (8). In consequence, therefore, of these improvements, the people of this island are enabled to purchase, in a great measure, all they want either from homeward or outward-bound ships; and in time, perhaps, as the island becomes more populous, and consequently more flourishing, they may be encouraged to undertake discoveries in those southern countries which we have before mentioned, as being at least as well, if not better, situated for that purpose, than any other people upon the globe (9).

(V) All the great consequences resulting from a thorough plantation of *Madagascar*, and the proper means of bringing this about, were very well understood by the servants of the old *East India* company, tho' they did not publish them with so much pomp and eloquence to the world as the persons employed by *Mr. Colbert*, which indeed had a good effect in making the generality of people understand what mighty improvements it was possible to make in this large country, while more penetrating people saw, at the very same time, that the whole capital of the company was hardly sufficient to

carry the project of the settlements into thorough execution, that nothing very considerable could be projected in the company's favour till these settlements were completely made, and the inhabitants in fit circumstances, and in a proper disposition to carry on such a commerce as might be for the company's service; and that, as all this would be attended with a vast expence of money and time, without the possibility of making any great returns, be subject to repeated disappointment, and depend altogether, and through the whole series of time, on the wise, steady, and uniform conduct of the directors at home, and of those whom they employed to administer their affairs abroad, they foresaw, and were not at all mistaken, that how beautiful (10), how feasible soever the plan might seem in theory, it would meet with little or no success when it came to be carried into practice. We must not be too hasty in concluding from hence, to the prejudice of the *French* nation, since, if we consider how many years were spent, what a succession of societies arose, and were ruined in establishing our colonies of *Virginia* and *New England*, we shall easily discern how very difficult a thing it is for any nation to succeed in bringing her first foreign colony to bear; tho', after all, as we have explained things in another place, there were some peculiar improprieties in the temper of the *French* adventurers, which nothing could have redressed but their being under the direction of able, experienced, and disinterested officers, who, without attempting to meddle with trade, might have taken all the preparatory steps to the procuring an extensive commerce, by a proper distribution, and bringing into a thriving condition all the plantations necessary in the adjacent islands, and along the coast of *Madagascar*. If such persons were not to be had, the blame did not lie upon *Mr. Colbert*, who could only chuse, and had it not in his power to make instruments for this service. On the other hand, if the company was too much in a hurry, in reference to these colonies, or if, as the truth seemed to be, those who were sent thither misbehaved themselves, and ruined the design, no arguments can be drawn from thence in refutation of the points advanced in the project published by that great statesman's (11) directions, which is an observation more than once repeated, because it is a matter that deserves particular attention.

(8) *Supplement au memoire du Sieur de la Bourdennaye*, p. 50, 51. *history of Madagascar*, in which this point is very fully treated. p. 129.

(11) *Essai sur le Marine et sur le commerce*, p. 196.

(9) See the last chapter of *Flacourt's* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii.

Their expectations not improvable, yet prove abortive.

THESE notions were indeed were lofty and magnificent, worthy of their authors *Richieu* and *Colbert*, and, at the same time, they were far from being unnatural or impracticable. The climate, tho' not so healthy and pleasant as they represented it, was however tolerable; the soil wonderfully fruitful; there wanted not good ports; all the necessaries of life were to be had in abundance; and, to say nothing of gold, iron, lead, of all which however there are certainly mines in that island; cotton, wax, sugar, black and white pepper, tobacco, indigo, ebony, and a great variety of other valuable commodities might have made this place answered not only all their expences in settling it, but even their most sanguine expectations. That it did not answer them is very certain; but that the defect was not in the country, but in themselves, their best writers agree. That the scheme they went upon was rational, and not so only, but absolutely necessary, time and experience have since made appear, but they stand indebted for the advantages they now possess, to chance and accident^b. For, tho' they have long ago abandoned *Madagascar*, yet, as we have seen, they are still possessed of some islands near it, which are of such consequence, that without them it would be very difficult for them to preserve what trade they have in the *Indies*, as will hereafter appear, though in the accounts they have given of this commerce, they have scarce mentioned, much less described them.

A description of the island of Mascarenhas, ago the name of *Bourbon*: it lies in the latitude of twenty-one degrees twenty-three minutes south, and in the longitude of seventy-six degrees to the east of *Madagascar*, and a small distance from the island of *Maurice*, or, as it is now styled, of *France*. We have already hinted that they touch'd at, and slightly examined it, even before they attempted *Madagascar*, but in all probability were deterred from settling there, on the score of its wanting a port. The island of *Bourbon* being in some parts inaccessible, the length and breadth have not been well determined, but the circumference, as a person who resided there several months assured us, may be fifty-seven leagues, or thereabouts^c. It is for the most part mountainous, but in some places there are very pleasant and beautiful plains. In the south part of the island there is a burning mountain which has thrown out vast quantities of bitumen, sulphur, and other combustible materials; neither does it cease throwing them out still, so that the country about is useless, and is called by the inhabitants *Pays Brule*, that is, *Burnt Land*. The shore is high and rocky all round, so that there are no ports (but there are several good roads, particularly one on the west and another on the north-east), which is the greatest disadvantage^d it has: as to its form, it is irregular, so that it is difficult to judge from the maps whether it be round or long (W).

Its climate, soil, and produce.

As to the air, it is equally pleasant and wholesome, insomuch that the people live there to a vast age without feeling either infirmities or diseases. This is an excellent effect from a very troublesome cause, by which we mean the hurricane, a kind of storm too well known to be described here; of these they have one or two every year, which purge and cleanse the air so as to render it highly salubrious; the certainty of which is thus distinguished, that when they fail of making their annual visits, as sometimes they do, the people are sickly, and death finds an entrance into the island, which otherwise would be soon overstocked^e. The climate is hot, but not to such a degree as might be expected from its situation; the breezes from the mountains being constant and very refreshing; the tops of these mountains are in the winter covered

^b CAUCHE. FLACOURT. RENNEFORT. &c. p. 116.

^c Relation de l'isle de Bourbon, par DU BOIS.

^d Tour du monde, par L. G. DE LA BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 127.

(W) In the memorial written by the *Sieur Anthony Thureau*, who had a commission to take possession of this place on behalf of the crown of *France* in 1654, it is asserted that the island is ten leagues broad and about sixty in extent, this gentleman and his companions making the tour of it in eleven days. In their passage they found the north-east part of the island very fruitful and pleasant, as well as plentifully watered; and this extent of country they judged to be about fifteen miles. The south-east part of the island, which they apprehended to have been still more fruitful and pleasant, and of the extent of twenty leagues, was entirely burnt and consumed to a coal; which dreadful effect, in their judgment, was produced by lightning. The south west part of the island they judged to be six leagues, a very tolerable country, with a large lake and a fine river in it; but a great proportion of the north-west of the isle of *Bour-*

bon is represented in this memorial as uninhabitable (12). There was a particular description of this country under the name of the island of *Eden*, published in *Holland* by the direction of the *Marquis Du Quesne*, of which, as it is visibly calculated to represent it as a perfect Paradise, we esteem it best to say nothing, since it is not from such kind of accounts that any true judgment may be formed (13). The author of a journal of Mr. *Du Quesne's* voyage, which in other respects is very exact and much esteemed, was so very little acquainted with this island, that he confounds it with *Madagascar* (14): which is a proof, that at the end of the last century it was far enough from being considered even by those best acquainted with the *East India* company's affairs; for the author of this journal, who was in their service, did not look upon it as a place of any great importance.

(12) *Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar*, par le *Sieur Flacourt*, cap. 85. tom. i. p. 50.

(13) *Voyage de Leguat*, tom. ii. p. 7.

a with snow, which, melting in the summer, furnishes abundance of rivers and rivulets, with which the country is plentifully watered; so that the soil, tho' not very deep, is wonderfully fruitful, producing *Turkey* corn and rice twice a year, and the latter in vast abundance. Most sorts of cattle are found there, good in their kind, and very cheap: wild goats and wild hogs are found in the woods and on the tops of the mountains: vast plenty they have of wild fowl of different kinds: fish too, in great abundance; and, before the place was so well inhabited, vast quantities of land tortoises, affording at once the most delicate and most wholesome food: as to fruits, they have the guavas and bananas, oranges and citrons, tamarinds, and other kinds: neither does it want valuable commodities, particularly ebony, cotton, white pepper, gum benjamin, aloes and tobacco, all excellent in their kind, when compared with those
b of other countries. It is also happy in its deficiencies, for no venomous creature is to be found therein, and but two that are disagreeable to the sight; the one, spiders of the size of a pigeon's egg, which weave nets or webs of a prodigious strength; and some curious people have thought that these might be so treated as to become as valuable as silk; the other, bats of a most enormous size, which are not only skinned and eaten, but esteemed also the greatest delicacy that they have; in which opinion, when they can overcome their natural aversion, so far as to taste them, *Europeans* agree^m (X). Such is the island of *Bourbon* in itself; let us now speak of its inhabitants.

WHEN the *French* first settled in *Madagascar*, the island *Mascarenhas*, as it was then called, was absolutely desolate; three *Frenchmen*, being banished thither, and left in it for three years, made such a report of it at their return as surprised their countrymen: they lived most of that time upon pork, and, tho' they were in a manner naked, yet they affirmed that they never had the least pain or sickness whatever. This tempted one *Anthony Taurcau* to go over thither in 1654, accompanied by seven *French* and six Negroes, and they carried with them cattle, with which the country has been stocked ever since. The first thing they did was to erect the arms of *France*, by order of M^r. *Flacourt*, who was governor of *Madagascar*, and to bestow upon the island a new name; then they set up huts and laid out gardens, where they cultivated melons, and all sorts of roots and tobacco; but just as the last-mentioned herb grew ripe, came a hurricane, and destroyed allⁿ. The *French*, however, went to work again, and by having some acquaintance with the climate, succeeded better, and added aloes to the rest of their plantations; but receiving no succour from *Madagascar*, and being tired of living there by themselves, they very readily embraced the offer made them by the captain of an *English* ship, and in the year 1658 embarked for *Madras*; so there ended the first colony. When the last great blow was given to the *French* at *Madagascar* by the natives, who, provoked chiefly by their gallantries, surprised *Fort Dauphine*, and cut them off in one night, there escaped as many men, as, with their wives, who were natives, filled two canoes; and, these being driven by the wind on the island of *Bourbon*, were the next sett of people that inhabited it; and, for want of an opportunity to remove, were constrained to cultivate this new country of theirs, and to remain in it; neither was this any great hardship, considering the evil from which they escaped, and the peace and plenty they might have found here in return for a very small expence of labour and industry^o (Y).

IT

^m Histoire de la grand isle de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLACOURT, p. 431. Relation de l'isle de Bourbon, par Du Bois. ⁿ Histoire de grand isle de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLACOURT, p. 431. ^o Tour du monde, par L. G. DE LA BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 121.

(X) As these hurricanes happen always within a certain period; that is, either in the months of *December*, *January*, *February*, or *March*; proper precautions may be taken against them; more especially, as they are of short continuance, and as these storms of a day or two excuse the island from all ill weather for the rest of the year (15). Some writers assert, that in the isle of *France* the hurricane is fixed to the ninth of *February*; which day once past, they look upon themselves as secure for that year; but all agree, that the want of these periodical storms is commonly succeeded by unwholesome seasons (16). We have good reason to believe that, as this island is better cultivated, the woods rendered passable, and great tracks of land manured, the seasons may be in some measure altered, and the terror of these hurricanes lessened by a timely provision against their consequences. Besides, experience has taught them to be very exact in distinguishing the prognostics of an hurricane, which are said to be a hollow frightful noise in the

mountains, three or four days before the storm rises; and while this noise continues, there is a dead calm both on sea and on shore. The night before the hurricane, the moon appears of a crimson colour; and the storm begins either a little before or a little after, the break of day. As soon as the signs appear, the people begin to take their measures for the safety of their persons and effects, and if there be any ships in the road, they go to sea without delay, to avoid being driven on shore, which otherwise they can hardly escape (17).

(Y) When the *French* took possession of this place, they set up a pillar with the arms of that crown on the same spot where the *Portuguese* had set up their pillar of possession; and some writers say, that the *French* arms were only inscribed on the opposite side of the same pillar. The date of the *Portuguese* entry is 1545, and on the *French* side 1653; tho' it seems pretty evident that those who set them up did not arrive till the year 1654 (18). The *French* authors say, that they were first

(15) *Tour du monde par Le Gentil de la Barbinai*, tom. iii. p. 127. (16) *Voyage de Francis Leguat*, tom. ii. p. 74. (17) *Tour du monde par le L. G. de la Barbinai*, tom. iii. p. 127, 128. (18) *Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar, par le Sieur Flacourt*, p. 431.

How a new augmentation of inhabitants came into this island, which was now taken into the hands of the French East India company, against whom they rebelled. It was not long before they acquired a farther stock of inhabitants; for a pirate that had been committing depredations in the *Indies*, returning to *Europe*, ran ashore and was split to pieces upon the rocks, so that the crew were forced to join themselves to the former inhabitants, and as they had on board their vessel a great many *Indian* women they had made prisoners, they lived with them, and in process of time had a numerous posterity. As *East India* ships touched here frequently when they were too late to double the *Cape*, many of the sailors, for the sake of the women, deserted at the time of their departure, and, staying behind, became planters in the island of *Bourbon*. As the place grew more populous, the people naturally became more civilized, and desirous of living in a more commodious manner, which induced them to build small vessels, that in these they might make a trip sometimes to *Madagascar*, and purchase slaves, which they employed in their plantations, to cultivate aloes, tobacco, and other things with which they drove a small trade, when ships of any nation anchored in their roads for the sake of refreshments^p. In this situation things were when the *East India* company of *France* put in their claim, and, assuming the property of the island, sent thither five or six families, and a governor. At first, no doubt, the inhabitants expected to reap some benefit from their new masters, but finding very little, and thinking the governor took too much upon him, they revolted at the instigation of a priest, seized their governor, clapped him into a dungeon, and kept him there till hunger and sorrow made an end of him. For this some of the ringleaders were afterwards punished, a kind of fort erected, in which some guns were placed, and the *French* flag kept flying; but, in other respects, so little care was taken, that till within these thirty years, the island was in no state of defence, exclusive of the number of inhabitants, and the advantages of its situation; which we have before described^q, and from which the reader will perceive they were in no great danger from single vessels (Z).

How the inhabitants of the island came to be of such various, and even opposite complexions. THE number of inhabitants in the year 1717 was computed at two thousand; that is, nine hundred free, and eleven hundred slaves. Amongst these people the usual distinction of whites and blacks entirely fails, for even the free are of different colours; and a *French* writer assures us, that he saw in a church one family consisting of five generations of all complexions. The eldest was a female, one hundred and eight years of age, of a brown black, like the *Indians* at *Madagascar*; her daughter a mulatto; her grand-daughter a mestizo; her great grand-daughter of a dusky yellow; her daughter again, of an olive; and the daughter of this last (it is the author's own expression) as fair as any *English* girl of the same age^r. These people are, generally speaking, of a gentle, quiet disposition, very industrious, and submissive enough to authority, provided it be exercised with a tolerable degree of equity and decency; for otherwise they are apt to rise, one and all; and the slaves have so little reason to complain of their masters, that they are always on the same side. The island is divided into four quarters; the first is, that of *St. Paul*, which is the largest and the best peopled; their houses are built at the bottom of a steep mountain, on both sides of a fresh water lake. As for the plantations, they are on the top of a mountain, which they ascend by a very rough and troublesome passage. On the summit there is a spacious plain, a great part of which is divided into plantations of rice, tobacco, corn, sugar, and fruits. The quarter of *St. Denis* lies seven leagues from that of

^p Relation de l'isle du Bourbon, par Du Bois. Tour du monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS. tom. iii. p. 122.
^q Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 581. Tour du monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 139.
 Relation de l'isle du Bourbon, par Du Bois. Tour du monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 124, 125.

cheated out of the possession of this island by one Captain *Gosling*, who persuaded them that their countrymen were entirely destroyed at *Madagascar*, which induced them to proceed with him to the *Indies*, in hopes of making a large profit upon the commodities they had cultivated, and for which the captain assured them they would find a great demand; but, when they debarked at *Madras*, they found the whole a falsehood, and themselves in a very wretched condition (19).

(Z) The reader will easily perceive that we are constrained to pick up whatever fragments we can meet with in the works of different authors, to procure for him, in some measure, a continued history of the revolutions to which this country has been exposed, and therefore he will not be surpris'd, or attribute to any supineness or want of care in us, that every minute particular is not so clearly or fully explained as he would willingly find it. We have not been able to discover, for instance, when the *French East India* company took the administration

of this island into her own hands, but we find among the archives of the company an edict of *Levis* the fourteenth, dated the seventh of *March*, 1711, by which a provincial council, dependant upon that of *Pondicherry*, was established in this island, against which the revolt mentioned in the text must have been made (20). In 1723, the number of inhabitants in the island being greatly increased, the council was declared supreme and independent, and, as we have already observed, was made superior to that established by the same edict in the isle of *France* (21). But tho' from these edicts we learn pretty clearly what the form of government ought to have been, yet we have intimations that may be depended upon, that the same seditious and mutinous temper continued, at least in a great measure, and that licentiousness, confusion, and anarchy were the characteristics of those settled here when Mr. *de la Bourdennaye* was named to the supreme command in both islands (22).

(19) Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar, par le Sieur Flacourt. p. 431.
 des Indes, tom. iii. p. 357. (21) Ibid. p. 358, 359. (22) Memoires de Monsieur de la Bourdennaye, tom. i. p. 11.

a St. Paul, towards the east, and there the governor resides: it is not so much peopled, but the country is pleasanter and better situated. At two leagues distance, proceeding along the sea-coast, is the quarter of St. Mary's, which is but thinly peopled. The last and most fertile quarter is that of St. Susannah, which is at the distance of four leagues from St. Denis; and the road between these two quarters is tolerable, tho' part of it has been cut with much difficulty through a wood; but the passage from St. Denis to St. Paul is only by sea. We have been the more particular in this description, because it is difficult to find so good a one (A).

WHEN the present company of the *Indies* became, in right of the edict for their perpetual establishment, masters of this island, they soon discerned what vast advantages might be drawn from it, as well as how strangely it had been neglected. In consequence of this, they have improved it exceedingly, raised new forts and batteries, which render it in a manner inaccessible; and have also settled in the most effectual manner several of the adjacent islands, which are well supplied with cannon, military and naval stores, and whatever else is necessary for the defence of the inhabitants. There is no doubt that this must have cost considerable sums of money; but the company of the *Indies* have no reason to complain of that, since the island produces annually more than all they have laid out can amount to; for they bring from thence one year with another coffee to the value of one hundred thousand pounds.

It is no easy matter to come at the knowledge when this improvement was first made, or, indeed, how it came to be made at all; on one side we are assured that the coffee-plant was carried to the isle of *Bourbon* from the country of *Yemen* in *Arabia*, which is the true coffee-country, in the year 1718, and the very person is named who carried it thither; on the other hand, an author who visited the isle of *Bourbon* in 1717, and who wrote an account of what he found remarkable there the very same year, assures us that Mr. Para, who was then governor of the island, was actually in *France*, and that his errand thither was to inform the *East India* company that the coffee-plant had been found growing naturally in several places of the island. It may be that these accounts may be reconciled thus; the plant brought from *Mocha* to the isle of *Bourbon*, might be with a view to compare it with the coffee said to grow there naturally; but however that might be, the cultivation of this plant now is become the principal business of the inhabitants of the isle of *Bourbon*, and it is believed that they produce an eighth, some say a sixth part as much coffee, as is raised in the kingdom of *Yemen*, and it is likewise held next in goodness to that. The diligent endeavour of the *French* company of the *Indies* to strengthen and improve the settlements in the islands, for that is the term used in *France*, has not only answered all the purposes that they could possibly expect from it, but has likewise fully demonstrated that the principles laid down by *Richlieu* and *Colbert* were perfectly just, and that nothing could have so effectually contributed towards the acquiring a share in the *East India* commerce for the *French* nation, as the making a considerable establishment on the island of *Madagascar*, and that the fault lay only in those who undertook the execution of it.

It was therefore very judiciously advised, when Admiral *Boscawen* sailed with the combined fleet of the Maritime Powers for the *Indies*, to strike the first blow here. If that could have been done, there is no doubt that the expedition, in its event, would have been as prosperous as it was prudent in its contrivance. But, alas! when he arrived he found the islands of *Bourbon* and *France* quite other things than they had been represented by such as had visited them some years before. The whole coast of the *Isle of France* was a continued breast-work, a prodigious artillery was provided for his reception, and as there were no ports capable of receiving his ships, and no possibility of landing men in open boats, to attack fortifications lined with

* Relation de l'isle de Bourbon, par Du Bois. Tour du monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS. Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 379, 380. † Memoire sur l'origine & usage du Caffé. ‡ Tour du monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 135, 136. * GUYON. BARBINAIS. Du Bois.

(A) The description given in the text is from Mr. de la Barbinais, who, in his return to *France* from the *Indies*, remained in the island of *Bourbon* five months, which afforded him sufficient leisure to make many curious and useful observations, without the assistance of which it had been absolutely impossible to have exhibited any tolerable account of an island that is already of so great consequence, and which, the principal obstacle to its improvement being now removed, cannot fail of becoming more and more important every day (23). This gentleman gives it us as his opinion, that the *Burnt Country* became in that condition from the effects of a vulcano, which, as he conceives, has traversed the whole island in the space of several ages; which notion of his is grounded upon a matter of fact that cannot be disputed,

which is, that the soil is no where of any great depth, and that, immediately underneath, there is a black-burnt rock resembling that of *Pays Brule*. We may conclude from hence, that possibly this and all the little islets about it were raised by a subterraneous explosion from the bottom of the sea, which has been likewise the case in other countries; neither is it all improbable that in process of time, more especially if any assistance is afforded to nature, a great part, if not the whole, of the *Burnt Country* will be recovered and rendered habitable. But whether there may not be reason to apprehend that, in succeeding ages, this vulcano may make another tour, and renew its devastations in some other quarter of the isle of *Bourbon*, is what time must disclose, and the will of Providence determine (24).

(23) *Geographie moderne*, par Abraham Du Bois, p. 818. tom. iii. p. 183.

(24) *Tour du monde*, par L. G. de Barbinais,

numbers of people, expert in the use of fire-arms, and well supplied, he was obliged, after some cannonading to very little purpose, to pursue his voyage. This likewise gave the *French* an opportunity of sending a great supply from these islands, of men, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and money, to *Pondicherry*, which made the reduction of that place likewise impracticable⁷. These are facts in which both our accounts and theirs very fully agree; so that there can be nothing plainer than that these islands are of the utmost consequence to the *French*, and that the success of their *East India* commerce must depend upon their remaining in a prosperous and thriving condition (B). Neither is it at all impossible, that, by degrees, they may open a commerce to all parts of the *Indies*, directly from these islands, which are certainly as well situated for that purpose as can be wished, as, by a proper attention to the seasons, voyages may be made with great facility and safety from them to the *Persian* and *Arabian* gulfs, and even to the straits of *Sonda* and *Cbina*, without the necessity of touching at any port in the *Indies*, and returns might be made thither in the like manner⁸. But it is now time to quit this establishment, which is not properly in but near the *Indies*, and to proceed next to those in the *Arabian* and *Persian* gulfs, which, strictly and accurately speaking, are not in the *Indies* either, and yet, as the trade carried on from them produces nothing that is not carried home to *Europe* on board the *East India* ships, they are generally, and with propriety enough, reputed a part of the *Indies*, amongst all the nations that carry on any trade thither, and as such are included in the charters of all the companies that have been any-where settled for the management of that commerce.

⁷ See the proof of this in the notes.
445, 456.

⁸ *Histoire de grande île de Madagascar*, par Monsieur FLACOURT, p. 445, 456.

(B) The shortest and most authentic account we have of this matter is contained in the admiral's dispatch, dated at *Fort St. David's*, October 17th, 1748, which was published by authority, and gives a just view of the state of things at that juncture; so that it may be looked upon as a proper historical supplement to what has been said in the text (25). "On May the 18th, the rear-admiral sailed from the *Cape of Good Hope*, with his majesty's squadron under his command, and six ships of the *Dutch East India* company, and after a fatiguing passage, occasioned by a series of contrary winds, very unusual at that season, on June 23d, at day-break, they made the island of *Mauritius*, having parted from three of the *Dutch* ships in the bad weather, in their passage. Upon sight of the land, the admiral consulted with his captains about the most proper passage for the ships to take in going in; and it being determined to run between *Long Island* and the *Gamer's Quoin*, the men of war to lead in line of battle, and the *India* ships to follow them; orders were given accordingly, and the greatest part of the fleet anchored the same night in a place called *Turtle Bay*, between the river of that name and *Tomb* river, about two leagues to the eastward of the harbour, and the rest got in the next day, having been fired at in their passage from fascine-batteries of about six guns each; but without receiving any damage. At daylight, the enemy began to fire from two other fascine-batteries they had raised on each side of the entrance of the two aforesaid rivers, and they were perceived to be hard at work in the wood fronting where the squadron lay, in throwing up in entrenchments, and raising other batteries, and several large ships were seen lying in the harbour. Hereupon the *Pambrake*, which was nearer in, was ordered to fire, and disturb them at their work, and the *Swallow* sloop was sent, with Capt. Lloyd, of the *Eltham*, the two principal engineers, and an artillery officer, to run along the shore, and reconnoitre the coast, in order to discover what place would be most convenient for landing the troops; who, on their return, reported, that the enemy had fired on them in their passage, from eight different batteries, as well as from the forts at the en-

trance of the harbour; that a large ship of two tier of guns lay with her broadside across the mouth of the harbour; that there were thirteen other ships in the harbour (several of them large ones), fitted or fitting for the sea; and that they thought it impracticable to land any-where to the eastward of the harbour, on account of the thickness of the woods, which came down close to the water-side; it was therefore judged most feasible to attempt to land before the great river to the westward of the town. So soon as it was dark, the masters of the six line of battle ships were ordered to go in the barges, and sound all along the shore, to try the depths of water, and see particularly whether it was practicable to land at the place proposed; but they, on their return, having declared, that there was a reef of rocks run all along about twenty yards from the shore, which made it impossible for boats to land, except at the river's mouth, right against where the fleet lay, and at the harbour, where the channel was not above one hundred fathoms wide, and very difficult to get in, as the wind always blows right out; this determined the admiral to call a council of war, composed of the principal sea and land officers, to lay before them these reports, and his instructions, so far as they related to the attack of *Mauritius*, and to consult with them what was best to be done. It was agreed, as they were unacquainted with the strength of the enemy on the island, to send three ten oar boats, under the command of Major Caming, to endeavour to surprise and get a prisoner from the shore; which was accordingly attempted, but in vain; and the council being met again next morning, and it appearing to them, that the reduction of the island of *Mauritius* was not the principal design of the expedition; and as there was such a strength of ships in the harbour, and the preparations which the enemy had made all along the coast rendered it certain that the attack must be attended with considerable loss, they were of opinion, that, upon these considerations, no attempt should be made at this place, but that the squadron should proceed, with the utmost expedition, to the coast of *Caraman*, so as to begin the operations there before the moonson shifted."

(25) From the *London Gazette*.

S E C T. IX.

An historical account of the French commerce at Mocha, Bassora, Surat, on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel; their acquisitions in point of territory, through the arts and address of their governors; the state of Pondicherry resumed, and deduced to the last siege thereof by the English, under the command of Admiral Boscawen; with an account of their obligations to, and use they made of, the Indians in that siege.

- a** **T**HE French company in the *Indies* established a factory at *Mocha*, on the coast of *Arabia*, in 1720, for the sake of carrying on the coffee trade, which, about that time, became more considerable than ever, and this they have kept up ever since^a. The other European nations have their factories also. But besides the particular concerns of their respective factories, those who are entrusted with the management of this trade, are obliged not only to live upon good terms, but also to concert measures together, that they may all purchase coffee at the same price, and not raise its value, by bidding upon each other, which has sometimes happened, when this commodity was scarce, to the no small advantage of the natives, and prejudice of the Europeans, who therefore came into this method to prevent it^b. The valuable article of coffee was, in a great measure, taken from the *East India* company, before the edict of union, by which it was restored to the perpetual company of the *Indies*, and the duty with which it was charged, of ten French pence per pound, was valued at a very moderate sum, upon payment of which annually, coffee passed every-where through *France* freely, and without any duty. But, in 1736, the farmers-general of the revenue representing this as a great hardship upon them to the ministry, the composition was declared void, and the duty has been ever since paid; but, by way of indemnification, the sum of fifty thousand livres is paid annually, out of the treasury, to the company of the *Indies*^c. We have mentioned this circumstance particularly, to shew that there is nothing stable in *France*; and, that notwithstanding the solemnity of edicts, and occasional favours and indulgences, in order to raise a new, or revive a declining commerce, the revenue will, sooner or later, obtain a preference; and as the government really does all, so, under one pretence or other, it will never fail to avail itself of all that is done by the French in the commerce of the *Indies* (C).

In respect to the commerce of the *Persian* gulf, no pains have been spared by the French ministry to do every thing that was possible for promoting the commerce of the company. As a proof of this, it may be sufficient to give one instance. The Count *de Maurepas*, while the affairs of trade and the marine were under his care, made choice of one Mr. *Otter*, a Swedish gentleman, of calm but determined courage, and of great capacity, who had an inclination to visit the east, and to perfect himself in the knowledge of the oriental tongues, to be the instrument of promoting a correspondence between the French in the *Indies* and the subjects of *Persia* and of the Grand Signior^d. This gentleman, being furnished with proper instructions, set out from *Paris* in 1734, and, after remaining some time at *Constantinople*, prosecuted his journey to the court of *Persia*, notwithstanding the troubles that were then in both empires;

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. i. col. 653.
des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 429.

^b Memoire sur l'origine et usage du Caffé.
^d Eloge de M. OTTER.

^c Histoire

(C) We are indebted to the judicious and indefatigable Mr. *Dufréne de Franchville* for a most accurate history of all the variations in the management of the coffee trade in *France*, as well as for publishing the edicts, and other authentic papers, relating to this matter; for the reader must observe, that, from being a commodity of small consequence at the beginning of the current century, the trade in coffee, within the first twenty years of this, became a matter of very high importance, in which not only the company, but the revenue, was deeply interested, as well as the merchants of *Marseilles*, and the proprietors of the French colonies in the *West Indies*, and more especially in the islands of *Cayenne* and *Martinico* (26). At present, as far as our intelligence reaches, the French commerce in coffee stands thus: the company of the *Indies* is at liberty to import whatever quantities her directors judge expedient, either from

Mocha or the isle of *Bourbon*. The traders of *Marseilles*, by a special privilege, have the like liberty with respect to the *Levant*, but are obliged to vend whatever coffee they import to the *East India* company, and to that company only, unless they export it (27). The *West India* merchants have likewise free liberty to import coffee from the French plantations, which may remain in their magazines a full year, in order to its being exported, without paying any duties, and the merchants at *Marseilles* may purchase this coffee, and convey it by land to *Genova* free from all duties (28). But, with respect to the home consumption, which is very great, all sorts of coffee indiscriminately stand charged with the duty of ten livres on each hundred weight; notwithstanding which, the best *Mocha* coffee sells in *France* from fifteen to eighteen French pence per pound (29).

(26) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 145.
(28) Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 153, 154.

(27) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 429.
(29) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. i. col. 658.

by which, though he travelled in the train of a *Persian* ambassador, yet he found his life in imminent peril almost in every day's journey. He was able to do little with the *Shah*, whose affairs were so embarrassed, that how much soever he might be inclined thereto, yet he could give but very little attention to matters of this nature. Mr. *Otter* therefore returned into the dominions of the Grand Signior, and, according to the instructions that he had received, neglected nothing that could procure him an interest with *Achmet*, bashaw of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, who acted rather as an independent prince, than as a subject of the *Porte*, and who had forced the Grand Signior to put the important city of *Bassora*, *Balsora*, or *Basara*, again into his hands, which they had taken from him^a.

Mr. *Otter* is established, after the death of the first consul, in that office at *Bassora*.

It was this city, which stands upon the famous canal formed from the waters of the rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, that was the great object of the *French* views. The *English* and *Dutch* had both consuls there; and the former had the liberty of displaying his flag, which the latter had not been able to obtain, though he had offered no less than twenty thousand crowns for that favour. Mr. *Otter* went to this city towards the close of the year 1741, and soon after a *French* ship arrived from the bay of *Bengal*, with a person on board who had the character of consul from the company of the *Indies*, who, though a man of parts and experience, thought his own reception in that quality a thing so little likely to take effect, that he intimated to Mr. *Otter* his intention to return, in case any disputes were made about it. But the interest of the latter was so powerful with the bashaw of *Bagdat*, that he procured the necessary instruments for establishing the *French* consulate, with the honour of the flag, not only to the surprize of the other *Europeans*, but also of the bashaw's governor in that city, who had not the least intelligence of the negotiation, till he received his master's orders. This consul dying, Mr. *Otter* himself, in the month of *August* 1742, was appointed, by the company, to succeed him, and held it till the year following, that he returned to *France*, soon after which he died^c (D).

The great advantages derived from this factory, in respect to their commerce in the *Indies*.

THE establishment of this consulship was a thing not only highly honourable, but very serviceable also, to the company of the *Indies*, on account of the great traffick carried on there, and the large demand there is for almost all sorts of *Indian* commodities, which passed from thence by land, by the way of *Bagdat* to *Aleppo*. The rich goods and manufactures taken in exchange, are shipped on board the company's vessels, which, according as the director-general in the *Indies* thinks expedient, are either transported from thence to the islands, and, at the proper season, to *Europe*, or return into the *Indies*. This trade, carried on either way, is extremely profitable, especially in times of peace; and as it rarely happens that things are in confusion in the *Indies*, and in the Grand Signior's dominions, at one time, so, with proper attention, a market is commonly found for both cargoes, without bringing any part home to *Europe*; and the more there is of this sort of intercourse, the greater gains accrue to the company, and the better returns they are able to make of those goods that are most in demand in *Europe*. But it requires very great talents in those who are intrusted with the management of things at these ports, and at *Bassora* in particular; because, exclusive of their ordinary functions, they are frequently put to very great difficulties, by the bashaws, and other officers of the *Porte*, who are continually watching for an opportunity to plunder or oppress them^d. Against this, the best security is a good understanding with the other *European* nations, who, if they act in

^a Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par Mons. OTTER, tom. ii. col. 7. ^b Eloge de M. OTTER. ^c Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 712.

(D) The account that Mr. *Otter* has given us of his travels is not only entertaining, but, which is of far greater consequence, very instructive. There is nothing that regards the geography, history, antient and present state, of the countries through which he passed, or of the customs, learning, manners, virtues, vices, or tempers, of their inhabitants, in which he does not explain himself with that perspicuity and plainness which chiefly recommend books of this kind to the favour of the candid peruser. Yet, with respect to his negotiations, he is silent in points of the greatest consequence, and never suffers the vanity of magnifying his own abilities to engage him in the discovery of things which it would be improper should come to the ears of strangers. He says, that he went to *Basara*, in order to perfect himself in the knowledge of the *Arabic* language, but principally that he might be useful, if any occasion offered, to the *French* nation (30). An intelligent reader will easily discern, that the first was his pretence, the latter his design. To bring about his pretensions with ease, it was necessary to

acquire proper acquaintance; and this led him to contract a great intimacy with *Jesuf Aga*, musellim of *Basara*, from whom he learnt the proper method of applying for an establishment; which, upon the coming of the *French* consul, he practised with such dexterity, as to procure the decisive order for his reception, and for allowing him to display the *French* flag in the same bag, with the answer of *Achmet* bashaw of *Bagdat* to his application; which he ascribes intirely to the goodness of that great man, upon which he must have had a pretty strong reliance, since he treated this whole affair without the least participation of his friend the musellim. One need not wonder that *Jesuf Aga* was equally surprized and displeased at such a proceeding; neither did he take any pains to conceal it. The *French* agent, however, was so assiduous, and so submissive, in his future application, that, in a short time, he recovered the honest musellim's good graces, drank coffee with him every afternoon, and drew from him many useful pieces of intelligence (31).

(30) Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii. p. 79. Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par M. Otter, tom. ii. p. 85.

(31) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 711, 712.

a concert, are generally sure to get the better; whereas want of union becomes prejudicial to them all in their turns; and yet, through national prejudices, incompatibility of interests, or personal jealousies, this so rational and necessary harmony is very rarely of any long continuance^a (E).

It is now about fourscore years since the *French* established themselves first at *Surat*, where they have only a lodge, or factory, in the same manner as the *English* and *Dutch*, for which they pay an annual rent to the *Mogul*; but it is very strong notwithstanding, and so well provided with every thing for its defence, as to be in no danger of being easily surprised. Whatever methods they took, certain it is, that the *French* for many years were highly considered by the great monarch of the *Indies*; but upon the declension of their affairs, and through the great debts they contracted with the *Indian* merchants, this was, in a great measure, lost; and, a little before the establishment of the perpetual company of the *Indies*, they were fallen so low, as to be in danger of having their lodge seized, and those who were in the company's service imprisoned, for the debts they had contracted¹. This score, however, has been gradually wiped off, and the *French* have recovered their credit again, not only with the merchants, but with the ministers and generals of the *Mogul*, with whom they have commonly a closer understanding than any other *European* nations, for reasons with which we shall acquaint the reader hereafter. Their trade, however, is nothing near so considerable in this city as that of the *English* and the *Dutch*; because, as they have not so many settlements in distant parts of the *Indies*, they cannot have that variety of commodities which is necessary to drive a great traffick, that is, and has been ever since the *Portuguese* lost their power, the principal magazine of all oriental riches, as well as the commodities and manufactures of *Europe*, which are circulated from thence through the whole extent of the *Mogul's* dominions². But, if no new revolutions happen in their affairs, there is little reason to doubt, that they will continue to mend here as well as in other places; so that, in time, they will have a share in that, as well as other branches of commerce. At present they send no ships from hence directly, as in the time of the former *East India* company, who, as the reader has already seen, transferred their chief residence thither from *Madagascar*; which was one of the first false steps they made, and which has been since repaired, by transferring it to *Pondicherry*, from whence, and from their settlements in the bay of *Bengal*, all their returns are now regularly made; and it is from the first of these places that a correspondence is established with *Surat*, in which several ships are employed yearly³ (F).

Upon the coast of *Malabar*, the *French* first settled a factory at *Mirzeon*, which lies about eighteen leagues south of *Goa*, between the kingdoms of *Visapour* and *Canara*, so that to which of the two it properly belongs is doubtful. They afterwards removed to *Rajapour*, the coast of

^a HAMILTON'S account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 81.
p. 43—46.

² Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 765, 766.

¹ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii.

³ Histoire des Indes Orientales,

(E) The prosperity of every *European* nation in the *Indies* must always depend, in a great measure, upon the capacities of such as have the direction of their several establishments, and in no particular more than this of concerting, when occasion requires, the proper measures to be taken with the other *Europeans*. At the very time that Mr. Otter was here, the inhabitants of *Basara* were so much alarmed by the revolt of the *Arabs*, that some of the richest merchants withdrew, with their effects; and, upon this, all the *Europeans* thought it high time to take some step for their own preservation, and acted therein very wisely. There was an *English* ship in the road, on board of which they all agreed to send their effects; but as it was necessary to obtain leave for this from the musellim, Mr. Otter was deputed from all the three nations to desire it; but the musellim, who by the way was not that gentleman's old friend, but a new officer, peremptorily refused, from an apprehension that it would intimidate the inhabitants, and so produce a greater mischief immediately, than that which was apprehended (32). Upon this they changed their measures, and resolved to take a guard of janizaries into each of their factories, and to act in concert, in case they were attacked. But the storm blew over, and consequently it cannot be known how far this resolution would have availed them.

(F) It will be proper to insert in this plate, an obser-

vation that may deserve the judicious reader's notice, and which perhaps merits his serious consideration. The true reason of that terrible embarrassment into which the *French East India* company's affairs fell at *Surat*, was the very high interest accumulated on their debts, which raised them to immense sums in the space of a few years. The great difficulty is to account for this high interest, in a country where there is as much ready money, if not more, than in any with which we are acquainted; since it has been known, that some of the *Baniyan* merchants have acquired larger estates than ever were heard of in *Europe*. Yet on the best security, nine per cent. is the usual interest. We commonly apprehend, that, in proportion to the plenty of specie, the rate of interest decreases, and that high interest is a proof of a country's being poor. Here it is directly the reverse; for immense sums of ready money are to be had, the circulation is continually brisk, and yet interest continues high (33). To solve this knotty problem, we can only suggest, that they have a very extensive and lucrative commerce; and as the profits arising from thence are much superior to any thing that can ever be acquired by trade in *Europe*, those who borrow are enabled to give, and those who are in a condition to lend have a right to expect, better interest. However, without doubt, this is a matter capable of furnishing much speculation.

(32) Voyage en Turquie & en Perse, tom. ii. p. 149.
of the East Indies.

(33) Frier, Lockyer, and Hamilton, in their accounts

Malabar, and
their share in
the pepper
trade.

which has been considered as a wrong step, of which the *Dutch* took advantage, and drew the pepper trade in that neighbourhood to themselves^a. They had also some other factories upon the same coast, and have still a considerable trade there; but the memoirs we have of the company of the *Indies* do not furnish us with light sufficient to be so precise in this matter as we could wish. All we can affirm with certainty is, that a large quantity of pepper is a constant article in their sales; which is a proof sufficient of their being in possession of a considerable commerce upon this coast, though, for the reason before-mentioned, we cannot enter into the particulars^b. We will therefore pass on to the coast of *Coromandel*, upon which the *French* have the only considerable places of which they stand possessed in the *Indies*, and which have been very much augmented, since their affairs have been under the management of the new company, and thereby so intimately connected with the government, as to be always considered as under the direction of the ministry.

The district of
Karical on the
coast of Co-
romandel, pos-
sessed by them
in sovereignty.

THE first of these is *Karical*, situated in ten degrees thirty-five minutes of north latitude, and in the longitude of seventy-eight degrees from the meridian of *Paris*, lying four leagues north from the *Dutch* settlement at *Negapatan*, two leagues south from the *Danish* settlement at *Tranquebar*, and twenty-five leagues south from *Pondicherry*^c. This territory, which they possess in full sovereignty, consists of the town before-mentioned, which stands upon the river *Calran*, which, however, is not navigable but for very small vessels; the fortress of *Karcangery*, at the mouth of the river; upon the sea-coast nine or ten villages; and a tract of country fifteen or sixteen miles in extent, very fertile in rice, and producing also cotton and indigo, inhabited by ten or twelve thousand people, who subsist themselves by making piece-goods of several kinds, and from whom the *French* draw a yearly rent of ten thousand pagodas, which is about four thousand five hundred pounds sterling^d. The *French* writers boast, and it may be with truth, that none of the *European* nations settled upon the coast are in possession of so large a tract of country; and therefore the reader may reasonably expect, that we should acquaint him how it came into their hands, and this we shall do in the most concise manner possible (G).

Upon the depo-
sition of the
king of Tan-
jour, he re-
sires to Pondi-
cherry, and
demands suc-
cours from the
French.

THE kingdom of *Tanjour* comprehends the south-east part of the extremity of the peninsula without the *Ganges*; and the monarch of this country dying in 1738, left his dominions to his nephew *Sabagy*, who was soon dispossessed of them by a natural son of his predecessor; upon which he fled to the *French* for refuge, and was kindly received by the *Sieur Damas*, who was at that time governor of *Pondicherry*. In order to obtain succours for the recovery of his kingdom, he made a voluntary cession to the *French* of the territory before-mentioned, in the month of *July* the same year, and two of the company's ships were sent to take possession of the places yielded to them, and to furnish the king's subjects, who should take up arms for him, with the succours that had been promised him. In the mean time, *Sabagy* understanding that those who had set his competitor upon the throne, began to be dissatisfied with him, made them secretly such offers, as induced them to seize him, and proclaim their old master; who returned to *Tanjour*, and was received with universal acclamations; and having got the usurper into his hands, ordered him to be immediately cut into four quarters^e.

Who, in vir-
tue of his con-
cession, become
possessed of this
district, which
he afterwards
confirms.

THE next thing he did, was to send a detachment of between four and five thousand men, to prevent the *French* from getting possession of the places he had given them; upon which the two ships were obliged to return back to *Pondicherry*. *Sabagy*, however, pretended, that, at a convenient time, he would fulfil his treaty, but that, being engaged in a war with the nabob *Sander Sabeb*, the *Mogul's* general in the adjacent provinces, it was not convenient for him to do

^a Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 780.
p. 380—383, 384.

^c Memoire particulier sur l'acquisition de Karical.

^d Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii.

^e Histoire des Indes Ori-

^f Memoire particulier sur l'acquisition de Karical.

(G) The situation, or even the name, of the town of *Karical*, seldom occurs in any of the common maps of *India*, which makes it necessary to speak of it more particularly. At the time the *French* became possessed of it, there were in it six hundred thirty-eight houses of stone and brick, exclusive of meaner structures, comprehending also five mosques, five large pagods, nine of a lesser size, and upwards of five thousand inhabitants. It stands upon a large navigable stream, which will admit *Indian* vessels of two hundred tons burden and upwards. In some maps this is styled the *River of Karical*, but in the best, it is made no more than a branch of the *Coloran*, or *Calran*. The fortress of *Karcangery* is seated above half a mile from the sea, and is about a

cannon-shot distant from the town before-mentioned. It was formerly defended by eight large towers, but a great part is demolished by its new masters. *Triumale Rayen Patnam*, after the capital, is the largest and most considerable place in the whole district. It lies to the south of *Karical*, at the distance of about a league, and a very small space from the sea. It is composed of about five hundred brick houses, four mosques, four great pagods, twenty-eight smaller, and twenty-five places of accommodation for travellers (34). As to the hamlets and villages mentioned in the text, there is no necessity that we should enter into any farther particulars about them.

- a it then. *Sander Sabeb* having notice of this, and having received great civilities from the *Sieur Dumas*, offered him his assistance; which being readily accepted, he sent a body of troops upon the coast, who made themselves masters of the fortrefs by storm, and put it into the hands of the *French*, February the 14th, 1739^{*}. The king of *Tanjour* was no sooner informed of this, than he sent an agent of his to the *Sieur Dumas*, to acquaint him, that he need not have had recourse to this method, and to throw the blame of what was past upon the *Dutch*. The better to prove the reality of his professions, he sent by the same person two instruments, dated April the 20th, 1739, one of which contained a ratification of his former treaty, and the other an order to the inhabitants of the district he had yielded up, to acknowledge and obey the *French* for the future as their sovereigns[†]. In a very short time after this,
- b followed a new revolution; for the uncles of *Sabagy*, disliking his conduct, deposed, and caused him to be strangled in a bath of warm milk, and set upon the throne one of his cousins, whose name was *Raja Singue*. This new prince, not knowing how soon he might have occasion for their assistance, not only ratified his predecessor's treaty with the *French*, but also added some farther concessions, advised the *Sieur Dumas* to fortify the places he had given him, and had an interview with him there, in the beginning of the year 1741; ever since which, the *French* have continued in quiet and peaceable possession[‡].

- THE next settlement on the coast of *Coromandel* is that of *Pondicherry*, which having already described, we shall here add only some particulars that have happened since the erecting of the company of the *Indies*. In the year 1736, which was the second year the *Sieur Dumas* had possessed the government, he obtained from the *Mogul*, *Mahomet Shâh*, the same who was deposed by *Kouli Khân*, the privilege of coining money, that is, of striking rupees, with the stile of that monarch on one side, and the name of the place on the other[§]. The rupee is a coin of the value of forty-eight *French* pence, which make between two and three shillings of our money. Of these the governor coined five or six millions every year; and, as these were of the *Mogul's* standard, the company gained by that means about four hundred thousand livres annually, by the coinage; which was a very considerable article, and shews with how great address the *French* act, in procuring funds for the support of their establishments, in the very country where they are made, and at the expence of those amongst whom they inhabit^{||}. But it was not long before the same governor procured still higher marks of distinction, and far greater advantages for his successors in that government, and for the *French* nation, by his prudent management in a war that threatened destruction to all the provinces adjacent, and of which, so far as it is connected with the business of this chapter, we shall give a succinct relation (H).

History of Pondicherry continued, with the detail of favours granted by the Great Mogul.

^{*} *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 267, 268, 269.

[†] *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 271.

[‡] *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 257.

[§] *Memoire particulier sur l'acquisition de*

Archives de la compagnie des Indes,

(H) This article of coinage, as a matter of great consequence, deserves a more particular explanation. They coin at *Pondicherry* both gold and silver, and of all the denominations current in the dominions of the *Great Mogul* (35). Of these, the *pagoda* is of gold, and of an odd figure, resembling a button, with some grains on the flat part, and the form of an idol on the convex surface, from whence it receives its name; in weight they are 2 dwt. 4 gr. 27½ mt. and the gold so fine, that they are generally esteemed worth nine shillings of our money. The *roupie*, as the *French* write it, *roupes*, or *rupes*, as it is spelt in our authors, is a silver coin, something broader than one of our shillings, and much thicker; in point of fineness, it is better than the *English* standard; for its weight is 7 dwt. 11 gr. which, reduced to our standard, would be 7 dwt. 22 gr. 13 mt. ½. Three hundred twenty-six rupees are equal to one hundred *pagoda's*, both being of proper fineness and weight (36). *Fanous*, or, as our authors style them, *fanham's*, are small pieces of silver, which, the *French* writers say, are accounted

twenty-four to the *pagoda*, and seven and a half to the rupee; according to our writers, there are six-and-thirty to the *pagoda*, and sometimes more. *Cash* is a kind of copper coin, of which there go about fourscore to a *fanham*; but, in keeping accounts, they make use of imaginary cash, that are supposed to be sixty to the *fanham*, to prevent confusion (37). Our own nation at *Fort St. George* had the like privilege, and gained the same advantages, the coin being of the same fineness, and bearing the same inscriptions; viz. on one side of the rupee, *such a year of the glorious reign of Mohammed Shâh*; and on the other, *this rupee was coined at Arcatte*, both establishments being under the jurisdiction of the nabob of that province; but, for the sake of distinction, there is a half-moon on that of *Pondicherry*, and a star on the *Madras* rupees (38). The profit of the *English* coinage was computed at an half per cent. for gold, and two per cent for silver, and was thought to produce about one thousand *pagoda's* a month (39).

(35) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 256, 257.

(36) *Lockyer's account of the trade in India*, p. 7.

(37) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 260, 261.

(38) *Lockyer's account of the trade in India*, p. 7.

(39) *Lockyer's account of the trade in India*, p. 29.

S E C T. X.

The history of the rise of the Indian war; the conduct of Mr. Dupleix in that respect; the measures made use of by him to avail himself of these disputes; favours procured from the Mogul; and the solemn installation of Dupleix, as a Nabob, at Ougli. With other particulars necessary to set the French Indian scheme of policy in its proper light.

Rise of the war in the Indies, which has produced extraordinary consequences in respect to this company.

AT the time that *Kouli Khán* dethroned the *Great Mogul*, and made him prisoner in his own capital, the viceroys of that unfortunate monarch, though they would not draw a sword, or stir a step, in his favour, were strong enough to think of conquering countries from the *Indian* princes, with intent to erect them into principalities for themselves and their children. *Dauud Aly Khán*, nabob of *Arcatte*, a province upon which both the *French* settlements at *Pondicherry* and the *English* at *Madras* depend, was of the number of these ambitious viceroys; and, in order to carry his designs into execution, he assembled an army of between fifty and sixty thousand men, with which he reduced several *Indian* princes, and pushed his conquests to the other side of the peninsula, with a view of reducing several districts on the coast of *Malabar* *. The *Indian* princes, in this distress, applied themselves for assistance to the king of the *Marattes*, a potent, numerous, and warlike nation, inhabiting the country to the south-east of the mountains behind *Goa*, upon the coast of *Malabar*. That king, who was persuaded by his priests to consider this as a religious war made by the *Mahometans*, with an intent to extirpate the Gentiles, ordered his son to march with an army of sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, to the relief of the distressed princes of his own religion. This happened in the month of *October* 1739; and that young hero, before the close of the year, attacked and defeated the nabob's army, himself being killed on the spot. His son, and son-in-law, to make princes of whom this fatal expedition was undertaken, were at a distance, each at the head of a small army, and his widow, with the rest of his family and all his riches, were obliged to take refuge at *Pondicherry*, and to demand the protection of the *Sieur Dumas*, who, with the advice of his council, received her, and all her retinue, into that place, to which also multitudes of people repaired from all the adjacent countries †.

THE prince of the *Marattes* did not fail to demand them, all that they had, and a vast sum of money besides, from the governor of *Pondicherry*, which place he threatened to besiege; and, though the *French* highly magnify his courage, in presuming to defend himself against such a force, yet if we consider that he was in a place regularly fortified, well supplied with provisions, with a garrison of between six and seven thousand men, and between four or five hundred pieces of cannon mounted, we cannot conceive that he was in any great danger of being distressed. The *Marattes* continued in the field all the year 1740, and till the month of *April* 1741; and, having plundered every place within their reach, and tried, without success, what menaces would do with the governor of *Pondicherry*, they at last accepted a small present and retired; and thus ended this war, which strongly recommended the *French* to the favour of the *Mogul* and his ministers, who thought they could never do enough to express their esteem for the *Sieur Dumas*, and their kindness for the nation ‡ (I).

In the first place, *Nizam El Mouk*, prime minister to the *Mogul*, wrote the *Sieur Dumas* a very respectful letter of thanks, with an ample acknowledgement of his services, and sent him also a vest of honour, which is the usual present upon such occasions. Afterwards *Pabder Aly Khán*, son of the deceased nabob, came in person to *Pondicherry*, as well to thank the governor as to comfort his mother. The *Sieur Dumas* received him with all possible marks

* Archives de la compagnie des Indes, n. 161. c. 83. l. 1. f. 3. avec un memoire particulier.

† Histoire

des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 281, 282, 283.

‡ Archives de la compagnie des Indes, num. 114. c. 88.

(I) The facts related in the text are taken indeed on the authority of the *French*, and differ very considerably from those accounts which have been transmitted to *England* directly from the *Indies*. It is therefore equally just and reasonable that we should acquaint the reader with the motives upon which this preference is founded, and these are chiefly three. The first is, that the *French* accounts are uniform, perspicuous and consistent, which make them more likely to be true. In the next place, the original papers, such as letters, grants, and patents,

are actually deposited amongst the archives of the *French* company of the *Indies*. Lastly, certain notorious matters of fact, about which there neither is nor can be any dispute, correspond very well with the *French* accounts, whereas they do not at all agree with others. On the whole, therefore, though there may be some marks of vanity and exaggeration, yet the truth seems to be evidently on this side, and our business is to keep to that, on which side soever it lies.

- a of honour, and offered him very considerable presents, as is the mode in the *East*, of which he received only a pair of gilt vessels for holding rose-water, and in return sent the governor a very fine elephant with rich trappings. Some time after this visit, as a more significant mark of the sense he had of the respect paid to his family in the time of their distress, he made a cession to the *Sieur Dumas* personally of three districts in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, of the value in the whole of above one thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; a year after he sent the *Sieur Dumas* all the armour of the deceased nabob his father, richly adorned with gold and precious stones^a. The *Mogul*, having been informed of the cession made by the nabob, in favour of the *French* governor, was so far from being displeased thereat, that he confirmed it by his letters patents, and at the same time declared the *Sieur Dumas* himself a nabob, and in that quality gave him the command of four thousand five hundred horse. As all these testimonies of kindness were personal, the governor exerted all his interest to procure them to be transferred to his office, that so they might pass to his successor, which he obtained, and in the month of *October* 1741, upon the arrival of his successor *Mr. Dupleix*, as soon as he had put him in possession of the *French* town and fortress, he declared him likewise the *Mogul's* nabob, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the body of four thousand five hundred horse, of which he was to have the command, so that he was as much established in the rights of his *Indian* as his *French* post^b (K).
- b
- c SOME short time after *Mr. Dupleix* had assumed the government, he went to *Bengal* in order to be received there, pursuant to the orders of the *Mogul*, with the honours due to his dignity, and, having put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to him, as nabob, he made his public entry, preceded by several flags displayed, together with kettle-drums of an enormous size, trumpets, hautboys, and other martial music, the *Mogul's* standard and kettle-drums being carried each upon an elephant. When the ceremony was over, he went to pay the *salami*, or salute of respect, to the governor of *Ougli*, which the governor declined, *Mr. Dupleix's* post in the *Mogul's* service being of a rank much superior to his^c. As persons of this dignity have their standards, flags, and music, posted at certain hours before the place of their residence, so *Mr. Dupleix* gave orders for erecting such a one at the gate of *Valdaour*, which is the principal entrance into *Pondicherry*. It is scarcely to be conceived how many and how great advantages attended this connection which the *French* governors of *Pondicherry* have with the court of the *Mogul*; which are altogether extraordinary, nothing of the like nature having of late been bestowed upon the *Europeans*, and of which there is no

doctan, and
his ministers
and generals.

governor of
Pondicherry,
installed at
Ougli one of
the Mogul's
nabobs.

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 348, 349, 350.
des Indes Cote, C. & D.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 306.

^b Archives de la compagnie

(K) These are in themselves very extraordinary and very important facts; facts that are of the utmost consequence to be well known here, notwithstanding which, they are facts with which the generality of the world are but very little acquainted. We might cite, in support of them, the letters, paravanas, and phirmaunds, mentioned in the text, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of the company of the *Indies*; but these would take up too much room. We will therefore, for the reader's satisfaction, give him an authentic abridgment of their contents under the great seal of *France*, being the preamble of the letters patents of the *French* king, dated September 4th, 1742, which runs thus (40). "The king having resolved to honour, with the cross of St. Michael, his dear and well beloved *Sieur Benedict Dumas*, formerly governor in the *East Indies* and of *Pondicherry*, and at present director of the company of the *Indies*, declares, that it is in consideration of his having for the space of thirty years given continual and distinguished marks of his zeal for the service of his majesty, and for extending the commerce of this kingdom. Having taken his passage to the *Indies* in 1713, in the service of the company, being then no more than seventeen years of age, he was promoted to the rank of counsellor in the supreme council of *Pondicherry*, June 23d, 1718, and appointed attorney-general in the month of June 1721. Being named to a general government of the *Indies*, he had the post assigned him of director-general of the company in the *Indies*, in the *Isle of France*, and of *Bourbon*; was afterwards made president of the superior council, and then governor of those islands. In 1735 he was declared governor of the town and fortress of *Pondicherry*, and commandant-general of all the *French* forts and

establishments situated in the *East Indies*. In 1737 he obtained from the *Mogul* permission to coin rupees at *Pondicherry*, from which the company receives an annual profit of four hundred thousand livres, which important services determined his majesty to enoble him in 1737, and to associate him into the order of St. Michael. His subsequent conduct fully justified the recompences bestowed upon him, since he obtained in free gift from the king of *Tanjour*, in 1739, the fort of *Karcangery* and town of *Karical*, with their dependencies, at present let to farm for one hundred thousand livres *per annum*. In 1740, the *Marattes* having attacked and defeated the army of the *Moors*, and having killed the viceroy of *Carnate*, the *Sieur Dumas* found himself under a necessity of giving a retreat to the family of that viceroy, and the remains of his army, in *Pondicherry*. The *Marattes* upon this, having made the dispositions necessary for besieging that fortress, the governor, by a negotiation, which did honour to the *French* nation, not only dissuaded them from that design, but determined them to send an ambassador with presents to demand the friendship of the *French*. It was in acknowledgement of all these services that the *Mogul* emperor *Mohammed Shah*, honoured to perpetuity the governor of *Pondicherry* with a patent of *Mansupdar*, or commandant of five thousand horse, and confirmed the donation which the viceroy of *Arcatte* had made to the *Sieur Dumas* of lands to the value of twenty-five thousand livres *per annum*, contiguous to the possessions of the company at *Pondicherry*. In consequence of the recited premises, his majesty commands the marshal duke de *Duras*," &c.

(40) Extraite de lettres patents du roi du 4 Septembre 1742, qui confirment le noblissement du *Sieur Dumas*.

doubt they will make all possible advantages, as well by extending their territory, already become very considerable, as by procuring such grants and concessions as may be useful to their commerce^d. It appears to be a great testimony of public spirit that these governors are so careful to procure these new honours to be attached to their office rather than to their persons; but a little reflexion will shew us that they are also marks of prudence, for it is only there that they can enjoy these honours, but the rewards for procuring them must be found at home; and, to render these considerable, a wiser step could not be taken than to render those perpetual; so that, in reality, it is not a sacrifice of interest, but of vanity, which will cost a man of good sense and experience, as their actions shew these governors to have been, little or nothing (L).

The fortress of Pondicherry besieged without effect, by the English fleet and army.

It was this *Sieur Dupleix* who defended *Pondicherry* against admiral *Boscawen*, of which, as the *English* were the aggressors, an account is already given in its proper place; we shall add therefore only a very few particulars: The governor had an early account of the design, which gave him an opportunity of raising and strengthening the fort of *Ariacoupan*, as well as forming lines and redoubts, which kept danger at a distance till the *English* regular troops were fatigued, the sailors discouraged, and their country auxiliaries totally dispirited. He had, as we have observed before, a timely supply from the islands, of men, money, and ammunition, by which his garrison was augmented to two thousand *Europeans*, besides three thousand of the natives well armed, thoroughly disciplined; and who, as the relation published by Mr. *Dupleix* acknowledges, did very great service^e. These circumstances, together with the inexpressible advantage he had in point of artillery well conducted and well served, and the *English* fleet not being able to come near enough to cannonade the place with any great effect, makes his success in the defence not at all surprising. But at the same time this does not at all lessen either the merit of his service, which was very conspicuous, as well in the prudent dispositions he made during the siege, as in the proper precautions taken before it, or diminish the credit that must have resulted from defeating a design, which, if it had been carried into execution, would have given such a blow to the company of the *Indies* as could not have been hastily repaired, in which a very considerable force was employed, and the expectations from which, in *Europe*, were very great, and the disappointment consequently none of the least^f (M). As we have deduced the history of this place as low as the nature of this work requires, we shall now proceed to the few *French* settlements that still require our attention.

^d Archives de la compagnie des Indes, Cotte D. published by authority in the London Gazette.

^e *Mercure François*.

^f See the relation pub-

(L) In the empire of *Indostan* they have not, strictly speaking, any hereditary honours, though sometimes, and more especially of late years, persons in great offices find means to establish them in their families. The general title in the *Mogul's* service, which still affects a military form, though the spirit is much declined, is *Manfoupdar*, (so it ought to be written) which signifies a commandant of horse; and those who are honoured with it are called *Omrabs*, the common stile of the nobility in the court of the *Mogul* (41). But there is a wide difference between the *Omrabs*, arising from their *Manfoupdars*. In the language of this country, a corps of one thousand horse is called *Azary*, and the *Manfoupdar* consists of any number of *Azarys* from two to six. There are indeed *Manfoupdars* of ten *Azarys*, but these are never given but to princes of the blood (42). The *Manfoupdar* annexed to the government of *Pondicherry* is of four *Azarys* and a half, and the sum assigned for their subsistence being considerably more than is necessary for that purpose, the *Omrab* puts the rest into his pocket; the kettle-drums and trumpets belong to this military honour (43). The title of *Nabob* respects the civil administration, and is equivalent to that of governor, or viceroy of a province; to this dignity belong the elephants, and other ensigns of authority which have been mentioned in the text.

(M) In another part of this work some remarks are

made upon the conduct of this gentleman, which shew, that he was not altogether without his failings; that the force by which he baffled the *English* troops and seamen of *Pondicherry*, was derived to him from the islands of *France* and *Bourbon*, under the command of Monsieur de *la Bourdennaye*, and that his attachment to the interest of the *Mogul* carried him to certain lengths, which might very probably be disliked at home (44). But as to the point before us, which is the defence of *Pondicherry*, there is no doubt that this was very well managed, and contributed not a little to keep up that high reputation, which, by a series of fortunate incidents, his nation had raised in the *Indies*, and to which he has added very considerably since (45). Yet for all this, we may discover through different parts of his conduct, and of the animadversions that have been made upon it, how very possible it is that this connexion, or rather conjunction, may turn to the prejudice of the company of the *Indies*, if not very skilfully and cautiously managed. It is there as it is in *Europe*, Force is frequently stiled *Right*, and it depends rather on the sagacity of the head than the uprightness of the heart, whether a stranger who draws his sword in the civil wars amongst the *Moors*, shall escape the punishment of rebellion; a crime always imputed to the unfortunate, though perhaps their conscience taught them they were fighting against it (46).

(41) *Tavernier, Bernier, and Frazer's excellent account of the expedition of Kouli Khân. Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 433, 434.*

(43) *Tavernier, Bernier, Frazer.*

(45) *Gazette de Paris du 24 Octobre, 1750.*

(42) *Histoire des*

(44) *Mémoire de la Bour-*

(46) *Mémoire de Monsieur de la*

S E C T. XI.

Account of the remaining part of the French commerce in the East Indies; their intercourse with China; the plan of their domestic management; a view of the grand establishment of Port L'Orient; the amazing assistances given them by the ministers, in completing and maintaining that establishment; and the conclusion of this subject.

^a **T**HE famous city or town of *Masulipatan*, situated on the mouth of the river *Chrisna*, and which by its commodious port has attracted all the *European* nations to settle factories therein, belonged formerly to the king of *Golconda*, as has been before-mentioned, but is at present in the hands of the *Mogul*. We have said so much already of this celebrated mart, justly reputed the most considerable upon the coast of *Coromandel*, that we shall confine ourselves here solely to what regards the *French* nation. Their trade flourished exceedingly when first settled, but was disturbed by Mr. *de la Hay's* expedition, and his seizing the city of *St. Thomas*, which produced a war with the king of *Golconda*, by whom it was at last retaken, by the assistance of the *Dutch*^g. Their friendship on this occasion gave them a vast ascendancy in trade, and the *French* made afterwards but a small figure till within these few years. But the company is in good credit there at present, and has her share in the great dealings that are carried on in almost all the commodities and manufactures of the *Indies*; and particularly in the fine cottons, which are so much and so justly esteemed preferable to all others. It is from hence the *Jesuits* are suspected to find their way to the diamond-mines, of which there are many extraordinary stories told, which however deserve more authentic support than they have hitherto received before they meet with entire credit^h (N). Some of the *French* relations speak of the heat here as most intolerable, and equal to what is felt at *Gambron*, and add, that the overflowing of the rivers in the rainy season rendered travelling impracticable, their residence there very uncomfortable, and the climate very unwholesome; but, at the same time they ought to add, that to these annual inundations the country of *Golconda* derives a fertility equal to that which *Egypt* receives from the same causeⁱ.

^b **O**UGLI, on the west bank of the *Ganges*, at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, is the great mart of the bay of *Bengal*, and we may from hence form some idea of the vast advantages which the dominions of the *Mogul* receive from the *European* commerce; since this port belongs also to that monarch, as well as *Surat*, which is almost at the other end of the *Indies*. The *French* have a very flourishing factory here, under the inspection of a director-general, and other officers, as at *Pondicherry*; receive, generally speaking, the same number of ships from *Europe*, and make the like returns thither^k. It is from hence that they drive a trade with *Siam*, *Cambodia*, *Cochin-China*, and other countries situated in the peninsula with-
^d out the *Ganges*, which is, properly speaking, the country-trade. All sorts of rich commodities and valuable manufactures are common here, and thereby afford them an opportunity of making proper assortments for the cargoes of their homeward-bound ships. The diamond-mines of *Soumelpour* are seated in the northern part of this kingdom, and are of a very different kind from those of *Golconda*, for they are dug out of the earth; whereas here they are found in the sand of the river *Goual*, and that through its whole course from the mountains

^g Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 121.
des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 121.

^h Miscellanea Curiosa, tom. iii. p. 238.

ⁱ Histoire

^k Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 798.

(N) There is, generally speaking, such an air of prejudice, and at the same time the facts are so strange that the enemies of these reverend fathers relate, as to give a candid and impartial reader sufficient reason to doubt whether he shall yield belief to all, or even to a great part of what they say. But, notwithstanding this, there are some facts that come attended with unanswerable evidence; such as the seizing of the *Jesuits* at the diamond-mines, in the habits of *Faquirs*, by the information of the *Dutch*, almost one hundred years ago; which is a fact publicly known (47), and must, if their design had been absolutely free from blame, have cured

them of this strange humour of quitting their own to wear the habits of heathen priests, under the colour of facilitating conversions, with which they were then infected, and to which they have ever since, in spite of all the scandal with which it was attended, pertinaciously adhered. A modern writer, an ecclesiastic of their own church, charged them with something worse than this, with respect to a rich *Indian* broker, whom they persecuted to an ignominious death upon false informations, as appeared by the *French* court's causing his relations to be ennobled, who were at the trouble to go and seek justice as far as *Verfailles* (48).

(47) *Basnage annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 624.
Malabar, par P. Norbert, vol. ii. p. 352.

(48) *Memoires Historiques sur les missions des*

down to *Soume!pour*, that is, for fifty leagues together ¹. The proper season for searching for them is in the month of *February*, when the waters are low; and, at that time, above ten thousand people are employed in digging and washing the mud and sand taken out of the river. The stones found here are very fine, but very small; and those which the *French* stile *pointes naïes*, or *clean sparks*, are brought from thence. It is judged from these circumstances, that there are very rich mines in the mountains, but they are inaccessible, and therefore both the natives and *Europeans* are forced to content themselves with these pieces that are torn off by the torrents, and are brought down with the land floods. The company of the *Indies* have also a factory at *Pepeli*, and perhaps some other small ones under the direction of that at *Ougli*, where they have likewise an opportunity of dealing with merchants from all parts of *Asia*; such as *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Guzurats*, *Malabarians*, *Turks*, *Moors*, *Jews*, *Georgians*, and *Armenians*; so that it is here they dispose of the greatest part of their *European* goods and manufactures, and at a better rate than in other parts of the *Indies* ^m (O).

The French
send annually
ships to China;
the nature of
that commerce,
and their ac-
counts of it.

THE *French* company of the *Indies* send their ships regularly to *China*, in the same manner as the rest of the *European* nations, and carry on a considerable commerce there. Their cargoes consist partly of commodities, but chiefly of silver; the former seldom amounting in value to above a tenth part of the latter ⁿ. As to the merchandize, it consists of arms, such as fusils, pistols, scymitars richly mounted, clocks, repeating watches, and toys in gold and silver; camblets of several colours, but chiefly blue, scarlet, and cinnamon, stuffs of several kinds; tapestry, paper and pens, mathematical instruments, and a great quantity of glass and crystal wares; as also several sorts of distilled and perfumed waters, and red coral ^o. With the first ships, the company sent an agent, with an intention that he should have resided at *Canton*, for which, with little difficulty, they obtained a permission; but he found himself so uneasy there, and plagued with so many demands, that he was obliged to send away the home-bound ship without leave, and to take shelter in a *Chinese* habit in a convent of *Dominicans* ^p. Many *French* vessels have made the run from *Peru* to *China* with success, and have traded, some at the port of *Amoy*, but without much profit; most of them at *Canton* with better fortune ^q. The *French* have been desirous of intriguing in that country, as well as in the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, but hitherto without effect; for the *Chinese* are so subtle and so suspicious, more especially of foreigners, that it is very improbable they will ever be able to make any impression there ^r. All the *Europeans* who have visited that country agree, that, as traders, the *Chinese* are as great cheats as any in the world; but none give them a worse character than the *French*, who represent them as a base, brutal, cowardly, insolent, and perfidious people, notwithstanding the fine stories that they are told by the missionaries, of their wisdom virtue and politeness (P). It does not appear that the *French* have yet attempted any intercourse with the *Manilla's*, and therefore all we have to say of their commerce in the *East* ends here.

BUT,

¹ LULLIER *Voyage aux Grandes Indes*, p. 47.
naire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 839.

^p Recueil de voyages au Nord, tom. viii. p. 273.
BINAIS, tom. i. p. 251.

^m TAVERNIER, LULLIER, GUYON, &c.

ⁿ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. col. 834.

^o *Facture generale des merchandizes envoyes a la Chine*, &c.
^q *Nouveau tour du monde*, par L. G. DE LA BAR-

(O) We need not wonder that here, as well as at *Surat*, the *French* draw to themselves a great trade, since they have a wonderful facility of accommodating themselves to the manners of the *Oriental*s as well as all other nations. In consequence of this disposition, they enter into such intimacies with them, by their suppleness and address, make themselves such favourites, that they obtain earlier intelligence, and are treated with more confidence than other nations, who have a contempt for this manner of acting, and think it injurious to the honour of their countries. But, in extenuation of this, it must be allowed that the *English* and *Dutch* are better established, and, having been much longer in possession of this commerce, carry it on in a more regular manner, and with a greater air of dignity and distinction; so that it is to balance this, as well as to supply some other defects, that the *French* apply themselves so assiduously to the *Moors* and other *Mahometan* traders; and it is visible enough, from the progress they have made of late, that, notwithstanding all the objections to which this method is liable, it is, nevertheless, very successful, as well as reconcileable to those maxims of policy that have been

adopted by the governors and directors general at *Pondicherry* (49).

(P) We have a large account of *China*, its produce and commerce, and of the genius, manners, and behaviour of the natives, in the letters of Mr. *Le Gentil de la Barbinais*, who made a voyage thither from the coasts of *Bretagne* in the year 1716, but did not publish his account of it till eight years after; his dedication to the count de *Morville*, then secretary of state, being dated at *Rome* the 10th of *July*, 1724. In those letters there are abundance of curious things, and the conduct of the *Chinese* is laid open with such an air of freedom and truth, that one cannot help believing the author meant to paint them as they appeared to him, not to deceive others, or to gratify his resentment. He very candidly acknowledges, that the nation in general are patient, frugal, and industrious; that their country is every-where improved to the utmost; the endeavour of nature assisted where it is requisite, and her defects supplied by labour and art: but then he describes them as full of flattery, hypocrisy and deceit; profuse in promises without any view of performing them; accustomed to fraud, and so adroit in

(49) *Tavernier, Carre, Lullier, Guyon, &c.*

- a But, before we conclude this section, it is necessary to say something of that extraordinary establishment, which, from the favour of the crown, and for the use of her proprietors, the perpetual company of the *Indies* enjoy in *France*. The ministry considered that, for the commodious carrying on of this commerce, it would be necessary for the company to have a port for the reception of her ships, docks, yards, magazines, and arsenals for constructing, equipping and repairing them, as well as warehouses for the reception of merchandize; and, to accommodate them as well as possible in all these respects, no place was thought so proper as *Port Louis* in *Bretagne*^s. This is a very spacious, safe, and convenient harbour, at the mouth of the river *Blavet*, capable of receiving large ships, which may safely pass to the bottom of the bay. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, it was very little frequented by vessels of any sort, and hardly ever by any thing better than fishing-vessels; so that, bestowing it upon the *East India* company was no detriment to the trade of the kingdom^t. It was granted by the king's declaration, dated in the month of *June* 1666, purporting that his majesty gave and granted unto the company the village called *Feandick*, and several others seated on the rivers *Henneban* and *Ponscot*, with whatever void, waste, and unoccupied places belonged to the crown thereabouts, to be disposed of in such a manner as they should think most convenient for their intended establishment; and in this they had the full property and seignory, without any rents, service, or restrictions, save only rendering homage upon every change of the crown^u. Here therefore the *East India* company fixed the centre of their commerce in *France*, and spent a great deal of money in making docks and yards, and other conveniences, bestowing upon it the pompous name of *Port L'Orient*; and, in time of war, the king caused several large ships to be built and launched there, without any interruption to the company's affairs, which were then upon the decline^w (Q).

The noble establishment of an arsenal, magazines, &c. at Port L'Orient.

- d But this coming with the rest of the effects and possessions of the *East India* company upon the same terms, and on the like trust, into the hands of the perpetual company of the *Indies*, they have made it quite another thing than it was, and have rendered it in all respects worthy the title given it by their predecessors^x. The park, which is of a considerable extent, incloses their warehouses and magazines, which are prodigiously large, very conveniently disposed, thoroughly well built, strongly vaulted, and covered with blue slate; the apartments of the directors, and other officers of the company, compose all together two handsome piles

All of which are now improved by the company now subsisting.

^s Histoire de la compagnie des Indes, p. 68.

^t Nouvelle description de la France, tom. iv. p. 342.

^u Declaration pour l'établissement de la compagnie des Indes Orientales au Port Louis.

^w Dictionnaire de

commerce, tom. iv. col. 220.

^x Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 151—375.

base practices, and so inexhaustible in their fund of artifices, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prevent being dupes to them in dealing. He particularly observes that, with great dexterity, they / as much as possible, in order to take advantage of that hurry which the near approach of their departure must occasion; and he instances their bringing them a great quantity of raw silk, so moist as to weigh a third part less, on their return for *Europe*, and then offering to stay till it was dry, which would have taken up at least two months, when they could scarce afford so many days (50). He expatiates on the avarice, injustice, and prevarication, conspicuous in their magistrates and the officers of their revenue; and, in short, shews them in much the same light in which they are represented by the most judicious writers of our own nation, and who have written from their own knowledge and experience (51).

(Q) This royal grant of a most capacious and commodious port, was one of the earliest, and none of the least considerable favours obtained for the company from the crown by the interposition of Mr. *Colbert*, who foresaw the advantages that might result from it (52), and to whose sagacity all the improvements that have been hitherto made, or that shall be hereafter made, ought in justice to be ascribed. If we consider it only in the relation it bears to the nature and design of this commercial establishment, we must allow it to be an advantage which the *French* company of the *Indies* enjoy beyond that of any other company in *Europe*; and though as yet the importance of it has not appeared in its full extent, yet in proportion as the company's affairs advance, we may be

well assured that the benefits arising from this convenient and magnificent centre of their trade, will become more and more conspicuous. If we look into it more strictly, we cannot help seeing that it is of vast utility to the company in keeping all her concerns immediately under the eye of proper officers in one place, where they may assist each other in cases of emergency, and where such measures may be taken for preventing frauds and embezzlements, as must contribute to their security in a high degree. It likewise prevents those continual difficulties and disputes which would otherwise arise between the company and the king's officers or farmers general, in respect to duties, and to the distribution of *East India* commodities through the kingdom, and which, from the credit these kind of people usually have with the ministers, must turn to the company's prejudice. Lastly, if we reflect upon it as a national point, it is of no less consequence, since it affords both strangers and subjects an opportunity of seeing and contemplating this branch of commerce, raises the credit of it, and, by attracting inhabitants to the towns in the neighbourhood, as well as a great concourse of people upon certain occasions, and producing a brisk and regular circulation of money, it is of great service to this part of *Brittany*, where the port being most unaccountably neglected, the people throughout the adjacent country were in a very low and indigent condition; whereas, in 1746, the town of *L'Orient* is said to have offered fifty thousand pounds sterling to prevent being burnt and pillaged by the *English* at the time of their making a descent upon this coast (53).

(50) *Nouveau tour du monde*, par L. G. de la Barbe, tom. ii. p. 297.

Walter's account of commodore Anson's voyage.

(51) *Dampier, Lockyer,*

Orientales au Port Louis.

(52) Declaration par l'établissement de la compagnie des Indes

(53) From a manuscript history of that expedition by a person who served therein.

of building, and are very commodious; they have likewise a spacious rope-walk, a magazine of masts, and a fine arsenal. Before the magazines lie the quays, which are always kept clean and in good repair: close to them the vessels are moored, so as to take in or deliver their lading with all imaginable facility; and the town, port, docks, yards, and all their dependencies are covered and protected by a good citadel ^y. The company of the *Indies*, at the breaking out of the last war, had upwards of forty very fine ships of their own; and, according to their present establishment, they send ten or twelve every year to the *Indies*, that is, two to *China*, three to the gulph of *Bengal*, three or four to *Pondicherry*, one or two to the islands ^z. Thus the reader has seen, in as narrow a compass as it was possible to bring so great a quantity, and that too of such variety of matter, the history of the *East India* companies formed in *France*, as well as of their commerce and settlements from their first attempting such a correspondence to the present time; with all the changes and revolutions they have undergone, and the constant and zealous attention which the ablest of their ministers have shewn in protecting and promoting a trade which they have ever considered as of the highest importance, and which, in spite of repeated disappointments, and notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, they have at length brought into a promising, at least, if not a prosperous condition (R).

^y Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 220.

^z Histoire des Indes, p. 369, 370.

(R) The judicious and intelligent reader will discern clearly from this history, the truth of what has been suggested not only by other writers but their own also, that the *French* are less qualified for undertaking and managing with success schemes of extensive commerce than their neighbours. For, without doubt, there have been more pains taken, more money employed, and greater losses sustained in procuring from them what ever share they enjoy at present in the *East India* trade, than were found requisite for establishing any of their rivals. But notwithstanding this, the prodigious encouragements given to the perpetual company of the *Indies*, the vigilance of the ministers in superintending the direction of their affairs, and several other favourable circumstances, have undoubtedly put their concerns on a footing incomparably better than any of their predecessors, and may reasonably inspire them with the hopes of seeing their returns augmented, and their profits enlarged, as well as their power and influence in the *Indies* very much extended. But

then, on the other hand, they are not altogether freed from apprehensions. The maxims and measures of the court may change; nor is it at all impossible that the state of public affairs may alter, any or all of which must prove detrimental to this company. The connexions into which they have entered with the ministers and governors of the *Mogul*, may, if they are not blessed with a succession of able and prudent officers in the *East Indies*, turn as much to their danger and prejudice as they have hitherto done to their benefit and reputation; neither is it at all impossible that, in case of a new rupture, the affairs of their neighbours may be more wisely, or at least more fortunately managed, than during the course of the last war; and if, through any of these accidents, they should be subjected to considerable losses, the consequences might be very fatal, notwithstanding all that has been done for them, notwithstanding the surprising success they have met with, and notwithstanding that florid appearance she makes at present.

C H A P. X.

The history of the establishment of a company trading to the East Indies, under the charter of his imperial majesty from Ostend: the foundation, views, and progress of that company: the opposition formed against it by the maritime powers and other potentates of Europe: the consequences of this opposition in embarrassing the general state of affairs: the suppression of the Ostend company: the endeavours used to revive it; their failure; and its total extinction.

S E C T. I.

The pretended as well as the real motives to the proposing a commerce between the Austrian Netherlands and the East Indies: the measures taken upon this head by the imperial court; the alarm this gave to the subjects of the maritime powers; and the colour of right they alleged to hinder any such settlement, as being repugnant to treaties.

- ^a **T**HE distinction between the *Austrian* or *Spanish* and the *United* or *Dutch Netherlands*, arose from the cession made by his catholic majesty, who had been the legal sovereign of them all, to the archdukes *Albert* and *Isabella*, of those ten provinces that continued in obedience to him, when the other seven threw off the yoke and became a free state. This great event happened in the year 1598, when, by the very act by which these provinces were given to the princes before-mentioned, it is declared that none of their subjects shall be at liberty to send any ships to, or carry on any traffick in, either the *East* or *West Indies* upon any pretence whatsoever; and, in case they should offend in this particular, his catholic majesty reserved to himself the power of punishing them who shall be found so offending, and that in the severest manner, by the confiscation of their goods, and even with death itself^a. This restriction, which, no doubt, was intended for the benefit of the subjects of *Spain*, and with a view of preserving to them all the advantages accruing from the commerce of both the *Indies*, was the reason that the inhabitants of these provinces contented themselves with their own manufactures, and such a foreign trade as they could safely and legally carry on, not only while they remained under those princes, but also after they were again united to the crown of *Spain* upon the demise of the archduchess *Isabella* in 1638^b. But during all this space, they looked upon that restraint as a thing very harsh and grievous, and from which they were very desirous of being released, though the applications made for this purpose from time to time to the court of *Madrid* were constantly rejected, either from principles of policy or prudence, to avoid giving offence to the *Spaniards*, who looked upon this exclusion as one of the highest and most valuable prerogatives of their monarchy, and by which they were particularly distinguished from the rest of the subjects of his catholic majesty, and who were all under the like incapacity^c (A).

The inhabitants of the Austrian Low Countries excluded by the kings of Spain from trading to either Indies, and from what motives.

^a Corps diplomatique, tom. v. P. 1. p. 574.

^b LE CLERC histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 148.

^c Histoire de las Indias Occidentales, por ANTONIO DE HERRERA, decad. 1. lib. ii. c. 4.

(A) The inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* objected to this restriction at the time, and opposed it as a thing inconsistent with the rights of the joyful entry which was the known constitution of these provinces. Nay, they would not submit, or take the oath of fidelity to the archdukes *Albert* and *Isabella*, upon the conclusion of the truce with the States, till they had sworn to defend them in all their just rights; whence they concluded the restraint

from sailing to the *Indies* void, because it was incompatible with those rights. This is the reasoning of the States of *Brabant*, in a memorial of theirs, in support of the *Ostend* company (1); but how far it is conclusive must be left to the reader's judgment, since, in regard to these matters, we barely represent, without presuming to decide concerning them.

(1) *Memoire pour servir de réponse de la part des Etats de Brabant à la remontrance que les directeurs de la compagnie des Indes Orientales et de la Hollande ont faite aux Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies au sujet de la navigation & du commerce des habitans des Pays-Bas autrichiens aux Indes Orientales*, Oct. 22d. 1723.

How far the
cardinal in-
fant procured
this severe re-
striction to be
mitigated.

BUT at length the cardinal infant, being intrusted with the administration of these coun-
tries, to ingratiate himself with the people, solicited *Philip* the fourth with such earnestness
and assiduity, that about the year 1640 he had almost brought this point to bear, and pre-
vailed so far as to obtain leave for the inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands* to trade in all
those parts of the *East Indies* that had been conquered, and were possessed by the *Portuguese*.
But it fell out unluckily, that before any benefit could be had from this grant, the people of
Portugal revolted, and then it was thought requisite to cancel, and even to disavow any such
concession, that it might not give offence to the *Portuguese*, or prove a hindrance to their
submitting themselves again to the crown of *Castile*, with which the *Spaniards* flattered them-
selves then, and for a long time afterwards. It was the more unfortunate for them that no
memorial was preserved of this grant, except a letter from the cardinal infant to the magistrates
of *Antwerp*, in which there is no more than his catholic majesty's being brought to incline to
such a concession as is mentioned^a. After this we hear nothing farther of such a project for
near threescore years; during all which space, however, these provinces remained in sub-
jection to his catholic majesty, and, the people, sensible of this restriction, never intermeddled
with this prohibited commerce; and if any of them visited the *Spanish* territories in *America*,
it was in the king's ships, and in his service; in which case it was supposed that they did
not fall within the penal clause before-mentioned; yet, in this time, the inhabitants of the
Low-Countries were in a very mean and distressed condition, and so much a burthen upon
Spain, that the court ought in reason to have listened to any proposal that could have been
made for their relief, occasioned chiefly by the wars with *France*, and their having often two,
sometimes three, armies living upon them^c (B).

An East India
company said
to be establish-
ed in the Low
Countries by
Charles II.

IN the reign of *Charles* the second, the last king of *Spain* of the house of *Austria*, the States
of *Flanders* resumed this design, and, having represented to that monarch how much such an
establishment would contribute to the welfare of his subjects, and the augmentation of the royal
revenue, they procured a charter for erecting a company impowered to trade in such parts of
the *East Indies* and the coast of *Guinea*, as were not in the possession of other nations; and
the capital was to consist of two millions of florins, one fourth part to be actually raised before
the end of the month of *October* 1698, and the rest in the year 1700 and 1701^f. But here
again they met with another misfortune; for the treaty of partition being made about this
time, damped the spirits of the people to such a degree, that the scheme could not be carried
into execution^g; and the death of his catholic majesty following soon after, and, immediately
upon that, the long war about the right of succession, all thoughts of this nature were let fall,
at least for the present; whereas, if any thing had been done, or so much as a ship sent, it
might have prevented those disputes which have given occasion to this section. After the bat-
tle of *Ramillies* in 1706 the *Austrian Netherlands* fell under the protection of the maritime
powers, who held it as it were in trust for his imperial majesty, into whose possession it did
not come till ten years afterwards, and then, in consequence of a negotiation by which it pas-
sed under the same restrictions to which it had been subjected by the crown of *Spain*, in respect
to the commerce of the *Indies*. In this state they were when his imperial majesty declared his
serene highness prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* governor-general, and the marquis *de Prie* counsellor of
state, with the power of administering affairs in his highness's absence, and under his orders; not
long after which the thoughts of attempting a correspondence with the *Indies* were revived, and
some attempts made to effect it^h.

When the first
steps were tak-
en for erect-

WE may clearly perceive from this deduction, that there is no foundation for the sentiment
which commonly prevails, as if the subjects of his imperial majesty were tempted to set up
an *East India* company by the example of the *Mississippi* project in *France*, and the *South Sea*

^a Placarts de Brabant, tom. i. fol. 322.
fait, du droit, et l'interet de tout ce qui concerne le commerce des Indes, etabli aux Pays-Bas Autrichiens, par octroi
S. M. J. & Catholique, § xxxvii.
historique d'actes, negotiations, &c. vol. ii.

^c GUICCARD. descript. des Pays-Bas.

^f La verité du

^g BASNAGE annales des Provinces Unies.

^h ROUSSET, recueil

(B) These facts are all mentioned in the memorial of
the States of *Brabant*, which we have before cited; and
they distinguish therein between the right of navigating
to, and trading in, the *East* and *West Indies*, to the pre-
judice of the *Spaniards*, and the natural right of all peo-
ple to trade where other nations are not legally possessed
of an exclusive commerce, which they affirm they always
had, which was no way affected by this restriction, and
which was acknowledged and confirmed by the octroi of
Charles the second, granted in 1698, and in consequence

of which, a company would most certainly have been
erected, if the unhappy state that public affairs soon after
fell into had not prevented it (2): they farther add, that
with respect to this right, it was not in the power of their
sovereigns, as dukes of *Brabant*, to lessen, much more to
give it up by any treaty; because they were previously
engaged to their subjects by oath, never to take any step
of this kind; in proof of which they cite several clauses
from their fundamental constitution (3).

(2) *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites, par M. Roussel, tom. ii. p. 100.*
de la joyeuse entrée de sa majesté imperiale et catholique en langue Brabançonne.

(3) *Extrait*

- a scheme in *England*; whereas, in truth, this design was of an earlier date than either ¹. Some ^{ing an East} private persons sent a ship or two in 1717, and these meeting with tolerable success, were ^{India company} followed the next year by two or three more, authorized only by the governor-general's letters ^{at Ostend.} and passports; or, as they are stiled in the letters and memorials relating to this business, *Lettres de Mer*. In this shape the new commerce succeeded so happily that many were desirous of engaging in it; and the granting of these licences, or *Lettres de Mer*, became a thing very lucrative to certain persons in the administration ². About this time some active foreigners began to intermeddle and to project the forming of a company at *Ostend*, in which design they soon met with so great encouragement, that they ventured to make overtures to the ministers at *Vienna*, which were favourably received. In the month of *October* 1719, they had
- b the first intelligence that one of these licensed ships had been seized by a *Dutch* vessel in the service of the *West India* company on the coast of *Guiney*, and confiscated with her whole cargo, without so much as the ceremony of a process ³. Of this the imperial minister complained at the *Hague*, but could obtain only dark, indeterminate answers, which manifested an intention rather to maintain this action, since it was done, than to enter into an explanation of the motives that might serve to justify it; except that this was an illicit trade, in which some merchants of *Antwerp* had engaged through avarice, and which, if they continued pursuing, would be found rather ruinous than advantageous; and much the same usage they met with from another quarter, upon a complaint of the like nature, for the seizing another ship, under colour of her being engaged in an illegal commerce in ports where she had no right
- c to come ⁴ (C).

But, upon an application to the government in the *Austrian Low-Countries*, signifying the treatment ships had met with under his imperial majesty's flag, letters of reprisal were easily obtained by the interest of those who began to stile themselves a company. Captain *Winter*, who commanded the vessel that had been taken on the coast of *Guiney*, conceiving he should be justified by the authority of these letters, proceeded to the *Downs*, where meeting with his own ship, he seized her again, and brought her into *Ostend*, with a very valuable lading of elephants teeth and gold dust, belonging to the *Dutch West India* company ⁵. That company complaining to the States General, their ministers at *Brussels* and *Vienna* interposed warmly, in which they were supported by the influence of *Great Britain*. The letters of

d reprisal, however, were insisted upon, and the ministers put in mind of the small regard that had been shewn but a small time before on a like application from his imperial majesty; so that it was easily perceived, that though they met with many good words and great assurances of friendship and esteem, yet satisfaction and restitution was hardly to be expected ⁶. This was a very hardy and a very extraordinary enterprise, considering the naval force of the maritime powers, and how nearly they were concerned, and which it was not at all difficult to see they were resolved to make a common cause. But notwithstanding this, the ministers at *Vienna* remained firm, and insisted that the subjects of the emperor having been first injured, it was but reasonable they should be the first also that received satisfaction. This drew the negotiation into some length; and as gaining time in such cases is gaining a great deal, so able

e ministers are never at a loss for expedients in matters of this sort; and their management through the whole was such as shewed them to be perfect masters in that art; than which nothing could be more useful at this juncture, since it served to keep the maritime powers in suspense, and to raise the spirits of his imperial majesty's subjects, who saw plainly how well inclined the court was to support and protect them ⁷.

This gave so much credit to the new company, that in the year 1720 they equipped

f five large ships for the *Indies*, and the year following six more; three for *China*, one for *Mocha*, another for *Surat*, and the coast of *Malabar*, and the sixth for *Bengal*; which provoked the *Dutch* to such a degree, that they seized a vessel richly laden by the merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her cargo to be sold, notwithstanding the applications of the imperial ministers at the *Hague* to prevent it. This misfortune was followed by another; an *English*

The traders under some apprehensions, which, however, are soon dissipated.

¹ *Defense du droit de la compagnie Hollandoise des Indes Orientales, &c.*

² *negotiations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4.*

³ *Memoires du temps, p. 391.*

⁴ *Memoires du temps, p. 411.*

⁵ *La verité du fait, du droit, et de l'interet de la commerce des Indes, &c. § xxxix.*

⁶ *La verité du fait, du droit, & de l'interet de la commerce des Indes, § xi.*

⁷ *Rousser, recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4.*

(C) We are indebted for these facts, and the explanation of them, to the treatise written by the famous Mr. *du Mont*, baron of *Carlevisoon*, who by order of his imperial majesty composed a treatise, in which he undertook to give a true state of the fact, the right and the interest of the commerce carried on from the *Austrian Low Countries* to

the *Indies*, under his imperial majesty's charter (4). Several learned pieces were also written on the other side, which we have likewise consulted, in order to represent this important affair with as much impartiality and perspicuity as it was possible.

(4) *La verité du fait, du droit, et de la interet de tout ce qui concerne la commerce des Indes, établi aux Pays-Bas Autrichiens, par ordi de sa majesté impériale & catholique, Bruxelles, 1723, 410.*

privateer taking very soon after, on the coast of *Madagascar*, an *Ostend* homeward-bound a ship very richly laden, which so discouraged the new company, that they ordered a new ship they were then fitting out to be laid up¹. But, in the months of *May* and *June* 1721, they received two ships from the *Indies*, and in the month of *September* two more, the cargoes of which being exposed to sale, went off at so round a rate, that they found themselves not only indemnified for their losses, but likewise in a condition to carry on their commerce with greater success than ever. The only thing they wanted was a legal establishment; for though the imperial court had, for a long time, flattered them with the hopes of letters patents, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid an open quarrel with the maritime powers, which, at that juncture especially, would have been very inconvenient².

Obtain a promise of a charter, and the communication of its contents. BUT, soon after the arrival of these last-mentioned ships, the company having money in b their hands, and powerful friends at the court of *Vienna*, resolved to neglect nothing that might contribute to put their affairs on the best foundation possible; and, with this view, they sent some of their directors to court, very well furnished with instructions and bills for considerable sums of money. These gentlemen managed their affairs with such diligence and prudence, that they obtained a promise of a charter as extensive as they could wish, or any company in *Europe* had received; the draught of which was immediately communicated, and gave them intire satisfaction³. This charter was to have consisted of several articles; importing, that the directors should be restrained to eight, to be chosen out of the wealthiest and most experienced merchants in the *Austrian Low-Countries*; that they should be allowed c four thousand florins a year salary; that none of them should continue above six years, or be capable of being rechosen till they had been a full year out of office: that a general court of the proprietors should be held every year for the choice of directors, when the company should name twenty-four, out of which list the emperor should chuse eight: that the court of directors, the treasury, and books of account, belonging to the company, should remain the first three years at *Antwerp*, and the next three years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*; but that their sales should be constantly either at *Ostend* or *Bruges*: that the company's capital should consist of ten millions of florins, and should be divided into ten thousand actions of one thousand florins each. The prizes which the vessels in the service of the company should take in time of war, were to belong intirely to the company, and were to be sold and disposed of for their profit. All the ammunition, provisions, artillery, and naval stores, d requisite for the forts and factories of the company, were to be exempted from duties and impositions in their passage through the territories either of his imperial majesty, or of any of the lords or ecclesiastical communities in the *Low-Countries*. And lastly, that all the goods transported on board the ships of the company should pay for all customs and duties inwards and outwards four *per cent.* and no more, till the expiration of the month of *September* 1724, and from that time six *per cent.* for ever. The emperor likewise promised to send a person vested with a public character to the *Great Mogul*, to settle an alliance with him, and to return him thanks for the permission he had granted the company, not only to erect a factory, but a fort to protect their commerce, in his dominions. The prospect his imperial majesty had of enriching his subjects in the *Low-Countries*, and augmenting the revenues he e drew from thence, by fixing so extensive and profitable a commerce there, engaged him to assure the agents of that company of still greater favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all customs and duties for three whole years, and would make the proprietors a present of three hundred thousand florins in ready money, to indemnify them from any losses they might sustain on the first establishment of their commerce, which must, in the nature of things, be regarded as inevitable, and therefore some provision ought to be made against it⁴.

¹ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1165.

² Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1165.

³ Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1166.

⁴ Memoire historique et politique, tom. lxx. p. 676—

⁵ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii.

S E C T. II.

The political conduct of their High Mightinesses the States General, the court of Great Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, in order to procure satisfaction upon this head, and to prevent the commerce of their subjects suffering, from the schemes of the new-erected company.

- a **T**H E S E favours raised such a spirit not only among the merchants, bankers, and other persons concerned in trade and money, but also among the nobility and gentry, that they shewed an inclination to exert themselves to the utmost in support of the new company. It was not, however, the inhabitants only of these provinces, and other subjects of his imperial majesty, that encouraged this undertaking, but the *English, French, and Dutch*, who were chiefly concerned in the shipping, and in the management of the company's affairs, notwithstanding they very well knew they could never prosper, but at the expence of their native countries, and of the establishments for the same commerce long ago erected in them". We need not wonder, therefore, that this new company at *Ostend* should occasion such noise throughout all *Europe*, or excite great discord and disturbance, so as to render this chapter as remarkable a part of general history as any that finds a place therein. But it must seem a little strange at first sight, that the warmest friends, and most faithful allies, of his imperial majesty, should be the most violent in this opposition. One would have imagined, that the emperor had the same right in his dominions that other princes and states have in theirs, and that how contrary soever the erecting such a company in the *Austrian Low Countries* might be to the interests of other nations, they could, however, have no just claim to demand or expect that his imperial majesty should forego such apparent advantages for their sakes, or, in plain terms, hinder his own subjects from becoming rich, that theirs might remain so". Yet this was the case, and the maritime powers declared, in express terms, that they expected his imperial majesty should do this, and that he was bound by treaties to comply with their demands. The States General, who thought themselves most aggrieved, were earliest and loudest in their complaints; and, as it is impossible to give the *English* reader a fuller or clearer account of the grounds upon which they were founded, than by laying before him the memorial presented by Mr. *Bruyninx*, envoy from the States to the court of *Vienna*, which contains the substance of all that was alleged against the emperor's right to establish such a company, we have made a succinct extract of that very long memorial, and placed it at the bottom of the page * (D).

SEVERAL

* *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. lxxi. p. 715. *traitez*, par M. ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 64, 65.

* *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et Historical register*, vol. viii. p. 346.

(D) This excellent memorial was presented by the *Dutch* minister at *Vienna*, Mr. *Hamel Bruyninx*, on the 15th of *March* 1723; and though the whole is well worth of perusal, yet, for the ease of the reader, and to keep the more within bounds, we will cite only the most material paragraphs; which are these (5).

" Their High Mightinesses foreseeing the unavoidable troubles that must attend this affair, if his catholic and imperial majesty should, contrary to all expectation and equity, permit his subjects of the *Austrian Netherlands* to proceed in their undertakings with respect to navigation and trade to the *East Indies*, contrary to the tenor and letter of treaties, and if opposition should be made to their High Mightinesses, in case they attempt to make use of their right obtained by treaties. But their High Mightinesses, being desirous of nothing more than to prevent such kind of troubles, could not, in the present juncture, avoid making such representations to his imperial majesty, that by the treaty concluded in 1648, at *Munster*, between his majesty the king of *Spain* then reigning, and his successors, on the

" one part, and their High Mightinesses on the other part, commerce and navigation to the *East* and *West Indies* were regulated and limited, with regard to the subjects of *Spain*, upon the foot they then were established, without power of farther extension; and with regard to the subjects of this state, it was agreed, that the former should refrain from places which the latter possessed.

" These articles have always been religiously observed, and the inhabitants of the *Spanish Netherlands*, at present *Austrian*, have never been permitted or tolerated to trade to the *Indies*. The said *Netherlands*, being fallen under the dominion of his catholic imperial majesty, have not thereby acquired larger privileges than before; nor can it ever be imagined, that their High Mightinesses, who have made such signal efforts, contributed so much to the recovery of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and so many other parts of the *Spanish* monarchy, in favour of his catholic and imperial majesty, pursuant to their engagements on that behalf, could possibly, by entering into those very engagements, depart from, or ever intend to depart from, their cha-

(5) *Historical register*, vol. viii. p. 347.

*Motives
which induced
the Dutch to
flir therein,
and what
their hopes of
succeeding.*

SEVERAL circumstances concurred to quicken their High Mightinesses in taking this step; a for, first, they were extremely pressed by their own *East India* company, some of the principal managers of which had also a considerable interest in the government; next, the state of affairs in *Europe* seemed to add weight to their interposition; not that they depended much on the remembrance of services already done, but because they knew there were many things which the imperial court would be glad to do, and which they could not well do without their assistance; lastly, it was judged easier for them to obtain, and more honourable for the emperor to grant, a total rejection of these offers made by the projectors of this new company, before a charter was actually granted. Yet their expectations in this respect failed them, and this memorial, however warm and pathetic, had by no means that influence with which they had flattered themselves, notwithstanding they had the concurrence, though from very different motives, of two of the greatest personages at, and a minister in the highest credit with, the court of *Vienna*. The first of these was the illustrious prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who, solely out of respect to justice, and the true interests of the house of *Austria*, declared against this measure, and, with his usual candour and plainness, foretold that it could not fail to lessen that perfect intelligence that had so long subsisted between his imperial majesty and the maritime powers, and which, in its consequences, must disturb that system upon which the tranquility and independency of *Europe* were established. The other was the marquis *De Prie*, who, being at the head of the administration in the *Low Countries*, was a great gainer by licences, passports, and commissions, all of which he knew would cease when the company obtained their charter; and though his opposition was less reasonable, yet it was rather more violent. (E).

*Precautions
used in Great
Britain, to
prevent any of
its inhabitants
from being
concerned in
this trade.*

In *England*, things took exactly the same turn as in *Holland*; and the *East India* company having, with the consent of the ministry, petitioned the house of commons upon this subject, it began to be considered as a national affair. To quicken, however, the parliament in its proceedings, the directors of that company caused the *Dutch* memorial before-mentioned to be translated, and delivered to the members at the door of the house; which produced all they could desire. A committee was immediately appointed, of which Sir *Nathaniel Gould* was chairman, and, in due time, a report being made, the house came to certain resolutions, upon which a bill was framed for preventing any subjects of *Great Britain* interesting themselves in the capital of the *Ostend* company, or entering into its service, under very severe penalties; which bill passed both houses, received the royal assent, and became a law; which, without doubt, had a considerable operation, though it did not totally eradicate the evil, some, who

⁷ *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. lxxii. p. 551.
⁸ *Historical register*, vol. viii. p. 346.

⁹ *Recueil historique d'actes*, &c. tom. ii. p. 4.

“rafters, and the right of maintaining themselves there-
“in to perpetuity, obtained by the said treaty of *Munster*,
“or that his catholic and imperial majesty had any in-
“tention, in recovering the said *Netherlands*, to make
“alterations in the said treaty, much less design, con-
“trary to the stipulation therein so plainly expressed, to
“cause any prejudice to the States in a point so essential
“and important to them, upon which it was so strongly
“insisted in the negotiations at *Munster*, and without
“which that treaty could not have been concluded.

“Moreover, it is expressly stipulated, by the twenty-
“sixth article of the barrier treaty, that commerce, and
“all things relating to it, should remain, to all intents
“and purposes, upon the same foot as it was established
“at the treaty of *Munster*, and in the manner expressed
“in the articles of the said treaty; insomuch that the
“said treaty of *Munster* is evidently confirmed by the
“treaty of the barrier, even at the time his catholic and
“imperial majesty was already in the possession of the said
“*Netherlands*, as likewise by the guaranty of his *Britan-
“nic* majesty.

“And whereas the right of the States, in this parti-
“cular, is so manifest, that their High Mightinesses have
“the utmost grounds to expect from the so much re-
“nowned friendship and equity of his catholic and im-
“perial majesty, that he will not favour or tolerate any
“prejudice to the said right of the state; they there-
“fore amicably require, that the patent, which is said
“to have been granted for navigation and commerce of
“the *Austrian Netherlands* to the *Indies*, may not be pub-
“lished, but withdrawn, or at least rendered ineffectual;

“and that such orders may be given by his imperial ma-
“jesty, that such kind of navigation and commerce,
“whether with patents or without, may intirely cease;
“and that the treaties in that respect may be executed,
“&c.”

(E) It may not be amiss to acquaint the reader with the arguments advanced by such of the imperial ministers as disapproved the erection of the *Ostend* company. They observed, that, independent of all abstruse points, it was a fact sufficiently clear, that the *Austrian Low Countries* were acquired for his imperial majesty by the arms, and at the expence of the maritime powers: that, without doubt, when they did this, they could not apprehend that their commerce in the *East Indies* would be in any danger of suffering from thence, since, if they had, there was nothing easier than for them to have prevented it: that if his imperial majesty entered into the possession of these countries, even under a tacit condition of holding them upon the same terms, and in the same manner, as they had been held by other princes of the house of *Austria*, the breaking through that condition to the prejudice of the powers by whose assistance these countries were obtained, was not consistent either with his interest or his glory: and that whatever advantages this new commerce might promise, it could not be reckoned secure, if the maritime powers had recourse to violent measures; and, at all events, could never balance the detaching those powers from their connections with the house of *Austria*, and obliging them, for the sake of supporting their own interests, to enter into a conjunction with that of *Bourbon* (6).

(6) *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites*, par *Mons. Roussel*, tom. ii. p. 43.

a were by birth subjects of the crown of *Great Britain*, continuing still to act against the public interest, for the sake of acquiring or adding to their private fortunes^b. But one great end it certainly answered, which was, to let the rest of *Europe* see, that the court and the nation had the same sentiment upon this head; and that the maritime powers were determined to take the same part, as they were alike concerned in interest in the event of this transaction^c (F).

It was from hence very reasonably imagined, that the court of *Vienna* would, from a tenderness for its own interests, have reconsidered this point, and endeavour to find some means to pacify those powers, by whose treasures and armies those very countries were acquired, which had given rise to this dispute. But, notwithstanding the joint solicitations of the *English* and *Dutch* ministers, the emperor seemed more and more determined to maintain his point; and therefore, in the month of *August* 1723, actually published, as at the close of the preceding year he had granted, his letters patent to the *Ostend* company, though with some variations from the plan before laid down. In the preamble to these letters, the emperor not only took all the titles of the head of the house of *Austria*, but likewise those of the king of *Spain*, and, in particular, stiled himself king of the *East* and *West Indies*, of the *Canary Islands*, &c. with a view probably to grace this new and ample grant to the *Ostend* company, which was established for thirty years, with licence to trade to the *East Indies* and *West*, and on all the coasts of *Africa*, on this side and on the other side the *Cape of Good Hope*, their ships observing the usual customs; so that, supposing it could be maintained, a more ample charter could hardly be desired^d (G).

His imperial majesty's charter granted, and published in the Low Countries.

^b Chronological diary for 1723, p. 26.

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 66.

historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par M. ROUSSEAU, tom. ii. p. 5.

^d Recueil

(F) There is nothing that can set this matter in so strong and proper a light, as giving the reader a succinct account of the contents of this severe law, by which it was enacted (7). That if any subject of his majesty shall contribute to the establishing any foreign company trading from any part of the *Austrian Netherlands*, to or from the *East Indies*, and other places beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, described in former acts for securing the sole trade thither to the united *East India* company of *England*, or shall be interested in any share of the stock or actions of any such company, or make any payments in money, bills of exchange, or otherwise, towards supporting such company, or shall subscribe to the establishing any other foreign company trading to the *East Indies*, or be concerned in any stock therein, &c. the person so offending shall forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of any such company, with treble the value; one third to the crown, and two thirds to the *East India* company, if they inform or sue for the same, otherwise one third of two such thirds to the common informer; recoverable by action of debt, &c. as is usually directed by all penal statutes of a like nature, that convictions may be easily made; and the attorney-general, of his own authority, or at the relation of the said united company, and for the company, may file a bill, in the court of chancery or exchequer, against any person who shall have subscribed, contributed, or promoted, any such foreign *East India* company, for the discovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's stock in any such company, and insisting only on the single value; and thereupon such person shall answer to the bill, and not plead or demur to the discovery thereby sought; and in case the single value shall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof shall go to his majesty, and the other two thirds to the company. If any subject shall have accepted of any trust, or know of any interest, share, or concern, which any of his majesty's subjects shall have in any such foreign company, and shall not, within six months after accepting the trust, or coming to the knowledge of any such interest, &c. truly discover the same, in writing, to the said united company of *England*, or their court of directors, he shall forfeit treble the value of the interest, &c. so accepted in trust, or so known and not discovered, one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will sue for the same; or such offender shall, at the discretion of the court where

the prosecution is commenced, suffer one year's imprisonment; and he that, within the time limited, shall voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true discovery, in writing, of the interest, share, or concern, of any subjects in the stock of any such foreign company, shall have one half part of the clear amount of the forfeitures arising by this act: and in case any of his majesty's subjects (other than such as are lawfully authorized) shall go to, or be found in, the *East Indies*, they are declared to be guilty of a high misdemeanour, and may be prosecuted for the same, in any court at *Westminster*; and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable to such corporal punishment or imprisonment, or to such fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall think fit; and the offenders may be seized and brought to *England*, and any justice of peace may commit them to the next county gaol, till sufficient security be given by natural-born subjects or denizens, to appear in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave.

(G) The readiness with which the managers of this new commerce found money, and whatever else was requisite to support their design, proceeded chiefly from that extravagant appetite for gain that prevailed at this time through all *Europe*, as the discovery of various frauds committed by the servants of such companies as had already an established trade in the *Indies*, furnished them with agents and under-servants extremely capable of managing their affairs; and to these therefore we ought to attribute that surprising alacrity with which they caused squadron after squadron to put to sea. Thus, notwithstanding they had, in 1720, set six ships richly laden to the *Indies*, yet, in 1721, they equipped the like number, of which three were destined for *China*, one for *Mocha*, one for *Surat* and the coast of *Malabar*, and one for the *Bay of Bengal* (8). The names of these ships were, the *St. Joseph*, the *Wartemburg*, the *House of Austria*, the *Empress*, the *Brussels Galley*, and the *Town of Ghent*. They gave out also, to encourage and keep up the spirit of those who favoured them, that they had not only procured leave from the *Great Mogul* to build a fort, for the security of their factory, in his dominions, in which there was some truth, but also that they had obtained permission to establish themselves in *China*, tho' that was afterwards found to have no foundation at all, yet it is allowed they had a good interest there, and were as well received as any *Europeans* (9).

(7) Stat. 9. Geo. cap. 26. sect. 1.
sent by the *Ostend* company to the *Indies*.

(8) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1:65.

(9) List of ships

Substance of
this new and
ample insur-
ment in favour
of the com-
pany.

THE capital, however, of the company was, by these letters, reduced to six millions of a florins, and the number of their actions to six thousand; but, in other respects, they had all the powers and privileges laid down in the first plan, and many more; for they were permitted to build forts and castles in whatever parts of the *East Indies* they should think fit, as also to furnish them with all kinds of arms, artillery, and ammunition, that they thought convenient. They were likewise allowed to build and equip ships, of whatever size and strength they thought proper, in any of the ports of his imperial majesty's dominions in the *Low Countries*, *Italy*, or elsewhere; as also to make leagues, treaties, and alliances, with the sovereign princes and states of the *Indies*, in the name of his imperial majesty, with this restriction only, that they should not make war on any potentate whatever, without the leave of his imperial majesty and his successors first had and obtained. In consideration of all which grants, privileges, b benefits, and advantages, the said company bound themselves to offer, as a homage to his imperial majesty, his heirs and successors, on every succession, a golden lion crowned, of the weight of twenty marks, holding under his two fore-paws the arms of the company, which were a spread-eagle displayed, with the terrestrial globe between his two heads, surmounted by an imperial crown. Lastly, his imperial majesty undertook to protect and defend the said new company, against all who should unjustly attack them, and should even, in case c of necessity, employ the whole force of his dominions to support and maintain them in the full and free possession and entire enjoyment of the commerce and navigation granted them by these letters, and obtain for them full damages and satisfaction, from any nation, state, or potentate, that should presume to trouble or disturb them; and should likewise, for the future, c provide, in every respect, for their safety and welfare, by any treaties, alliances, or leagues, into which his imperial majesty, his heirs or successors, should hereafter enter with any power whatever.

Attended with
all imaginable
circumstances
of success on
the first ap-
pearance.

SUCH was the establishment of this famous company at *Ostend*, from which both the com-pany and his imperial majesty promised themselves so many and so great advantages. As soon as these letters patents were published, and registered in the sovereign courts of the *Austrian Low Countries*, the directors taking possession of their offices, held soon after their first general *Antwerp*, on the 11th of *August*; which was accordingly done, and that with such success as sur- f prised all *Europe*; for the next day by noon the capital was intirely subscribed, and by the end of the month of *August* the stock of the *Ostend* company was fifteen *per cent.* above par. The affairs of this new society were no less flourishing in the *Indies*, where the persons they employed, being most of them such as had served before either the *English* or *Dutch East India* companies, found ways and means to settle factories, with amazing facility and success, and to push their trade in such a manner, as very evidently shewed, that if the interests of such as opposed this company did not get it suppressed in *Europe*, their efforts in the *Indies* would do little, unless they had recourse to open force, since all the arts to decry them at the courts of infidel princes had been already put in practice without effect. (H).

* Lettres patentes, &c. imprimées à Bruxelles par Eugene Henri Friex, imprimeur de sa majesté imperiale et catholique, en 1723, in 4°. f Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxxv. p. 229. g Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73.

(H) The knowledge their agents had of the trade, and the manner in which it was carried on in the *Indies*, enabled them to get the better of any insinuations to the prejudice of the new company, by suggesting, in their turns, that they were calculated to prevent the natives from obtaining a new market, and by representing the advantages that must necessarily accrue to them, by having an increase of purchasers; and as the *Indian* princes want not a sufficient degree of sagacity, either for comprehending or managing their own affairs, it could be no difficult thing for them to sift out the truth, which was entirely favourable to these adventurers, since whatever clashing of interests there might be in *Europe*, it was plainly for their advantage that this new settlement should take place (10). In this light, therefore, the

Ostend factors were not like to be much hurt by any invidious representations with such as were free traders, and who had it in their power to choose with whom they would or would not carry on a trade; but in reference to other circumstances, all the skill and address in the world signified nothing; for they could not pretend to put into any of the ports belonging to other *European* powers, or expect any assistance or countenance from them, in case of ill usage from the natives, the bad effects of which they felt, in various instances, and would have felt in many more, if it had not been for their private friendships and particular connections with persons who were in the service of other companies, and who from those considerations were not inclined to execute with rigour the instructions they received from *Europe* (11).

(10) From private information.

(11) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 421.

S E C T. III.

The progress of this opposition; the several reasons urged by these powers against the right of his imperial majesty to fix any such establishment in the Austrian Low Countries; and the consequences of these applications to the imperial court.

- a **T**HE *Dutch East India* company was so far convinced of this, that they presented, in less than a fortnight, two memorials to the States General; in which they scarce kept any measures, but plainly intimated, that, as the establishment of this new company was in direct violation of treaties, so they ought to be left at liberty to act as if those treaties no longer subsisted, and do themselves that justice by arms, which, as was every day more and more apparent, could not be obtained any other way ^b. The States, however, were by no means inclined to break with his imperial majesty, if by any methods they might avoid it; and therefore still continued their applications at the court of *Vienna*, in conjunction with *Great Britain*, to obtain the revocation of the authority by which the new company acted, or at least a suspension of it; and, in the mean time, they made such laws at home in favour of their own *India* company, as they thought requisite, to prevent any of the subjects of their High Mightinesses from having concern either in the capital of the *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, or in the management of their affairs in the *Indies* ^c; as, on the other hand, the agents of the *Dutch* company in the *Indies*, though they did not proceed to direct acts of violence, took such methods in that part of the world, where their power is so great and so extensive, as gave this new society infinite trouble, by cramping their trade, and rendering it precarious; in which they were so well seconded by the *English*, that nothing but the activity and abilities of the persons concerned, and their finding themselves in a manner desperate, in case it did not succeed, could have kept it on foot, in spite of the difficulties and inconveniencies which they every day experienced ^k.
- c **B**UT not only *Great Britain* and *Holland* exerted themselves against this new establishment, for *France* likewise began to take umbrage at a scheme which threatened destruction to that establishment of the same kind, which she was endeavouring to erect; and therefore his most christian majesty's council published a declaration, dated the 16th of *August* 1723, by which all the subjects of the crown of *France* were forbid to interest themselves, in any manner whatever, in the capital of the *Ostend* company, under pain of forfeiting three thousand livres for every act of offence, besides incurring the confiscation of whatever they should subscribe into the capital of the said company; and, in case of a second offence, the same fine and forfeiture, together with banishment for three years. By the second article of this declaration, his most christian majesty directed, that in case the effects his subjects might acquire by interesting themselves in the stock of this new company could not be reached, so as to make them liable to the confiscation before-mentioned, then their effects and fortunes in *France* shall be liable to the like seizures and forfeitures, until the sums in which they were so concerned in the *Austrian* company should be raised and levied; and all this in the short, summary, and extraordinary method described by the royal ordinance of 1670. By the third article, all seamen, manufacturers, tradesmen, and in general all the subjects of his most christian majesty, were strictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any manner or quality, into the service of the said *Ostend* company, on pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of all their effects. By the fourth article, all persons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inlisting, inrolling, or otherwise entering into the service of the said company, any of the subjects of his most christian majesty, in quality of officers, soldiers, seamen, or in any other quality or manner, as also to sell, or buy, or lend, or equip any vessel, for the service of the said company, on pain of the pillory for the first offence, and of being sent to the galleys for the second, besides the confiscation of all that should be thus bought or sold, and a fine of three thousand livres each on both the buyer and seller ^l. The weight of all these great powers seemed more than sufficient to crush this infant company, how much soever it might be the inclination and the interest of his imperial majesty to cherish and support it (I).

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^b *Memoire historique et politique*, tom. lxxv. p. 235.

^c *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 72.

^k From private information of such as were then resident in the *Indies*.

^l *Dictionnaire de commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1169.

(I) There are many arguments that prevailed upon the *French* court to act in this affair with great vigour, and, with respect to the maritime powers, with much uprightness and fair dealing; for, besides that their interests were precisely the same, there were certain circumstances that, in respect to this new establishment, particularly piqued them. They had, for a long course of years, been endeavouring to raise themselves such a company,

Mod. Hist. Vol. IV. 8 A

An example,
which is
copied also by
the crown of
Spain, in a
manner the
most public.

It was not long, however, before another great potentate interfered likewise, and declared a himself with equal vehemence against this new establishment; this was his late catholic majesty Philip the fifth, who conceived this affair precisely in the same light with the maritime powers, as appears from a representation presented to his *Britannic* majesty, by the *Spanish* minister, on the 26th of April 1724, conceived in the most express terms, and demonstrating the injustice and illegality of this new establishment^a, proving it utterly inconsistent with the treaty of *Munster*, by which the crown of *Spain* engaged not to disturb the navigation of the *Dutch* to their *East Indies*, in consideration of a reciprocal engagement on their side, not to disturb the commerce of the subjects of the crown of *Spain* in that part of the world. It was by these reciprocal stipulations, that the subjects of the crown of *Spain* in the *Low Countries* were restrained from trading to the *East Indies*; and it was under these restrictions that the *Spanish Low Countries* were yielded to the elector of *Bavaria*, and by *France*, with his consent, to the house of *Austria*, upon express condition, that this house should hold them in the same manner, and under the same restrictions, as they had been held by the crown of *Spain*, for which their High Mightinesses likewise engaged: so that if the *Ostend* company might be legally established, it would turn as much to the detriment of *Spain* as to that of the States General, contrary to the meaning and intention of all these treaties and alliances made for establishing and securing the tranquility of *Europe*; but, by this construction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all parties, save the emperor alone, and destructive of themselves. Such was the representation of the marquis *De Pozzo Lueno* at the court of *London*, and so clearly was his catholic majesty, at that time, convinced, that the establishment of the *Ostend* company was inconsistent with his own particular interest, as well as with the general system of *Europe* (K).

Some remarks
on the substance of the
Spanish memorial, and
the judgment
of the Spanish
ministers.

THE contents of this plain and pathetic memorial very evidently shew, that the natural and unbiassed sentiments of the *Spanish* ministers were the very same with respect to the right of his imperial majesty, to establish an *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, with those of the statesmen in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, which is a point of very great, and will be of perpetual importance, because the treaty of *Munster*, in which the catholic king and the States were contracting parties, is explained on both sides in the same way; so that, if there can be any thing certain or settled in modern politics, it must be the true sense of those articles in that treaty upon which the States General founded their demand, since the *Spanish* court testified, that they understood their meaning as the States did; whereas it was insisted on by the advocates for the *Ostend* company, that those articles had no such meaning; except in the opinion of the *Dutch*, which by this memorial is absolutely contradictedⁿ. The only objection that can possibly be made to this reasoning is, that the *Spanish* ministers were induced to acknowledge this the genuine meaning, because it was the interest of the crown of *Spain*: but to this the most satisfactory answer may be given; for if these articles, so interpreted,

^a Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 76. ⁿ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 69. Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par Mons. ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 65.

pany, and it must have given them no small uneasiness to observe, that, in so short a space, and without any other assistance than an appearance of countenance from the imperial court, this company had been able to make a better progress than theirs had ever done, under the protection of *Richlieu*, *Colbert*, and other able ministers (12). They saw, that if this trade went on, it would vastly enrich the *Austrian Low Countries*, to the prejudice of theirs; and, which was a point of as great or greater consequence than any, they discerned that this dispute furnished them with a fair opportunity of detaching from their rival the maritime powers, to whose assistance alone was owing the then formidable power of the house of *Austria* (13).

(K) In order to understand this matter clearly, and to apprehend thoroughly the force of what is asserted in the text, it will be proper to observe, that the States General insisted that the inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands*, while subjects of the crown of *Spain*, were absolutely excluded from having any trade or commerce in the *East Indies*; that by the treaty of *Munster* this commerce was

entirely regulated between the crown of *Spain* and the republic, and full provision made that it should for ever remain on the foot of this regulation, for the mutual benefit of both nations, as it actually has done; that by the treaty of *Utrecht*, all was again confirmed, and his catholic majesty and the republic undertook that this navigation and commerce should remain precisely as it was, without leaving either party at liberty to make the smallest alteration; and that by the barrier treaty it was stipulated, that his imperial majesty should possess and enjoy the *Austrian* or *Spanish Low Countries*, in the same manner, and upon the same conditions, that they had been enjoyed and possessed by the kings of *Spain* and other princes of the house of *Austria*, and not otherwise. His catholic majesty's minister represents these very same points, insists upon the very same treaties, and draws the very same conclusion on the behalf of *Spain*, that had been before drawn by the States General on their own behalf, as was afterwards very justly objected when this court changed her conduct (14).

(12) See the proof of these facts in our former chapter, on the commerce of the French to the Indies. Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par M. Roussel, tom. iii. p. 148.

(13) Rep. (14) Id. ib. tom. ii.

a fall in equally with the interests of *Spain* and the republic, this is the most decisive proof that this was the original and only meaning of those articles, because it is to be presumed in all treaties, that the mutual benefit of the contracting parties is equally considered. However it might be in the course of these disputes, it was actually proved that the court of *Spain* had already regarded the thing in this light, and had ever taken this to be the sense of those articles in its greatest rigour^o.

^o See the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty of *Munster*, compared with the memorials before cited.

S E C T IV.

His catholic majesty makes a short turn, and, though his right of opposition was the strongest of any, enters into a treaty with the emperor; and, in consequence of that measure, undertakes the protection and support of the new company, which alarms all the other powers, and produces the treaty of Hanover.

- b **B** U T, notwithstanding all this, things soon after changed their appearance; and in consequence of some private negotiations, the court of *Spain* departed on a sudden from all its former maxims, and not only concluded a definitive treaty with his imperial majesty, but a formal alliance also; and, which is still more extraordinary, a treaty of commerce, dated at *Vienna*, May the 1st 1725, manifestly contrary to its own interests, as well as directly repugnant to what in this memorial had been laid down, as the judgment of his catholic majesty, upon the subject of this new commerce^p. It is not necessary to our purpose to enter deeply into the enquiry upon what motives the court of *Madrid* acted in the course of these negotiations. It is sufficient to observe, that, let those motives be what they could, it was impossible they should dissolve the engagements that either their imperial or catholic majesties had formerly entered into with other princes and states; and therefore it was very reasonable for such as had thought themselves injured by this new treaty, to insist upon so plain and so self-evident a principle. The great secrecy with which this negotiation was managed, which produced these treaties, was an argument that this was foreseen by the courts that concluded them; and, indeed, hardly any thing happened within the compass of mens memories that occasioned more universal astonishment than this sudden and surprising union between powers that had so long manifested an irreconcilable aversion; but, however, this would not have given any great distaste to their allies, if they had not been persuaded by this treaty of commerce, especially, that their interests were to be sacrificed to this new friendship, which they could not, and indeed had no reason to bear with patience, or pass over in silence (L).
- c
- d **O**N the conclusion of this treaty, the *Ostend* company seemed to be fixed upon so solid a foundation, that enemies and friends concluded they were not to be shaken, much less ruined and dissolved, by less than a general war; a thing hard of digestion to the maritime powers, who were very unwilling to pull down the work of their own hands, and to destroy that bulwark which, with so much difficulty and expence of blood and treasure they had erected for their own security. On the other hand, they were no less unwilling to see the commerce of their subjects torn away by a prince who had never been invested with this power of ruining them, but by the pains they had taken for his preservation. But, to return to matters of fact, and the methods employed by the maritime powers in conjunction with *France*, which, out of regard to its own interest, very heartily joined them for pulling down this edifice, which threatened its neighbours with the loss of those advantages that for so many ages, by exhaust-
- e

Notwithstanding which they suddenly change sides, and an alliance is concluded with the emperor.

This measure more and more disturbs France and the maritime powers.

^p Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 111. p. 106. 109. 114.

(L) It is generally believed that the court of *Vienna* was not sincere in its negotiations with that of *Madrid*, and that therefore all the mighty projects formed upon the treaties of *Vienna* would have vanished into smoke, even if they had not been opposed; but that fact is very far from being probable, much less clear, for *Spain* persisted as far as she was able, and actually commenced hostilities; neither is it at all unlikely that the emperor would have acted the same part, if *Spain* could have supplied him with money; but the galleons being blocked

up by the *English* fleet rendered that impossible. Now whether the court of *Vienna* was sincere in her engagements with *Spain* or not, yet, if the harmony between these two courts had lasted till *Spain* had recovered *Gibraltar*, and the emperor had thoroughly established the *Ostend* company, the maritime powers would have found themselves in a very untoward situation, which, by the measures specified in the text, was prevented, and both their imperial and catholic majesties brought to accept of reasonable conditions (15).

(15) *Remarks upon the treaty of Hanover*, p. 31.

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ing the wealth of their subjects and the naval power of their respective governments, had placed them in a condition to hold the balance of power, and to prevent the madness of ambitious princes from reducing the inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject state which renders *Asia* the most despicable, tho' in itself the richest, most populous, and most delightful quarter of the earth ^a. The *East India* company in *Holland* were so much alarmed at this accident, and so terrified with the thoughts of seeing this new company on a better footing than themselves, that they could not forbear once more representing their apprehensions to their High Mightinesses, which they did in a memorial that stated clearly as well his imperial majesty's departure from treaties in the setting up of a new company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, as his catholic majesty's breach of the fundamental maxims of the *Spanish* monarchy, and his direct violation of those treaties, to the conclusion of which he owed his crown ^b.

New memorials to the States from the Dutch East India company.

At the conclusion of this memorial there was a kind of insinuation couched indeed in dark and ambiguous terms, but intelligible enough to the penetrating reader, that the company could take no notice of these new treaties, in which the States General had no share, but must regulate their conduct by the old ones, in which they were determined to be very punctual. But, notwithstanding this was understood to hint at very vigorous proceedings in the *Indies*, yet it did not much alarm the two great courts that now made this new trade a common cause, neither did it deter the directors of the *Ostend* company from fitting out more ships for the *Indies*, or from making another call upon their capital, which was, generally speaking, complied with, and by which they were in possession of three fourths of the whole money subscribed, amounting in the whole to about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money ^c. This mortified the *Dutch East India* company exceedingly; they knew very well that if their hands were at liberty they could easily rid themselves of their enemies in the *Indies*, without waiting for the suppression of the company in *Europe*; but they were at the same time sensible of the bad effects this might have, and that the latter, tho' it was plainly the slower method, was by much the safest. They did not fail, however, to represent to the States General, that while they were deliberating, the *Austrian* company were trading, the number of their ships increasing, their credit augmenting, and their interest in the *Indies* spreading daily farther and farther. They insisted therefore that no time was to be lost; that a categorical answer ought to be obtained from the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; that, for want of this, their High Mightinesses might be still kept in a state of inaction, which was all that the protectors of the *Ostend* company could desire, since the last call upon their capital would enable them to erect some good fortresses in the *Indies*, where their flag began already to be known and respected; so that, if no way was left of crushing them but by force, it ought not to be long delayed, since, if it was, even that method would not be left ^d (M).

But their High Mightinesses were still inclined to delay coming to extremities.

WHAT they aimed at by these repeated applications, was to engage the States to take into their serious consideration how the *East India* trade was to be preserved, in case their negotiations should prove as hitherto they had done, altogether ineffectual; and also, that they might engage them to press the two courts so closely, as that they might be obliged to declare whether they meant to carry things to extremities, or were inclined to propose some terms upon which this new company might be suppressed, that they might know what measures themselves were to take, and what assistance the republic would expect from them in a case where the commonwealth might be obliged to risk its own safety in defence of those privileges which they had granted to this company. Of the expediency, and even necessity, of taking some such vigorous step the States General were so sensible, that they resolved to repeat their applications at the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain redress ^e. They were strongly seconded by the courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time, considering how little advantage had hitherto been obtained by slow and pacific measures, resolved, if possible, to quicken them by some step of another kind, which might convince both the emperor and the king of *Spain* that they were not to be frightened with high words, or persuaded out of their properties. They took advantage therefore of the disposition the king of *Prussia* ^f

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 331.
traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 199.

negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 213.

^r Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et

^s Memoires du temps, p. 189.

^t Recueil historique d'actes,

^u Historical register, vol. xi. p. 23.

(M) There is very little reason to doubt that, if things had come to extremities, the *Dutch* in the *Indies* would very soon have delivered themselves from their competitors by sinking or taking their ships, from which they were restrained only from the apprehension of reprisals being made in *Europe*; but, after the conclusion of the *Hanover* treaty, this apprehension was in a great measure

taken away, and therefore we need not wonder that the emperor consented to a suspension of that commerce, when, in fact, he saw plainly, that it could be carried on no longer; for if hostilities had begun in *Europe*, they would have begun and ended too in the *Indies* in a very short space of time (6).

(16) Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, tom. v. p. 19.

- a was in, who saw with some displeasure the exorbitant, and, as he conceived, the anti-constitutional power of the emperor in *Germany*, the consequences of which he thought might be fatal to the prerogatives of himself and of other princes, with which notions striking in they concluded a defensive treaty at *Hanover*, dated *September* the third 1725; which treaty was to subsist for fifteen years, and to which the States General were to be invited to accede^w. Tho' there is not the least mention in this treaty of the *Ostend* company, yet, in the second article, it being provided that the contracting powers guaranty not only each other's dominions, countries, and cities, as well in as out of *Europe*, but also all their rights, privileges, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, it was well enough understood, that under this phrase *particularly*, the *Ostend* company was included, since it was impossible it should so subsist, and the contracting parties preserve their rights and privileges relating to trade. As soon as this alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States General at the *Hague*, but they were likewise invited and pressed to come into it, as the most effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other powers were most interested to procure, the abolition of the new company. For, while the emperor and the king of *Spain* continued so closely united, and the rest of the princes of *Europe* unconnected by any counter alliance, it was evident they had it in their power to do what they pleased, which was likewise visible they intended to use for many purposes absolutely irreconcilable to the interest of other princes and states; more especially, in the case of this company, which stood now upon such a foundation as must have enabled it in a few years to have sustained itself against any force brought to disturb it, since never any establishment of this kind was possessed of equal advantages, or supported with the authority of two such potentates^x.

- But the *Dutch*, tho' they could not help acknowledging, in general terms, the wisdom and prudence of the treaty of *Hanover*, yet did not immediately accede to it; on the contrary, they resolved to try once more the force of applications at the court of *Madrid*. It was with this view that they directed Mr. *Vander Meer*, their ambassador at that court, to present a memorial to demonstrate the injustice that was done them by this late treaty with the emperor, which memorial was actually presented on the 4th of *November* 1725, and contained a most excellent deduction of their rights under several treaties, and a very strong, though succinct representation of the infractions upon these rights, made by the treaty of which they complained^y. This memorial was supported by the *English* and *French* ministers, though presented only by the *Dutch*, and though the ministry disssembled it as much as possible, yet it was known that some of the ablest members of his catholic majesty's council made no scruple of declaring, that the facts laid down in that memorial were not to be denied; so that from this time there wanted not a party in *Spain* that testified as great resentment against the concessions in the late treaty of commerce as the ministers of the maritime powers. By degrees this humour prevailed so far, that a paper was affixed at the gate of his catholic majesty's minister at *Rome*, containing these words: *The Spanish nation do hereby promise a reward of a hundred pistoles to any ingenious person who shall point out a single article in the three treaties lately concluded at Vienna, by which they are to be gainers.*

- e As soon as the conclusion of the *Hanover* treaty was reported in the *Austrian Low Countries*, the proprietors of the *Ostend* company discovered great uneasiness, upon which their directors called a general court, and declared therein a dividend of the six per cent. upon their whole capital; tho', as we observed before, there was still a fourth part unpaid. There is no doubt that this was a very prudent measure, and well-timed, but all the effect it had was to keep their stock from sinking so fast as it would otherwise have done^z. The directors likewise sent more ships to the *Indies*, and applied themselves with greater earnestness than ever to their protectors at *Vienna*, who gave them all the assistance in their power, and indeed the imperial court for some time appeared firm in its resolution to support an establishment that in so short a time had been brought to bear, and the advantages resulting from which were perfectly well understood. The news, however, was no sooner divulged, that the *English* had sent a strong fleet into the *American* seas, in order to block up the galleons, than all the politicians began to apprehend that the period was at hand when the new alliances, that had created so much wonder throughout *Europe*, would be gradually broken and dissolved, without creating any wonder at all, and therefore such as were cautious, and could find any opportunity, disposed of their actions in the new *East India* company, in order to place their money in other funds, where, if it produced less, it might be however more secure. These precautions, tho' taken with as much privacy as possible, operated much to the disadvantage of the *Ostend* company, and more especially, as it deprived them of the advice of some very able heads at the time when their assistance was become most necessary^b.

^w Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 11. p. 127.

^x Remarks on the treaty of Hanover, p. 33.

^y Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 214.

^z Micro-cure historique & politique, vol. lxxix. p. 94.

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 71.

Conduct of the
courts of Vi-
enna and Ma-
drid towards
the States
General on this
treaty.

BUT, whatever might pass in the cabinets of princes, the public face of affairs still continued to wear a threatening aspect, and the two potent confederates, notwithstanding they saw how much the game was against them, did not hastily throw up the cards. On the contrary, the court of *Spain* set a good face upon the matter, entertained the *Dutch* minister at *Madrid* with the fairest words possible, and with usual marks of civility and respect, affected to make light of the remonstrances from the *French* and *English* ministers, and actually sent an ambassador into *Holland* to persuade the States General not only to refuse their concurrence to the *Hanover* treaty, but even to accede, under certain restrictions, to that of *Vienna*; in all which, though there was not the least air of probability, yet they left no step untried to make the world believe that they were not without hopes of success^c. The emperor on his side shewed as great obstinacy, and indeed with more reason, for all the articles of the *Vienna* alliance were entirely in his favour, and the establishing the *Ostend* company in the manner he designed, was a point of such infinite consequence, both with respect to honour and interest, that we need not at all wonder that he pushed it on in the manner he did, or that he laboured by several negotiations in the north to engage most of the crowns there in support of his schemes, in which at first he had extraordinary success, but by degrees the aspect of affairs was changed, by measures which we shall next explain^d (N).

Their High
Mightinesses
tired with in-
effectual re-
monstrances
acceded to the
treaty.

THE States General, seeing how very little they were able to effect by memorials and representations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad consequences of the establishment of the *Ostend* company, with regard to their commerce in the *Indies*, took at last a resolution of acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, notwithstanding all that their imperial and catholic majesties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonstrated to the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* that it was impossible to prosecute their designs farther without the immediate hazard of a war^e. *Spain* seemed resolved to run the risque, and actually committed hostilities against *Great Britain*, by besieging *Gibraltar* with very little effect, and without any assistance from the emperor, who on his side was unable to make the necessary provisions for a rupture without the receiving such supplies from *Spain* as at that time she could not afford. The court of *France* remained steady to her engagements, and appeared so willing to enter into a war against *Spain*, in conjunction with the maritime powers, that this court at length began to dislike the situation she was in, and to wish for reasonable terms. The court of *Vienna*, perceiving that *Spain* began to open her eyes to her own interest, and having never had really any inclination to comply with a certain marriage which their catholic majesties had set their hearts upon, thought likewise of a timely return to her old friends, and of renewing those engagements which had been formerly productive of so many and so great advantages^f.

^c Historical register, vol. xi. p. 35.

ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 151. 158. 314. 337.

^d Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 382.

^e Historical register, vol. xi. p. 39.

^f Recueil historique

(N) It appeared from a variety of circumstances, that the court of *Spain* was inclined punctually to fulfil the treaties of *Vienna*, if it had been in her power, and, after all, to have gone as far in the performing them as it was in her power, which appeared strange to such as had not considered the views of this court with attention, and very easy and natural to those who had: it is very certain that the *Spanish* nation have no reason to be pleased with the new system, injurious and prejudicial to them in all respects; but it certainly promised fair to the royal family, since if *Don Carlos*, the present king of the *Two Sicilies*, had married the eldest archduchess *Mary Theresa*, at present the empress queen, it would have raised a new

and formidable power, to which it would have been exceeding difficult to have set bounds, and the safety and independency of *Europe* must have depended continually on the jealousies and misunderstandings between the branches of one great family (17). According to this new system, all the immediate benefits flowing from these treaties would have resulted to the emperor; but if that marriage had taken place, they would all have centered in the possessions of their catholic majesties descendants. This accounts clearly for the conduct of the court of *Madrid*; and as it could be accounted for no other way, there is the greatest reason to believe that the secret hopes of such marriage were her real and only motives.

(17) Remarks on the treaty of *Hanover*, p. 55.

S E C T. V.

After a long train of operations and negotiations, the court of Vienna, finding it absolutely necessary to temporize, consent to a suspension of the company's charter, in hopes of gaining time, and availing themselves of some more favourable conjuncture for reviving and carrying their scheme into execution.

- a **T**HINGS being in this situation, it was not long before preliminaries were settled, in which there was an article that took away for the present those apprehensions that the settlement of this company had raised. It was some time before it could be so digested as to satisfy all parties; but at length, the preliminaries being absolutely settled and signed at Paris, by the 20th day of May 1727, the first article of them ran thus: "His imperial and catholic majesty, having no other view than to contribute to the public tranquility of Europe, and observing that the commerce of *Ostend* has given birth to jealousy and uneasiness, consents that there shall be a suspension of the charter of the *Ostend* company, and of all the traffick between the *Austrian Netherlands* and the *Indies* during the term of seven years." By the fifth article of the same preliminaries it was agreed, "That the ships which sailed from *Ostend* before this convention, the names whereof were to be given in a list on the part of his imperial majesty, were to be permitted safely to return home; and, in case any of them should be taken, it was agreed that they should be *bona fide* restored with their cargoes." This gave the decisive blow to the new company at *Ostend*, notwithstanding the prosperous condition in which their affairs had been affirmed to be in the month of September preceding, when, in a general assembly of the proprietors, the directors had declared, that their last sale having produced upwards of five millions of florins, they had placed a part thereof to the account of their capital, which being thereby rendered complete, they had no farther demands upon their subscribers, which was therefore looked upon as equivalent to a dividend of twenty-five per cent.^b (O).
- c It may be observed, that the antient allies of his imperial majesty were content, provided full satisfaction was given them, that it should be given in the gentlest manner, and in that which least affected the credit and authority of so great a monarch; for it is not to be doubted, that tho' nothing more than a temporary suspension appeared in the preliminaries, yet an absolute

Preliminaries settled and signed at Paris, by which the commerce of the Ostend company is suspended.

On what reasons the presumption is grounded, that the suppression

^a Corps universelle diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 11. p. 146. p. 358, 359.

^b Mercure historique & politique, vol. lxxxi.

(O) On the 30th of August 1727, his imperial majesty's minister, count *Konigsberg Erps*, delivered, with a very short memorial (18), a list of twelve ships belonging to the *Ostend* company that were in the *Indies* at that time, and consequently were to return under the protection of the preliminaries. But, to make this history as complete as possible, we will not only give the reader the names of those ships, but of all the ships that were fitted out by this company while it so continued (19).

"In the year 1724, the directors sent out three ships, viz. the *Emperor Charles*, captain *Michael Caiffes*, carrying thirty pieces of cannon, bound for the Bay of Bengal, but was lost in the river *Ganges*; the *Empress Elizabeth*, captain *Balthasar Rose*, carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Eagle*, captain *Nicholas Charpentier*, carrying five and-twenty pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*. These two ships returned.

"In the year 1725, there sailed from *Ostend* three vessels for the *Indies*, *Charles the Sixth*, captain *James Winter*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for the Bay of Bengal; the *Empress*, captain *Clarke*, carrying thirty-four pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Marquis de Prie*, captain *Andrew Vlaendering*, carrying thirty six pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*; all these vessels returned.

"In the year 1726, the sailed five vessels, the *Lion of Gold*, captain *James Larne*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Eagle*, captain *John Wael*, carrying thirty four pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*; the *Peace*, captain *Philip Peronet*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for Bengal; and the *Hope*, captain *Nicholas Charpentier*, carrying thirty-four pieces of cannon, likewise for Bengal.

"In the year 1727, there sailed four vessels for the *Indies*, the *Archduchess Elizabeth*, captain *Michael Caiffes*, carrying thirty-two pieces of cannon, bound for Bengal; *Charles the Sixth*, captain *De Meyenne*, carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, bound likewise for Bengal. The *Concord*, captain *Ryngaet*, carrying thirty six pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Marquis de Prie*, captain *Branwer*, carrying twenty eight pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*. The *St. Anthony of Padua*, commanded by *John Van Bruckel*; the *St. Ann*, commanded by *Matthieu Clynkuert*; and the *St. Joseph*, commanded by *Daniel Petre*, sailed in May and June, in the nature of advice boats for the coast of *Brasil*, in order to meet the homeward-bound ships, to inform their commanders of the state of affairs; and these last twelve were the ships in the list before-mentioned."

(18) *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites*, tom. iii. p. 413.

(19) *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. lxxxi. p. 383. *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites*, tom. iii. p. 415.

was intended, suppression of the *Ostend* company was concluded, for nothing less could answer the ends of a the maritime powers, nor would they have gained any thing by this suspension of commerce when the suspension only of this company for seven years, considering what was stipulated on their side, but would rather have done their competitors a favour. Whereas, considering it in the other light, and that they relied on the tacit assurances given them, with which his imperial majesty afterwards punctually complied, that the commerce of this company should never be restored to activity, their concession appears to have been well founded, and to have been a caution necessary for preventing new jealousies or disputes, which it was expedient for both parties to avoid as much as possible: and thus this thorny and perplexed business was at length adjusted, which had so long attracted the attention of all *Europe*, the emperor preferring the security of the succession in his family, and the welfare of his dominions in general, to this favourite project on the behalf b of the *Austrian Low Countries*; as, on the other hand, the *Hanover* allies, satisfied in carrying this great point, were willing to afford his imperial majesty, as they some time after did, the most convincing marks of a sincere and thorough reconciliation ¹ (P).

The facts laid down in this account make the history of this section in dependent of arguments.

THERE have been, we are very sensible, accounts very different from this, in regard to the motives, measures, and issue of the *Hanover* alliance, in which it is suggested that the plan of the *East Indies* was only a plausible pretence; that the real ends of that alliance were of very little, if any, importance to the maritime powers; and that, in the conclusion, *France* found her particular interest better served by this treaty than any other power. It would be much beside our purpose to enter into this controversy, which, whatever way it turns, will not in any degree affect what we have advanced; to prove which, is indeed the only reason that we c mentioned it. For whether this new commerce to the *Indies* was in itself so directly contrary to treaties, or whether the destroying it was the prime ground of *Great Britain's* entering into this alliance, are matters which we are not bound to discuss. What related to our subject, and what concerns the business of this section, was to shew how, and by what authority, the new company was erected; whence so much umbrage was taken at its commerce; what arguments were advanced to prove its incompatibility with the general system of *Europe*; the means by which the powers insisting upon these arguments brought them at length to bear; and how, in consequence of all this, a company established with such high expectations, and carried on for some time with such extraordinary success, came at last to sink, and to be suppressed by that power which erected it, and was alone concerned in interest to support it. These are all d matters of fact, and matters of fact that very nearly concern us; if therefore these be set in such a light as is agreeable to truth, and give the reader a clear view from first to last of a very important transaction; those other political conjectures and discussions are out of the question with respect to us; for whatever the secret views of this treaty might be, how much soever *France* might avail herself of this alliance, to bring back *Spain* to a dependency upon her, yet the suppression of the *Ostend* company, which was a thing of infinite importance to the maritime powers, and to which therefore they owed particular attention, was thereby absolutely accomplished; and so far at least they were great gainers by this alliance ².

Motives which induced the ministers of the court of Vienna to

BUT it was not barely attachment to punctilio, and a desire of having every thing treated with the greatest decorum, that induced the imperial ministers to procure the first point in the e preliminaries to mention a suspension only; though a suppression was really intended of the company at *Ostend*, they had several other reasons for insisting upon that step, and, as some

¹ Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. v. p. 133, 134, 135.
² Memoires des demandes faites, par les plenipotentiaires des Etats Generaux, au nom des allies de Hanover, aux allies de Vienne, Juin 30, 1728.

(P) It was impossible fully to discuss this affair without entering into the history of the negotiations with which the suspension and suppression of the *Ostend* company were attended; but we have brought these into as narrow a compass as possible, and with this view have avoided saying any thing of the treaty of *Seville*, or the disputes it occasioned, reserving this note to inform the reader that the crown of *Great Britain* having concluded with his imperial majesty a treaty, which was signed at *Vienna*, March the 16th 1731, by the fifth article of which his imperial majesty consents to the total and absolute suppression of the *Ostend* company, and undertakes that neither that shall be revived, nor any other of the same nature erected in any part of the *Spanish Low Countries*, at any time to come; but, at the same time, stipulates, that the *Ostend* company may, for the last time, send two

ships to the *East Indies*, which were to be permitted also a safe return, and thenceforward all their power and privileges were to determine; granted on the other hand her guaranty for the pragmatic sanction, and undertook to procure the guaranty likewise of the States General of the United Provinces (20). It is therefore plain, that in the sentiments of the contracting parties to these treaties, there were reciprocal advantages stipulated with which they were mutually content; and, as the maritime powers by this act took upon themselves a trust of the highest importance, and which they have since executed with great hazard and at an immense expence, we may safely infer that they have purchased, and dearly purchased, whatever benefits they either have derived, or may derive, from the concessions made in this treaty by the house of *Austria*.

(20) *Corps universelle diplomatique*, tom. xv. p. 288.

- a of these regard our subject, we shall mention them. The hopes of sharing in this lucrative commerce, having brought many rich as well as active people to interest themselves therein, it was held convenient to manage this affair with much caution, to avoid as far as possible either ^{protract as much as possible.} injuring or disobliging them, towards which nothing could contribute more than proceeding with visible slowness and reluctance on the part of his imperial majesty ¹. The gaining time in this matter was of consequence to the imperial ministers in another respect, as it afforded them an opportunity of magnifying the sacrifice they had made, and of procuring reciprocal acts of friendship from those in whose favour they had made it; which, in process of time, they in a great measure accomplished by the subsequent treaty of *Vienna*. Lastly, it afforded them leisure to consider whether, notwithstanding the suppressing the company at *Ostend*, some
- b other method might not be found for establishing either that, or the like beneficial commerce, in some other part of his imperial majesty's dominions, where it might not be liable to those formidable objections which had been already raised against this attempt in the *Austrian Netherlands*, in which, however, they were not very lucky, though they employed much attention and spared no pains about it; and as this likewise has a strict connection with our subject, it will not be amiss to shew the nature of those endeavours in a manner as clear and as succinct as possible ^m.

¹ Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. vi. p. 3. historique et politique, tom. lxxx. p. 630.

^m Mercure

S E C T. VI.

The methods taken to support the company, and elude all stipulations for suppressing their commerce with the Indies, by obtaining passports from neutral powers, and bringing their cargoes into different ports, which protracted things for some time, but in the end proved ineffectual.

- c **T**H E places that were thought of upon this occasion were *Trieste* and *Fiume*, two small towns which are about fifty miles asunder. The former is situated in the principality of *Carniola*, at the bottom of a gulph which passes by the same name, and opens into that of *Venice*; the other in *Croatia*, upon the gulph of *Venice* likewise, with several islands before it. The peninsula of *Istria* lies between them, which belongs to the republic of *Venice*; and the communication through the country behind him is none of the safest or most convenient. These ports are neither of them large or commodious; of some improvements indeed they were capable, and these have been made, and the fortifications, which were tolerable, repaired ⁿ. After all, however, they are but poor places, and ill situated, so that it was plain their chief recommendation arose from their being the only ports that the emperor
- d had: all the measures were practised that could be devised to give these little havens an air of importance; the mole at *Trieste* was completed, magazines erected, and a man of war was said to be put upon the stocks. At *Fiume*, the harbour was cleansed, a fort or two erected in its neighbourhood, and an inspector of marine sent thither. New privileges were granted to the inhabitants; all sorts of immunities offered to strangers who would settle there; and, in a word, every art practised that might probably contribute to draw trade to them; and, as marks of still greater favour, his imperial majesty *Charles* the sixth went thither towards the close of the year 1728, saw the man of war launched at *Trieste*, and made his public entry into *Fiume*, where a triumphal arch was erected with a pompous inscription, celebrating his great power by sea as well as land, and complimenting him on his being the protector of commerce, and the guardian of the arts of peace. But all was ineffectual, the deficiencies of these places were apparent and not to be remedied; so that all the rhetoric of the court of *Vienna* was thrown away, and such of the *Ostend* projectors as embarked themselves in this scheme, lost some of their money and all their reputation ^o.

THE manufactories too, that had been erected in the duchy of *Austria*, and in other of the hereditary dominions, hardly supported themselves; and nothing but the interposition of their imperial majesties in favour of that of porcelain at *Vienna* could have prevented it from being given up, and it now turns to some account. These disappointments drove the undertakers for establishing an *East India* commerce from the imperial court, and lessened very much that attention which, for some years, the principal ministers had paid to trade, which they began to

A project for transferring this commerce to some other ports in his imperial majesty's dominions.

But, notwithstanding all imaginable endeavours to bring it to bear, proves abortive.

ⁿ Geographie moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 189.

^o Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 295.

consider as a plant of foreign growth, that would not thrive in any soil where they could place it. Some of the younger ministers, however, began to take a pleasure in considering these schemes, and inquiring into the true causes of their proving always abortive; which they quickly discovered to be their introduction by strangers, to whom the people in those countries have a great aversion, and the weight of their taxes, and the bad management of their finances, by which all the branches of public service were in arrear, at the same time that the subject was exhausted, and in no capacity of undertaking any thing that would do more than supply immediate subsistence^p. By degrees, as some of these statesmen have risen in employments, they have made use of such lights as those inquiries furnished, have put many things upon a better footing, rendered the great roads more commodious, and have brought several manufactures to bear; all which ought to be attributed to the memorials that were presented by such as, if the thing had been practicable, would have repaired the loss the subjects of his imperial majesty had sustained by the suppression of the company at *Ostend*; and if, in those days, the court had been as well disposed in favour of the people of *Hungary* as they are at present, something might have been done on that side more considerable, while *Belgrade* was in the hands of his imperial majesty, which was very advantageously situated for carrying on of trade with the several Christian nations that were subjects of the *Ottoman* empire^q. But, while these measures were taking at *Vienna*, the directors of the *Ostend* company (without his imperial majesty's privacy) were contriving to keep their commerce still on foot by a variety of methods, which, tho' they sometimes promised success, in the close, however, proved absolutely fruitless and ineffectual.

The directors of the *Ostend* company, however, enter into schemes for carrying on their commerce

AFTER the first astonishment on the suspension of their commerce was over, those who were intrusted with the secrets of the *Ostend* company began to reflect with themselves, that ships had found their way to and from the *East Indies* without any better protection than passports, before they had any charter; and they concluded from thence, that it might not prove impossible to send some vessels thither still by the same method, and get them back again with the like success, provided passports could be obtained from some crowned head. Accordingly they formed a project upon this basis; and as it is said that money will purchase all things, so, by the help of that, they found a proprietor and a protector for some of their ships^r (Q). The former was Mr. *Adam Pruner*, a rich merchant of *Lintz* in *Austria*, who, on certain necessary occasions, was to pass for the owner of ships and cargoes; the latter was the late king of *Poland*, from whom the *Austrian* merchants procured a passport for the *St. Theresa*, and other ships, the names of which are not known. In the *Indies* the company had a very able agent residing in the factory on the *Ganges*, provided loadings for such ships as came thither, and particularly for two, of which the *St. Theresa* was one, at the proper season in 1730^s. This, though carried on very secretly, could not escape the notice of the *English* and *Dutch*, who, towards the close of the month of *January* in the same year, sent a squadron under the command of captain *Gosfricht* in the *Fordwich* to block up the river. Upon his arrival in his station, he found the two ships at anchor; upon which he ordered the *Princess Caroline* to

^p From private information.

^q *MARSILII opus danubiale*, tom. vi. negotiations, memoires, et traites, tom. viii. p. 303.

^r *Recueil historique d'actes*, Mercure historique et politique, tom. xci. p. 100.

(Q) The dexterity of those who had the direction of this trading company at *Ostend*, appeared in every thing they did, and more especially in that diversity of methods by which they endeavoured to secure themselves a retreat, at the very same time that they laboured to keep up an opinion, as well in the *Indies* as in *Europe*, that they should still be able to stand their ground; and that, notwithstanding the situation of the emperor's affairs was such as obliged him to consent to a suspension of their commerce, yet this was only to give time for examining into the rights upon which their charter was granted; and, as these were incontestible, all things would at last issue in their favour. By these arts, and by the help of some ships that arrived from the *Indies*, they kept up the price of their stock for above a year after the signing preliminaries, upon which many knowing people thought it would have sunk to nothing (21). However, in *October* 1728, they discharged the workmen in their yards, and many other of their inferior servants; upon which their stock fell very considerably in the summer of 1729. However, they contrived, by a variety of reports, to raise it again to seventy-four; but, before the close of

that year, it fell to little more than fifty. After all these misfortunes, in a general court held *March* 30th, 1730, the directors produced their accounts, and acknowledged, that the cash of the company amounted to upwards of seven millions and a half, exclusive of four millions that, it was believed, would arise from the sale of their effects, fixed for the first of *June*; and, in consequence of this, they declared a dividend of forty per cent. (22), ten per cent. of which was to be paid in money, and the other thirty in bills, that were to be discharged in a reasonable time after the sale; an artifice by which numbers of the proprietors were deceived, and still flattered themselves with hopes that their directors, who had already done so much, would be still able to do more, and find the ways and means of carrying on their trade by some secret canal, in spite of all the negotiations and treaties, and in spite too of the vigilance of the maritime powers, who made no scruple now of owning their intention to seize and make prizes of any vessels that should appear to have sailed from *Europe* after the signing of the preliminaries (23).

^v (21) *Mercurius historique et politique*, tom. lxxxv. p. 475, 476.

^v (22) See the *historical register*, and other periodical works in these years.

(22) *Ibid.* tom. lxxxviii. p. 475, 476.

a attack them, and the *Duke of York*, another ship under his command, to support him. As soon as the *Princess Caroline* was within reach of the lesser of the two ships, she fired a gun, by which one of the men on board her lost his leg, and another had his arm broke, and the captain was very near being killed; who, perceiving that the *Duke of York* was preparing to grapple and board her, struck to the *Princess Caroline*, while his consort slipped, and took shelter under the cannon of the factory, where it was not thought expedient at that time to follow and attack her; and she afterwards had the good fortune to escape¹.

UPON the bringing of the prize to *Fort William*, she appeared to be the *St. Theresa*, com-
manded by captain *Dominick Braco*; but she had not taken in above one-third of her lading. In order to which they find means to procure pass-ports from the crowns of Poland and Prussia.
Not long after this news arrived in *Europe*, the directors of the *Ostend* company procured an
b application to be made by his *Polish* majesty's minister for the discharge of this ship, as having
sailed from *Europe* under his protection; which, however, did not succeed so well as they
expected². This was, in all probability, the reason that they had recourse to another court,
which was that of *Prussia*, and obtained from thence a protection for the *Apollo*, commanded
by captain *Michael Caiefas*, of the burthen of four hundred tons; which passport was dated at
Berlin, on the first of *May* 1729: but, as the blanks for the name and burthen of the ship
appeared, upon inspection, to be filled up long after it was granted, there was great reason to
believe that the court of *Prussia* was not acquainted with the use that was intended to be made of
it; and that this surreptitious pass was conveyed to the commander of that vessel, when he was
homeward-bound, by some of the advice-boats belonging to the *Ostend* company; but, how-
c ever it was, this matter was managed with such dexterity and diligence, that the secret was
never absolutely discovered; but captain *Caiefas*, having got this passport into his hands, availed
himself of it, as the reader will see, and thereby preserved both ship and cargo, though not
without running through some difficulties and dangers³.

UPON his returning into the seas of *Europe*, he hoisted *Prussian* colours; and, being obliged
to put into a port of *Ireland* for shelter, received such succours as he wanted, and then conti-
nued his voyage for the *Elbe*. In proceeding up that river, he came to an anchor under the
fortress of *Stade*, belonging to his *Britannic* majesty as elector of *Hanover*, where he paid the
port-duties, was received and treated as a *Prussian* ship, and, when he had dispatched whatever
affairs he had there, sailed for *Hamburg*, in which port he arrived the twelfth of *September*.
d 1731⁴. The directors of the *Ostend* company, being informed of the safe arrival of the *Apollo*,
were transported with joy; and, to revive the drooping spirits of their proprietors, very im-
prudently gave out, that, notwithstanding they were deprived of the liberty of supplying their
magazines in the *Netherlands*, they would nevertheless furnish all *Germany* and the north with
East India commodities, and for this purpose were determined to establish their staple at *Ham-*
burgh; and, in support of these declarations, they published advertisements in all the gazettes,
of the time when their public sale was to commence in that city⁵. They grounded their hopes
of being able to go through this affair with the same success which had hitherto attended it,
upon the great privileges granted by the empire for encouraging the navigation of the *Elbe*, and
upon the authority of the free city of *Hamburg*, not doubting that the magistrates, for the
e sake of the advantage their citizens would reap from these sales, and the great resort of mer-
chants thither on that account, would give them all the assistance in their power; in which, as
the event shewed, they were not much mistaken; and, all circumstances considered, this was
certainly as shrewd a contrivance as they could possibly have devised in the then desperate state
of their affairs, and shews, that these managers were men of very great abilities, and would
have sustained this traffick if it had been possible⁶.

BUT the maritime powers foreseeing that the last mischief would be worse than the first, if
a speedy and effectual remedy was not applied, agreed upon a joint application to the magi-
strates and senate of *Hamburg*; and accordingly Sir *Cyril Wych* and Mr. *Maurtius*, the *Bri-*
tish and *Dutch* ministers, presented a memorial conceived in very strong terms, in which they
f set forth, that an interloper, employed in a clandestine and illicit trade, in direct breach of
treaties, had taken shelter in their port, and pretended to expect protection and impunity; that
this vessel, called the *Apollo*, was returned with a cargo from the *East Indies*, to which they
had no right to resort; and therefore insisted the vessel should be sequestered, and her contents
secured; so that no clandestine sale might be made, before the maritime powers had an oppor-
tunity of discussing this matter with such potentates as might unexpectedly interfere; adding,
that they relied upon this, the rather as it would enable them to do justice to the magistrates
and senate, and to their high constituents, whose favour it behoved them to consider, rather
than expose the commerce of their great and opulent city to imminent dangers in the cause of

¹ Extract from a private letter, dated at Fort William, in the bay of Bengal, Feb. 26th, 1729-30.

² From

private information. ³ Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, tom. viii. p. 303, 304.

⁴ Mercure historique et politique, tom. xci. p. 342.

⁵ In which those facts are affirmed.

tom viii. p. 304.

⁶ Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez,

they knew not who *. This memorial was dated the tenth of *December*; and the magistrates, easily comprehending the importance of this affair, engaged the senate to communicate it immediately to the great assembly of their citizens, who, by the constitutions of *Hamburg*, are the judges of such matters in the last resort; and, having received their sentiments, the result of them was signified, on the twelfth of the same month, to the *British* and *Dutch* ministers, to the following effect †:

Answer made
to this memo-
rial on behalf
of the free im-
perial city of
Hamburg.

THAT the senate had been indeed informed, that the ship called the *Apollo* came from *China*, and was expected from thence some time before her arrival; but that this vessel had put into a port in *Ireland*, had passed freely through the *British* chanel, had declared whence she was bound, and her cargo, and had paid duty at the custom-house of *Stade*, belonging to the king of *Great Britain*, as duke of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and had been now three months in her port, where she had delivered most of her cargo, without interruption or complaint: that, in this case, they apprehended themselves not able to comply with what was desired; but that they hoped their reasons would be fairly represented: that, in the memorial demanding the arrest and sequestration of the ship and cargo, two points seem to be laid down; the first, that this vessel was not under any protection; the second, that, coming from the *Indies*, she had no right to anchor in their road. With respect to the first, the vessel had indubitably a *Prussian* passport, which had been examined and respected at *Stade*; and her having been three months in their harbour in that quality, and this fact being published in the gazettes, without any complaint from the king of *Prussia*, they could have no reason to question the fact; that the senate knew very well it did not belong to her to decide the rights and pretensions in question between great powers; and that as these ministers suggested in their memorial, that this point was to be cleared between their high constituents and some other potentates, that ought, in justice and equity, to excuse them from interposing precipitately, and thereby involving themselves in the dispute not only with his *Prussian* majesty, but with those other potentates, whoever they were: that, as to the second point, the *Elbe* was a common and free river to the whole *Germanic* empire, appertaining to his imperial majesty as chief of the empire, and to the electors and princes, more especially to those that have territories lying thereon; that therefore it is not in the power of the city of *Hamburg* to violate the liberties and privileges of a river which belongs to the emperor and the empire, since that would be a manifest departure from her fidelity and duty; and that, besides, it is utterly consistent with her interest and constitution, her inhabitants subsisting intirely by her free commerce, having a right to admit any ships whatever into her harbour, not known to be enemies to the empire, or pirates; so that she could not avoid receiving a vessel having his *Prussian* majesty's passport, and carrying *Prussian* colours; more especially after she had been respected and treated as such at his *Britannic* majesty's fortress and custom-house at *Stade*: that, as to the remaining part of the memorial, the senate, after the duties were once paid, never interfered farther with the cargoes of any ships, but left the proprietors of them to dispose of them as they thought proper, according to the usage of all free trading cities; so that, except the general declaration at the custom-house, they had no knowledge whatever of the contents of this vessel, and therefore it was impracticable, at the distance of three months, to do what was required; more especially as it was impossible for them to learn to whom the remains of these goods belonged, or how the property might be changed by their being sold, pledged, or bartered, not to mention their being bound by their oath, agreeable to the fundamental laws and constitutions of the city, not to search houses, warehouses, cellars, and other places, appertaining to the citizens and inhabitants, unless for some capital crime; which if they should attempt, it would be fatal to what little commerce and trade they had still left, and would be at the same time fruitless, and to no purpose; that therefore the honourable senate besought the envoy extraordinary *Wych*, and the resident *Mauritius*, to represent favourably to his *Britannic* majesty and to the States-General the impossibility of the senate and city's complying with the demands contained in their memorial; and that, on the other hand, the senate is ready and willing to do, to the utmost of her small power, whatever may contribute to promote and render flourishing the *British* and *Dutch* commerce in their city.

But, at the
same time, the
regency very
wisely demand
his imperial
majesty's pro-
tection.

THE magistrates and senate of *Hamburg*, the very same day that they returned this answer to the maritime powers, wrote a letter to the emperor, conceived in very strong, but at the same time in very respectful terms; setting forth the difficulties they were under, the apprehensions they had of incurring the displeasure of two great powers, and their inability to avoid this, without breach of their fidelity to the empire, violating the constitution of the liberties of their city, and sacrificing those privileges and immunities, by which not only its commerce was preserved, but upon which also its very subsistence depended; and therefore claiming his imperial majesty's interposition and protection in a case of such high importance, and as

* See that memorial in the work last cited.
tom. viii. p. 307.

† Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traites,

- a their sole resource in that peril and perplexity in which they were^c. But, before they could receive any answer to this letter, the ministers of the maritime powers presented another memorial on the fourteenth of the same month, conceived in still stronger terms; requiring, that they should use their utmost endeavours to preserve the cargo of the *Apollo* intire; and that they should forbid, or at least suspend, the public sale advertised for the *Wednesday* following, at the house of one *Govers*, inasmuch as they were well informed, that those goods were not his property, but belonged to foreigners, and particularly to *Dutchmen*, for whom he was only factor; that it was not the intention of his *Britannic* majesty, or their high mightinesses, to offer the least wrong or prejudice to the city of *Hamburgb*, or its inhabitants, unless they drew it upon themselves, but was principally designed to hinder their own subjects from carrying on an illicit trade, under colour of some foreign protection; and that therefore the magistrates would easily comprehend, that, in case they tolerated this sale after this notice, it would become a very serious affair, since they did not protect therein their own subjects, but those of other nations, in the breach of the laws of their respective countries^d.
- b

- To this memorial those to whom it was addressed made a speedy and copious reply, still insisting on the grand privilege of the river *Elbe*, the great impropriety of their taking upon them to be judges in disputes between the principal powers in *Europe*, and the hazard they should run of disobliging the king of *Prussia*, and of being thought to dishonour the whole empire, if they pretended to do what was demanded^e. They likewise wrote again to the emperor, on the nineteenth of the same month, in terms more pathetic than before; beseeching him to take some measures for securing their sinking commerce, and to engage the maritime powers not to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the free navigation of the *Elbe*, which till now had never been disputed^f. But, notwithstanding all these memorials, the maritime powers found themselves in no situation to push this matter to the utmost; for soon after certain persons interposed, of too high a rank to be disobliged; so that, notwithstanding the goods were sold, they chose rather to let the thing be spun to a great length, and at last be intirely dropped, than to proceed to extremities, as not knowing how far his imperial majesty might find himself obliged to support the free navigation of the *Elbe*, or whether the king of *Prussia* might not at length interfere, from a point of honour, in support of his flag, with whom, at that juncture, it was by no means convenient to have any difference. In this instance, therefore, the *Ostend* company seemed to prevail; with which the directors were highly pleased, and flattered themselves from thence, that they had fallen upon a method of carrying on their trade, notwithstanding what was stipulated in treaties; but it was not long before they found the contrary, and that his imperial majesty was determined to make his peace with the maritime powers at their expence^g.
- c
- d

- UPON receiving advice at *Ostend* of the time when another ship of theirs, called the *Syren*, was to return to *Europe*, they took care to send an advice-boat, with orders to the commander to put into the port of *Cadiz*; where, on his arrival, he found a *French* ship, called the *Maria Armand*, on board which all the cargo was transferred; and the *French* captain took a bill of lading, importing, that the goods were the sole property of a *Spanish* merchant, and then sailed for *Hamburgb*, where they had their agents to sell them privately^h. The maritime powers, however, had intelligence of the whole transaction, and, to avoid the inconveniencies they had met with in the former affair, applied themselves directly to his imperial majesty; representing, that these artifices were direct violations of the treaties which his imperial majesty had concluded. The emperor, having considered this representation maturely, sent his rescript to his minister at *Hamburgb*, dated *October* the first 1732, at *Lintz* in *Austria*; by which he signified to the magistrates and senate, that being informed that the late company at *Ostend*, notwithstanding the signification of his pleasure, had caused a ship, freighted with commodities from the *Indies*, to be sent thither, in order to be exposed to sale in that city, his imperial majesty, being resolved not to permit either the late company, or any of the subjects of his hereditary countries, to carry on an illicit trade, contrary to treaties, desired that they would not only prevent any such sale, but also that they would cause the goods to be sequesteredⁱ. The burgomasters and council of *Hamburgb*, instead of complying with this rescript, remonstrated, that, upon inquiry, it had been made appear to them, that neither the ship nor the goods belonged to the *Ostend* company, or to any of the subjects of his imperial majesty; but that the ship was *French*, and the cargo belonged to a *Spanish* merchant, as might appear by the papers subjoined. His imperial majesty, however, was so well apprised of every artifice that had been used, that he
- e
- f

^c Lettre du magistrat de Hambourg à l'empereur, du 12 Decembre 1731.

^d Memoire historique et politique, tom. xci. p. 553. Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, tom. viii. p. 319, 320, 321.

^e Memoire historique et politique, tom. lxxxi. p. 692, 693.

^f Lettre de la ville de Hambourg écrite à l'empereur.

^g Mercure historique et politique, tom. xcii. p. 336.

^h Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. viii. p. 89.

ⁱ Mercure historique et politique, tom. xciii. p. 573, 574.

persisted in his demand, and this notwithstanding the *Spanish* court signified to the agent of a *Hamburg* at *Madrid*, that the cargo of the *Maria Armand* was *Spanish* property * (R).

* Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires, et traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. viii. p. 343.

(R) At the very same time that the directors were contriving and putting in practice these schemes to keep their commerce alive, notwithstanding the treaties that had been, or might be made for its suspension or suppression, they made no scruple of availing themselves of the stipulations his imperial majesty had made in their favour, in respect to their sending two ships to the *Indies*, to which the maritime powers were to give no disturbance either in their outward or in their homeward-bound passage. These vessels were, the *Concord*, of five hundred tons, forty pieces of cannon, and eighty men, commanded by captain *James de Lormes*; and the duke of *Lorraine*, of the same burden, carrying forty-four pieces of cannon,

and one hundred and ninety men, commanded by captain *Le Clerc*; which sailed from the road of *Ostend*, with *Dutch* passports, in the beginning of the month of *April* 1732, having on board a large quantity of timber and stores, for refitting a ship belonging to the company, then lying in the bay of *Bengal* (24). These ships returned safely to *Ostend* towards the latter end of the year 1734; and his imperial majesty being then engaged in a war with the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and having a greater dependence than ever on the interposition of the maritime powers, all thoughts of supporting this commerce were intirely laid aside (25).

(24) *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tom. xcii. p. 480. et traitez, par Roussel, tom. viii. p. 343—479.

(25) *Recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, memoires*,

S E C T. VII.

The conclusion of this affair, and the total extinction of the Ostend company; with some curious remarks upon this interesting subject, and a display of the difficulties that will attend all projects for establishing any new companies of this sort, from the opposition of the European powers already in possession of this trade.

His imperial majesty interposes his authority, in order to put an end to all these practices.

AFTER the sequestration was made, this affair was spun to a great length, no endeavours being spared to get it removed; but when these were found altogether ineffectual, some overtures were made of another kind, and at last things were brought to this conclusion: the magistrates and senate of *Hamburg* published a decree, in which they recited, that the *Ostend* company being abolished, in conformity to treaties; and that whereas the sale of the cargo of the *Apollo*, and the arrival and delivery of the cargo of the *Maria Armand*, had given great suspicions and uneasinesses to the maritime powers, at whose solicitation his imperial majesty had signified his pleasure to them, that no countenance should be given to such illicit trade; they therefore, to shew the honour and respect they had for his imperial majesty, as well as to remove the before-mentioned suspicions, directed their subjects, the present circumstances considered, not to interfere with, or to have any thing to do, for the future, with such interlopers: and, upon the publication of this decree, the sequestration was taken off, and the goods in question were privately withdrawn¹. Thus ended these tedious disputes, and with them the artificial contrivances of the directors of the *Ostend* company to elude the suppression of their commerce with the *Indies*, which had given so much trouble and disquiet to the maritime powers, and which raised a spirit, which, though quelled in the *Low Countries*, has not, however, ceased to appear in other parts, as the reader will be informed hereafter, and which, it is very possible, may occasion, some time or other, new disturbances, when an acquaintance with the facts contained in this chapter will prove a very useful and necessary kind of knowledge; nor will it be amiss to add a few further particulars flowing from the same subject.

Some thoughts have been since entertained of sending ships to the East Indies.

WHEN, in consequence of a long train of negotiations, the grand duchy of *Tuscany* came into the possession of the duke of *Lorraine*, and that prince espoused the heiress of the house of *Austria*, some new schemes in favour of commerce, and even of an *East India* commerce, came again under consideration; which, however, were postponed upon the death of his imperial majesty, on account of the war which that event produced, and the complaisance that it became necessary to have for the maritime powers: yet it is reported, that certain privateers, fitted out in the havens of one of the maritime powers, had actually commissions to make reprisals in the *Indies*, for some injuries done, or said to be done, to the subjects of his late imperial majesty, when they traded there under the sanction of the charter granted to the *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands*². What the consequences might have been, if those ships had reached *India*, and had made captures amongst the *Moorish* ships by virtue of this commission, cannot with any certainty be affirmed; but, without doubt, they would not

¹ This decree was dated January 15th, 1734. admit of any explanation.

² This fact is too recent, and of a nature too delicate, to

- a have done either honour or service to the country from whence those ships were to have sailed, and where some notice being given of their design, it was very happily prevented : yet these vessels entering afterwards into the emperor's service, as grand duke of *Tuscany*, a report prevailed in the world, as if a new *East India* company would be erected at *Florence* or *Leghorn* ; but whether this was only a report, or whether, upon trial, the thing was found impracticable, the design seems to be laid aside, and another, better calculated to succeed, substituted in its room ; which, instead of an *Indian*, respects a commerce in the *Levant*, where, by means of the treaties concluded with the *Porte*, and all the corsairs of *Barbary*, it is supposed they may carry on a trade with advantage ; and, in this case, the ports of *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, which, in consequence of the pains taken about them, have more shipping and traffick than they had, will likewise receive benefit. Here then is an additional advantage arising even from disappointed projects ; so that it seems as if the very endeavouring to introduce trade into countries where it is not already settled, or opening new branches where it is, brings, sooner or later, benefits of some kind or other, though perhaps not precisely what were expected.

- ALL these endeavours, disappointments, and new projects, are so many cogent and incontrovertible proofs of the value of that commerce, by the hopes of obtaining which they were excited : for if the ministers of the imperial court were not fully satisfied that it was in truth the master-wheel which put in motion all the rest, why did they express so much concern and uneasiness about it ? or why embark in such a multiplicity of negotiations to preserve it, to recover it, or to retrieve but part of it ? All this certainly could not proceed from their being the dupes of projectors, but from a thorough conviction, founded on experience, which made them so heavily regret a loss, the value of which themselves could not compute, tho' they had made several trials while the trade was still subsisting ; and with the sight of something of this kind perhaps the reader will not be displeased, since it will at once furnish an apology for their conduct, and for our own in prosecuting this matter so minutely. They conceived then, if the *Ostend* company had been once effectually established, the whole *East India* trade, in less than a century, would have been confined to the *Austrian Netherlands*, and, perhaps, the greatest part of the trade in *Europe* must have followed it. In order to explain this, we must remember, that the *Austrian Low Countries* are in themselves much finer than the provinces which compose the *Dutch* republic, and much better situated for trade : their sales of *East India* commodities would have brought prodigious sums of ready money into those provinces ; and this must have revived and restored those manufactures which formerly flourished there more than in any part of *Europe*, which would have secured to them all the commerce of *Germany*, and, by degrees, that of the north. In such circumstances, what should have hindered their attempting and acquiring the fisheries ? and, by opening the ports of *Trieſte* and *Fiume* on the *Adriatic*, what could have prevented their ingrossing the *Italian* trade ? It may be said, that all these are suppositions : but what then ? they are reasonable suppositions ; and, which is much more, they were such suppositions as induced the late emperor to establish this company, and to struggle so hard as he did for the maintenance of it ; nay, the *Dutch*, who, beyond a question, were the best judges in the world of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all these suppositions both possible and practicable, which induced them to act in the manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very strong argument that the trade of the *East Indies* is in itself the foundation of commerce and maritime power, at least in the hands of such as know how to manage it ; and those who were intrusted with that by the imperialists, shewed themselves very capable in every respect, during the few years they were employed.

- THE great, and indeed the only mistake of the projectors, was their not being sufficiently versed in the general system of affairs, and the conditions under which his imperial majesty held the *Low Countries*. Their miscarriage taught some of them more wisdom ; and being persuaded that the experiment they had already made had removed all suspicion that their scheme was an impracticable chimera, part of them removed to *Copenhagen*, in order to graft upon the old *Danish* company ; and of their success the reader has been already informed. Others again thought of applying to the *Swedes*, that nation having been for some years employed in retrieving their affairs, improving their lands, raising new manufactures, reviving their commerce, and restoring their naval power. What reception they met with there, and how, by degrees, they brought their design to be relished and countenanced by the court, and supported by people who had money, whether *Swedes* or foreigners, will be the business of the next chapter, in which we shall present the reader with the history of this new company, which was but the other day the youngest in *Europe*.

Proofs collected from hence of the value of this trade in the sentiments of the ablest statesmen.

Dispersion of the projectors and principal proprietors into different parts of Europe.

C H A P. XI

History of the company established for carrying on a commerce to the East Indies from Sweden ; the opposition which it at first met with from the maritime powers ; the firmness of the Swedish government in its support ; the means used to carry the scheme into execution ; with some observations as to its consequences.

S E C T. I.

The Swedes, for many ages, inattentive to commerce, and to the arts of peace ; but at length come to form a right notion of their importance ; and, upon an application and due information as to the benefits of the East India commerce, a charter is granted, in the amplest form, for the advantage and encouragement of the proprietors.

The commerce of Sweden limited, and very inconsiderable for many ages.

THE martial disposition of the *Swedes*, and the wars almost continual in which they were engaged, either in defence of their freedom at home, or in pursuit of glory abroad, hindered them, for many ages, for making any figure at sea, though few nations were better qualified in all respects. The situation of their country, which has a long extent of coast, with several good ports, and many more that might be made so, the vast abundance of timber, as proper as any in the world for shipping, their great plenty of all other naval stores, the large quantities of excellent iron which the mines produce, and, above all, the good understandings, calm and determined courage, and cool temper of their minds, joined to the active and robust bodies of their people, gave them vast advantages^a. With all these, they contented themselves with fishing upon their own coasts, exporting their commodities, chiefly iron and copper, to *Dantzick*, or to *Bremen* at farthest, maintaining, however, a tolerable naval force, in which, as often as occasion required, they shewed themselves both brave and skilful seamen. The chief reason of their being thus confined in their commercial correspondence, was in part their natural frugality, and love of their own country, but chiefly the address of the hanse towns, the traders of which bought up and exported *Swedish* commodities into foreign countries, where, for a long time, they were not known so much as to come from *Sweden*^b ; till at length the *English* and the *Dutch* sent ships to *Stockholm*, and in process of time their wars in *Germany*, and the settling amongst them many thousands of *Scots*, brought them to have more extended notions of trade, and to take such measures as had a tendency to increase and render it more beneficial ; in which they were successful in some degree, but not in any proportion to what they might have been, if their affairs had been in that respect rightly conducted ; yet, as their native commodities were valuable and necessary to other nations, and themselves in those days very frugal, what trade they had turned to account^c.

Gustavus Adolphus and queen Christina first thought of extending it.

THE famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in *Sweden*, or perhaps in any other country, had very early views in favour of the commerce of his subjects ; and, even while he was engaged in the war with *Poland*, formed the first design of opening a passage for them to the *East Indies*, to which he invited such as were desirous of reaping a share in the profits of this advantageous commerce, by his letters patent, dated at *Stockholm*, June the fourteenth, 1626^d ; but the wars in *Germany*, which followed soon after, and engrossed his attention during the remaining part of his reign, hindered, in all probability, that design from taking any effect. His daughter, the celebrated queen *Christina*, was also very desirous of promoting the glory and welfare of *Sweden* in this respect ; that is, in regard to its trade, and with this view projected a settlement on the coast of *Guinea*, and the establishing colonies in the *West Indies* ; and in some degree succeeded in both. But the *Dutch*, always attentive to their own interests, and preferring them in a very high degree to those of other nations, taking advantage of the circumstance of the times, soon worked the *Swedes* out of these establishments, and converted them to their own use^e. There are, however, still some remains of the latter

^a Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 412. Reflexions sur le commerce de Suede. le commerce de Suede.

^b Bishop R. PINSON's account of Sweden, chap. xiv. ^d Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 1145.

^c Reflexions sur ^e Reflexions sur

a in the *English* province of *New Jersey* in *North America*, recovered from the *Dutch*, and where the descendants are yet remaining of the inhabitants of three *Swedish* towns, in which consisted their plantation in those parts ^f (A). These discouragements, together with the succeeding wars against the *Danes* and *Poles*, took from them all thoughts of renewing their endeavours to benefit themselves in this way, foreseeing, that where-ever they attempted to settle, their title might be questioned, and their plantations overthrown by some other *European* stronger at sea, and consequently better able to support their claims, whether well or ill founded, than themselves, from their having had these thoughts earlier, and derived from thence those advantages.

b WHILE the *Swedes* remained closely attached to *France*, in consequence of the subsidies their monarchs received from that crown, and the pensions and other favours conferred on their nobility, their councils were absolutely guided by the views of the court of *Versailles*; and while they were totally occupied with the desire of glory, and the thirst of ambition, they exhausted their dominions both of men and money, in hopes of extending their conquests, instead of labouring to improve their country, or enlarge their commerce ^g. *Charles* the eleventh, indeed, in the latter part of his reign, had other views, and acted upon a very different plan, which, however advantageous to the crown, was in many respects detrimental to the subject. He it was who formed the plan of making himself, from a very limited king, an absolute monarch in *Sweden*, in which he succeeded, by gaining the confidence of the common people, administering justice impartially, repressing the insolence of the nobility, and laying open the corruptions that had been practised in the assemblies of the states. Something, however, he did for the trade of his subjects, and more he would have done, if he had lived; for he was a prince who knew, that to make a rich king there must be a rich people; and therefore he put many things upon a new foot, encouraged his subjects to manage their own traffick, and did whatever he apprehended might contribute towards rescuing them out of the hands of foreigners, and engaging them to transport their goods and manufactures in their own bottoms ^h. But the minority which followed upon his death made way for cancelling, or at least neglecting, these benefits; and his son *Charles* the twelfth, being never out of the field after he was old enough to take it, whatever he did to raise his own character as a hero, certainly did little towards promoting the welfare of his subjects; since, at the close of his reign, *Sweden* was so much exhausted, that there was hardly any but old men and boys left in the country, which was impoverished to the last degree, and her trade and naval power fallen much below what it had ever been; to say nothing of the loss of some of her finest provinces, from whence she drew many of the most valuable commodities that maintained her commerce ⁱ (B).

BUT after the peace with *Russia* was made, and the late king, then landgrave of *Hesse*, was placed on the throne by election, new measures were pursued, and experience and necessity, which are able mistresses, taught the *Swedes*, that the welfare and honour of a country might be supported, tho' every man in it was not a soldier. The states, being restored to their authority, endeavoured to make all ranks of people comprehend what a real blessing liberty was, and how soon the affairs of a country might be retrieved, even in the most distressed circumstances, when every man in his sphere, let that be what it would, made this his principal business ^k. The grievances, introduced under the late reign, were redressed; several abuses, that had crept in under plausible pretences, were removed; and the weight of taxes was as much softened as the circumstances of the government would permit ^l. Besides these, many other

^f British empire in America, vol. i. p. 228.

de Charles XI.

^g Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 195.

^h Bishop Robinson's account of Sweden, chap. ix.

ⁱ Etat de Suede. p. 39.

^k Vie de Charles XI.

^l Hist. de Suede,

(A) The names of these towns were, *Christina*, by the *Indians* called *Andastika*, *Elfsborg*, and *Gottenburg*, on the east side of *Delaware* river, at the mouth of which there is a fort which bears the name of *Elfsborg* at this day. When the *Dutch* settled in this country, they gave it the title of *New Belgia*; but when it was reduced by Sir Robert Carr in 1664, and left to the crown of Great Britain by the subsequent treaty of peace, it became divided into three provinces, *New York*, *East Jersey*, and *West Jersey*; and in the last of these lie those places that were planted by the *Swedes* (1); and, by the improvements that have been since made, it appeared that the *Swedish* project was very practicable, and, if it had been pursued, might have turned very much to their advantage: but at that time the nation was little disposed to such undertakings, which, if not well supported at the

beginning, speedily dwindle away, and come to nothing, as the case was here.

(B) Amongst these we may reckon the large and fruitful province of *Livonia*, part of *Pomerania*, and the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, all of which might have been of prodigious use to the *Swedes*, in case they had attempted this commerce to the *East Indies* while they were possessed of them, or had even encouraged the industry and commercial spirit of their inhabitants; for want of which they brought no great revenue into the royal treasury, and contributed but little to the wealth of the nation. Their loss therefore was great, considering what they might have been; but very supportable if we reflect on what they really were; and that, being acquired by conquest, they kept *Sweden* always upon bad terms with her neighbours (2).

(1) British empire in America, vol. i. p. 222.

(2) Bishop Robinson's account of Sweden, chap. xv.

remedies were applied ; new methods of agriculture were put to the trial for the improvement a
of the soil ; a variety of machines invented to mitigate the labour of such as were employed in
the mines ; new manufactures erected ; encouragement given to strangers ; and, in short,
every possible method was practised that might give a new face to affairs. These endeavours
had quickly good effects, and, amongst others, they produced an active spirit of industry,
sharpened by emulation, and every man, who had an opportunity, striving to distinguish him-
self as far as he was able, both in acting and thinking for the public benefit, as it stood con-
nected with the method in which he pursued his own private advantage : and this was the situa-
tion Sweden was in at the time of the suspension of the *Ostend* company, by which a number
of busy and able men were thrown out of employment, and left under a variety of discour-
agements to seek it where they could ^m (C).

At what
time, and from
what motives,
their East In-
dia company
was erected.

ENCOURAGED by this and other coinciding circumstances, one Mr. *Henry Koning*, an emi- b
nent merchant at *Stockholm*, formed the scheme of establishing an *East India* company in Swe-
den. In order to this, he represented to the king and his ministers, that there were various
parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, to which an advantageous commerce might be carried on, without
infringing of treaties, or breaking in upon the trade of other nations ; that this was what Swe-
den had a right to at all times ; but that there never was a juncture in which she might avail
herself of that right with so much facility as at present ; that it was impossible to undertake an
enterprize of this nature without the assistance of foreigners, as well in contributing to the
expence with which it would be necessarily attended, as in entering into a service that the *Swedes* c
Ostend company were desirous of employing it elsewhere, more especially if it could be done
with secrecy ; and that there might be easily found persons every way capable of conducting
such a design in its infancy, if the season was not let slip. These arguments had their weight,
more especially when, upon due examination, Mr. *Koning* made it appear to the college of
commerce, or, to use our own phrase, the board of trade, that he had advanced nothing which
it was not wholly in his power to make good ^o. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, his pro-
posal was accepted, and his *Swedish* majesty, by and with the advice of the senate, granted him
a charter for his new company, dated *June* the 14th, 1731 ^p, precisely one hundred and five
years after the letters patent of *Gustavus Adolphus* for the like purpose ; the substance of which,
because it is generally regarded as one of the best digested instruments of its kind that is any- d
where extant, we will give the reader, bringing it, however, into as narrow a compass as,
without prejudice to its scope and meaning, is possible ; because, without the knowledge of its
contents, whatever we have further to say upon this subject, would not be so perspicuous and
intelligible.

The substance
of the royal
charter to
that East In-
dia company.

THE king thereby concedes to *Henry Koning*, and his associates, the liberty of navigating and
trading to the *East Indies* for fifteen years, with the inhabitants of all countries from beyond the
Cape of Good Hope to the islands of *Japan*, where-ever they shall think proper or convenient ;
with this single restriction, that they shall not trade in any port belonging to any prince or state
in *Europe*, without free leave first had and obtained : the ships, employed in this commerce,
shall constantly take in their lading at *Gottenburgh*, to which port they shall return, with all e
the merchandize they bring from the *East Indies*, and cause the same to be publicly sold as
soon as conveniently they can : the said *Henry Koning* and company shall pay to the crown of
Sweden during the said fifteen years, one hundred dalers *per* last for every ship they employ,
such ships being measured before their departure from *Gottenburgh* ; which money is to be paid
within six days after the safe return of the said ship from the *Indies* ; and they shall likewise pay
two dalers *per* last in full satisfaction for the town duties : the said *Henry Koning* and company
may employ, equip, and arm as many vessels as they shall think proper, provided those vessels
are built or bought in *Sweden*, and whatever else is necessary for equipping and furnishing them
be had in the *Swedish* dominions ; but, in case this should be found at any time impracticable,
then the company may provide themselves with ships, or whatever else shall be found requisite f

^m Reflexions sur le commerce de Suede.
merce, tom. ii. col. 1146.

ⁿ Hist. de Suede, tom. iii. p. 257.

^o Dictionnaire de com-

^p Supplement au corps diplomatique des droits des gens, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 305.
Hist. de Suede, tom. iii. p. 257. ROUSSET recueil historique d'actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 343.

(C) It appears from hence, that it had been much bet-
ter policy in those nations that found their commerce hurt
by the *Ostend* company, to have granted an indemnity
to all their subjects that stood in need of it, when they
procured a suspension of that commerce, than to leave
them exposed to those severe laws that were calculated to
prevent their going into the service of that company (3) ;
and, from their not perceiving this in time, both the

Danish and *Swedish* companies arose. Severity is very
seldom beneficial to a prince ; but almost always destruc-
tive to a people. Desperate men are very dangerous
creatures, more especially when their country is the ob-
ject of their resentment ; and therefore, for the sake of
prudence, tho' not of pity, every method should be tried
to reclaim them, since it is hardly possible to foresee how
far the reach of their malice may extend.

(3) See stat. 9 Geo. I. c. 26. § 6, 7, 8.

for

a for their commerce, where-ever they shall think fit; provided always that they give the preference to, and promote as far as in them lies, the building, manufactures, and produce of *Sweden*: the said ships shall carry the *Swedish* flag, and shall be furnished with passports under the king's hand, as also from the republic of *Algiers*: the said company shall be at liberty to raise what sum they think fit for the carrying on their commerce, by voluntary subscription, or otherwise, as they shall think proper; and such as shall become subscribers shall be obliged to pay in their money at the times prescribed, on pain of forfeiting their interest in the said commerce.

THE company may transport what ordnance or small arms they think proper, as also silver
 b coined or uncoined, *Swedish* money only excepted; and may likewise bring from the *Indies* what kind of goods or manufactures they think fit, without any restriction: the vessels of the company, when freighted, and ready to sail, shall not be stopped or hindered on any pretence whatever; nor shall they, at their return, be impeded from entering into the port to which they are consigned: the goods of the said company may be transported, at their pleasure, from place to place within his *Swedish* majesty's dominions, being first furnished with proper passports, without paying any other duties than those before stipulated: the captains of the company's ships shall have the like powers for maintaining discipline amongst their crews as the captains of the king's ships; and, with respect to trade, they shall conform to the instructions given by *Henry Koning* and company; provided always those instructions are not repugnant to the privileges
 c granted by this charter: the seamen and soldiers entered on board the company's ships shall not be liable to be pressed into the king's or any other service; and, on the other hand, it shall not be lawful for the company to take into their service any who shall have deserted that of the crown: the seamen and soldiers belonging to the ships in the company's service, and deserting from it, may be apprehended and detained, but according to the usual forms of law, and by the hands of the proper officers: the ships belonging to the company being returned and entered, having the merchandize on board them, the goods shall be duty-free, except only a very small acknowledgement to be paid on removing them.

THE persons acting under this character shall constantly chuse out of their own number at least three directors, who shall be all men of distinguished probity, and known abilities, of
 d which *Henry Koning* shall be one; and, in case of his demise, the members of the company are directed and empowered to make choice of another person in his stead; provided always, that these three directors be natives of the kingdom of *Sweden*, or at least naturalized *Swedes*, protestants, and resident in the king's dominions, unless necessarily absent in foreign parts for the service of the company; in which case the proprietors may substitute another director at home: the said *Henry Koning*, and his associates, may make such regulations for the management of their commerce as they shall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this charter: they shall render a faithful account to all the persons interested, as well of the profits and losses as of the capital of the said company; but they shall not be obliged to discover the names of their
 e subscribers, or the sums they subscribed; nor shall they be obliged to produce or suffer their books to be inspected on any pretence whatsoever: in case any of the directors shall find that the rest betray their secrets, or are guilty of any other fraud or misdemeanor, they may apply to the board of trade for justice and reparation, and, upon due proof, such offender shall be suspended or degraded from his office of director, and the company shall be at liberty to chuse another in his room.

In like manner, if any of the proprietors shall find that *Henry Koning*, and the rest of the directors, betray their trust, or are guilty of any frauds, they may make the same application, and obtain the like redress: the said *Henry Koning* and company may employ what number of supercargoes, officers, mariners, or soldiers, they shall think fit, either *Swedes* or foreigners; who, on their being so employed, shall enjoy the same privileges as if they were born *Swedes*;
 f and the money employed, either by natives or foreigners, in the capital of the company, shall not be liable to any stoppage or seizure: such persons as are interested in, or employed by, the company, shall be naturalized according to their respective qualities, upon their applying themselves to the king for that purpose: the said *Henry Koning* and company, and such as are authorized or employed by them, in case they are molested or disturbed in their commerce by any person, or in any part of the world whatever, shall have full power from his majesty to obtain ample justice and satisfaction by all convenient methods, and shall be at liberty to oppose force by force, and to consider such disturbers as pirates, and enemies to the public peace. His majesty will grant them these powers, especially in such commissions as their captains shall receive: and in case, notwithstanding, they should be attacked, and suffer any
 g injury or injustice from any nation whatever in the carrying on of this commerce, his majesty, upon due information thereof, will grant them his high protection, and will endeavour to procure for them speedy and ample satisfaction, either by way of reprisal, or otherwise: the rest of the subjects of the crown of *Sweden* are expressly prohibited and forbid to engage in, or interfere with, the trade of the said company, under pain of his majesty's high displeasure, and the

con-

confiscation of their vessels and effects. The king promises to alter or augment these privileges upon application from the company, as often and in such a manner as shall be found necessary for promoting the trade to the *East Indies*, and the interest of the persons concerned therein.

Why this instrument is esteemed one of the best drawn and least embarrassed of any.

THE reader will perceive that the powers contained in this charter, are such as concern commerce abroad, and are not calculated to give the company or its directors too much power at home, because it subjects them to the college of commerce; which consists of the president of the treasury and four counsellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a summary way, according to the laws of the kingdom and the general maxims of equity^a. There were great expectations formed of this company for various reasons. Because they had all the powers granted them that they could reasonably expect or desire. Because they were not limited in their capital, but allowed to raise such sums, and in such manner, as they shall esteem most for their benefit. From their being prohibited from interfering with the commerce of other nations, and thereby running themselves and their country into difficulties and disputes. From their having the king's protection secured to them in such a manner, and for such purposes, as might serve to answer all good ends, without involving the crown of *Sweden* in any controversies with the maritime powers, or any other of her allies. And lastly, because, from the nature of the constitution in *Sweden*, there seemed to be as high security for the properties of such as interested themselves in this affair as in any other country whatever. It is not therefore difficult to conceive that the capital was quickly subscribed, and such a proportion of it raised as enabled the directors to make the necessary dispositions for dispatching two ships to the *Indies*, in which, however, they acted with great caution and deliberation (D).

^a Oñroy accordé par le roy de Suede, pour l'érection d'une compagnie des Indes, dans ses états, art. xv. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 305.

(D) The custom of *Sweden* has been always to have causes of every kind examined by persons who must have a peculiar knowledge of the matters to which they relate. Thus, in all disputes about maritime affairs, things are decided by the sea-laws of *Wishy*, which are commonly known by all sea-faring people. The miners have likewise courts of their own, in which all suits are tried before persons of skill and experience in that kind of business, and in the customs of the miners; and so in respect to trade, a suit may be commenced for any thing that is a breach of honesty, tho' there be no express law against it, and the board of trade are not restrained to particular punishments, but may decide all controversies in an equitable way (4). But what is the greatest advantage in the proceedings before these courts, is their not being tied to forms, so that every man may be, if he pleases, his own lawyer, or he may employ one if he thinks fit, at a very small expence; which makes those of the pro-

fession but poor in *Sweden*, at the same time that it keeps the people from being impoverished by long suits and large costs. It was therefore a great advantage to the new company to have all controversies referred to the college of commerce, because they were speedily and effectually decided; without which, as many difficulties naturally arise at the setting up any new branch of trade, they might have been exceedingly embarrassed, thro' the folly or obstinacy of such as entered into their service; and besides, the knowledge that they might be immediately called to a strict account, was a very necessary and useful check upon the directors themselves, and probably contributed not a little to their making up clear accounts, and declaring dividends in as short a time as possible after their sales were over; which has given great satisfaction to the proprietors, and operated powerfully to the maintenance and support of the company.

(4) *Bishop Robinson's account of Sweden, chap. iii. xiv.*

S E C T. II.

Conduct of the Swedish monarch, and of the nation, in supporting this establishment, very candid and open, more especially in regard to the maritime powers, but, at the same time, very steady; by which they carried their point, tho' not very acceptable to these, or to some other potentates, who notwithstanding desist from their opposition.

His Swedish majesty gives notice of this charter to the States General.

AS soon as this charter was granted, his *Swedish* majesty directed his minister at the *Hague* to present a memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, signifying that his majesty had thought fit to erect such a company in his dominions, and that at the same time they were restrained expressly by their charter from interfering with or disturbing the trade of any Christian nation whatever in those parts; and that he chose to inform their High Mightinesses thereof, that such as were employed in the *Swedish* company's service, might not be treated by any of their subjects in the *Indies* as people belonging to they knew not who, but as acting under the authority of a prince in alliance and friendship with their republic, a free and independent king, who had an unquestionable right to make use of his power for the benefit of those he governed^r. This memorial was accordingly presented July 18th, 1731, but no answer

^r ROUSSET recueil d'actes, negociations, memoires, &c. tom. viii. P. 355.

- a being returned to it by the States, the *Swedish* minister, by direction from his court, presented another memorial on the 31st of *October*^s following; in which he set forth, that the king, by establishing this company, intended to consult the welfare of his own subjects, without prejudice to those of any other prince or state whatever; and that he was particularly careful to avoid giving any just cause of offence to their High Mightinesses: that, as in the course of so long a voyage, the vessels in the service of the *Swedish* company might be obliged by distress of weather, or other accidents, to take shelter in the ports or roads of some of the *Dutch* settlements in the *East Indies*, in which case he hoped they would receive the same testimonies of kindness and humanity as they were accustomed to shew to other *European* nations, such as the *French*, *English*, and *Danes*; that his majesty had expressly directed, that the masters of those
- b ships, in such cases, should pay in ready money for whatever succours they received, and should not presume to enter into any kind of commerce; and should, upon these and all other occasions, whether in the open sea, or in any port or road, behave in every respect to the ships and subjects of their High Mightinesses as became them towards the good friends and allies of the king their master; and that his majesty persuaded himself that their High Mightinesses, from the same principles of equity and friendship, would direct their subjects in the *Indies* to treat the *Swedes* upon the same foot; and that his majesty had farther commanded him to assure them, that as his majesty had nothing more at heart than to cultivate the good correspondence, and to augment the harmony subsisting between him and their High Mightinesses, so nothing could be more agreeable to him than an opportunity of shewing their High Mighti-
- c nesses, or their subjects, marks of his sincere affection and good-will: and that, the premises considered, he hoped to receive their favourable resolution thereupon.

THE States General, finding it absolutely necessary, as well in regard to their interest as with respect to decency, to give an answer to these memorials, couched it in the following terms¹. The king of *Sweden* will always find their High Mightinesses disposed to the most strict friendship with him; but as his majesty cannot be ignorant that the company established in his dominions, for carrying on the commerce to the *East Indies*, must be prejudicial to the interests of that long since established under their protection, he cannot expect that they should favour this new company, tho' they are at all times willing to afford succours to his *Swedish* majesty's subjects. This dry answer was, in all probability, such as the court of *Sweden* expected; but, however,

d as nothing contained in it derogated in the least from his majesty's authority, or from his right of employing this or any other method that he thought proper for the benefit of his subjects, it did not in the least retard the preparations made for sending two ships directly for *China*; on the contrary it raised the spirits of those concerned, who, expecting no assistance, were satisfied if they met with no opposition (E).

In compliance therefore with their charter, the directors of the *Swedish East India* company caused two new ships to be built, one of which was called *the Frederick king of Sweden*, and the other, in honour of the queen, *the Ulrica*, very strong and complete, of proper force, and every way fit for the expedition in which they were to be employed². They proceeded with the like caution and diligence in the choice of the persons who were to be employ'd in all stations;

e as also in their seamen; and very fortunate they were in both respects; so that, by the time these vessels sailed from the harbour of *Gottenburgh*, the sentiments of those who attended to things of this nature were very much changed, and, notwithstanding the length of the voyage, the want of settlements where they might touch for refreshment, and other visible disadvantages under which this new company laboured, and which were scarce thought surmountable, it was generally believed they would make the voyage with success, more especially as there was not now the least apprehension of their meeting with any hindrance or ill usage from other nations. It imported indeed very highly the directors of the new company, that all things should be well considered in this their first attempt, since, from the temper of the *Swedish* nation, they might easily foresee that any disappointment would be fatal; which is the case in

f most countries where they are not used to long and perilous voyages, and where the first defeat of their expectations is commonly regarded as a proof that things are impracticable, and against which no arguments, however just or reasonable, will prevail.

¹ *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. xci. p. 80. ROUSSET, recueil historique d'actes, negotiations, &c. tom. vii. p. 357. ² *Ibid.* p. 359. ³ *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. xci. p. 691, 692.

(E) The reader cannot but remark great dignity and firmness in the conduct of his *Swedish* majesty throughout; and it may not be amiss to observe, that his majesty was very secure of being thoroughly supported by his subjects in whatever related to this affair, since he did not grant his charter for erecting the *East India* company, till the matter had been thoroughly debated and solemnly ap-

proved in the general dyet of the states of the kingdom (5); and, very probably, this was the reason that foreign powers did not present any memorials to the king upon the subject; because, being a national concern, and having the authority of a general dyet, they might well conclude it would be to no purpose.

One of them
seized in their
return from
China, in the
Streights of
Sunda, by the
Dutch.

BUT about the time when one or both of these ships were expected to return into the ports of a Sweden, Mr. Henry Koning received a letter, brought by some of the European shipping, from Mr. Colin Campbell, who was vested with a public character from his Swedish majesty to the emperor of China, and other sovereign princes of the east, and had also from the company the charge of supercargo on board the *Frederick king of Sweden*, by which letter he acquainted him, that when, in their return from China, they were about to enter the *Streights of Sunda*, they saw seven ships lying at anchor, which, as soon as they descried the *Frederick*, weighed and put to sea; upon this the *Frederick* endeavoured to get the wind, and to get through the streights, but was unluckily prevented by the setting of the current, which obliged them to come to an anchor. Upon this Mr. Bremer was sent on board the commodore) for the seven ships now came down upon them with Dutch colours displayed), to know the meaning b of this, and carried with them copies of their passports. The commodore detained Bremer, the shallop, and all that were in it, and continued to bear down upon the *Frederick*; and upon their coming near, the commodore fired a gun, to oblige them to strike.

THE next day in the morning he sent on board for the captain, and ordered him to bring his passports and commission, which he was obliged to obey; then the Dutch called a council, in which a resolution was taken to oblige a part of the Swedish crew to quit their ship, a proper number of Dutch seamen being sent in their room; and in the afternoon they took out the rest of the crew, leaving only the captain, Mr. Campbell, and twelve persons. The last-mentioned gentleman upon this drew up a protest, which he sent inclosed in a letter to the commodore, insisting upon the affront offered to his Swedish majesty's flag, the breach of c the law of nations in his own person, being vested with a public character, and the violation of the treaties subsisting between the republic and the crown of Sweden. As this protest was written in the Swedish language, the commodore alledged that he could not understand it; but the supercargoes, who were present, explained it to him; upon which he and the rest of the officers said, that no part of these proceedings ought to be imputed to them; having orders to do all that they had done from their superiors; which they should have been obliged to do, if the king of Sweden had been there in person. That their orders were to carry the vessel to Batavia, where they did not doubt the affair would be thoroughly examined, and the ship suffered to proceed on her voyage in a few days * (F).

The Swedish
minister com-
plains of this
usage in strong
terms at the
Hague.

UPON the communication of this letter to the court, his Swedish majesty sent orders to his d minister at the Hague to present a memorial to the States General, with a copy of the letter annexed; which he accordingly did, August 11th, 1733 *; and in this memorial he expressed the surprize his majesty was in at the unjust and violent proceedings in the Indies, so contrary to the friendship and good intelligence which their High Mightinesses had assured the king they would always maintain towards his majesty and his subjects; that this was increased from the consequence of the memorials formerly presented; in answer to which, they did not pretend to dispute his majesty's right, tho' they declared they could not favour that company; that therefore his majesty could not apprehend that they had any doubt of this being a Swedish company, and properly authorized, though possibly in this, as in their own and all other companies, foreigners might have some concern; that there was not the smallest pretence of his subjects having exceeded their powers, e or done any thing contrary to treaties; that therefore this proceeding, so disobliging, and which was in effect treating him and his subjects as enemies, could not but be very offensive to his Swedish majesty, more especially considering the little respect shewn to a person vested with the character of his minister plenipotentiary, and whose person ought therefore to have been esteemed sacred by the law of nations. That, notwithstanding the harshness of this action, his majesty had still so high an idea of their High Mightinesses, as not barely to believe they gave no orders for the excesses committed on his majesty's ship the *king of Sweden*; but was also persuaded that their High Mightinesses, in case it was not already done, would order without the least delay the said Swedish ship, her cargo and equipage, to be released; and also give a just, full, and proportionate satisfaction, for the indignity offered to the king and kingdom, by the insult f done to his minister plenipotentiary, as well as repair whatever loss the Swedish East India company

* Extracted from the letter.
360.

* ROUSSET, recueil historique d'actes, negociations, &c. tom. viii. p.

(F) A report having been spread, that the *Ostend* company had applied themselves to his Swedish majesty to obtain leave for two ships of theirs to sail with Swedish colours for the *East Indies*, the king publicly declared that he would grant no such permission; and sent his orders to the directors, that they should not employ as an officer in their service any who had been in that of the *Ostend* company (6). Notwithstanding this, there is great reason to believe that the Dutch squadron, which

cruised in the *Streights of Sunda*, were directed by the council of *Batavia* to seize any ship under foreign colours, in hopes it might prove one of the *Ostend* interlopers, who, they very well knew, made use of the flags of several princes; and indeed this is the only rational account that can be given of this whole transaction; more especially, if we consider the answer given by the directors of the Dutch East India company to the States General, and signified by them to the Swedish minister.

(6) *Mercur historique et politique*, tom. xci. p. 691, 692.

had

a had received; and that his majesty farther commanded him to represent and require, that their High Mightinesses would instantly send their orders that the other *Swedish* ship, called the *Ulrica Eleonora*, may return from the *East Indies* freely, without impediment or injury from the subjects of the republic, his majesty being firmly resolved to protect and maintain his subjects in the enjoyment of the privileges granted them by his charter for establishing a commerce to the *Indies*.

THE States perceiving, by the language of this memorial, that this was like to become a very serious affair, and being unwilling to be suspected of having the least knowledge of such a transaction, sent immediately to the board of *East India* directors to know what it was that had given occasion to the regency at *Batavia* to act in this manner; the directors replied, that they had sent no order relative to any such transaction as that of which the crown of *Sweden* complained; and they farther believed the regency at *Batavia* was too prudent to take any such step without express orders; but that, however, their last letters were of the eighth of *September*, 1732; in which there being no mention at all of any such thing, it was impossible for them to give their High Mightinesses any farther lights; but they hoped they would defer the consideration of this affair till they had advice concerning it from the *Indies*. The States therefore answered the *Swedish* envoy, that he might assure the king his master, that neither they nor the company had ever given any orders of this kind; and that they were still in the same sentiments of friendship and cordiality towards his *Swedish* majesty and his subjects, as they had formerly professed themselves. The ship being dismissed from *Batavia*, returned soon after, which facilitated the setting this matter right; and thenceforward all things of this kind were forborne, and the *Swedes* suffered to carry on their trade to *China* as other nations do, without any trouble, opposition, or interruption.

THEIR first voyages, tho' not attended with so much profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably successful, and the company established their factory on the river of *Canton* in *China*, with the consent of the *Chinese*, who seemed to be very well pleased with these new comers, and every way disposed to favour and promote their trade; so that they were very soon upon the same footing there with other *European* nations². At home indeed they met with some difficulties; for the company being obliged to make use of many foreigners in all capacities for the better carrying on of their trade, and there being no nation in *Europe* naturally more jealous than the *Swedes*, this occasioned a great clamour, especially among the common people, which, however, was in some measure mitigated, by publishing an order that two thirds at least of the mariners should be, for the future, natives of the kingdom; and, as the execution of this order was apparently attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, it convinced the vulgar even of their first mistake, and that the company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their charter, and what the circumstances of their affairs, more especially at the beginning, rendered necessary. Since that time the *Swedish* company have been very regular, both in fitting out their ships, and in their returns; which, being sold to foreigners, have brought in great sums of money to the kingdom; yet, as a great part of this money has been exported again for the carrying on this trade, a new complaint has been created thereby, in respect to the silver carried to the *East Indies*. We need the less wonder at this in *Sweden*, because, tho' the trade of the kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a considerable balance in ready money, as is known experimentally here, since two thirds of the trade we carry on thither is managed with ready money only; and it is also pretty much the same thing with other nations who trade thither, the *French* only excepted, who have a balance in their favour³ from the *Swedes*, which has gradually grown less and less, in proportion as they have taken more naval stores of late years than they did formerly; and, as their subsidy treaties bring in considerable sums to *Sweden*, or, at least, keep the money there that would otherwise be employed in discharging the balance of trade; so that the *Swedes* being used to see great sums of money brought in by every other branch of commerce, and not so immediately acquainted with the profits arising from this, are less disposed to consider it as advantageous (G).

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¹ Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 279. ROUSSET, recueil historique d'actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 367, 368.
² State of the trade in the East Indies, p. 3. ³ Bishop ROBINSON's account of Sweden, chap. xiv.

(G) It is observed by Dr. *Robinson*, who was successively bishop of *Bristol* and *London*, and who was for many years the *British* resident at *Stockholm*, that in his time the *Swedes* were so poor as not to be able to carry on much foreign trade themselves; so that it was almost wholly in the hands of foreigners residing in that kingdom; and that, by their law, the king was intitled to a third part of any such merchant's estate, if he died

in his dominions; which, as he justly observes, was prejudicial to *Sweden*, inasmuch as it hindered foreigners from marrying and settling among them (7). But things are much changed since; and the *Swedish* orators, in their panegyrics upon the present king, very willingly do justice to his reign, by comparing their past with their present condition, pointing out the low and mean condition of their ancestors, and assigning the dates of those im-

(7) Account of Sweden, chap. xiv.

Are well
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ner as other
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tions.

IN consequence of these jealousies, some doubt arose, upon the expiration of the term granted ^a by their charter, whether the company would be continued, or the trade let fall; and various conjectures were thrown out in the foreign gazettes. But penetrating people easily saw that there could be but little foundation for any such notion, since the very application of the company, to have their term prolonged, was a plain indication, that not only they, but the kingdom, was the better for it: since, as it was a fact notorious, that the goods sold in their sales were bought by merchants residing in other countries, to which they were actually transported, and but a very small proportion of them consumed in the dominions of *Sweden*, a considerable part of the produce must be clear gains to the nation; since not only the dividends paid to the proprietors who reside there, remain to the nation, but also the large sums expended in building and equipping of ships, the pay of the seamen and officers, and the duties; and, besides all ^b this, the value of the commodities of *Sweden*, which are sent to *China*, which have been from the first very considerable, and have been ever since increasing ^b. These circumstances, duly weighed, made it very improbable that there should be any thoughts of abandoning this commerce, and gave no small weight to a suspicion, that those reports might not actually come from *Sweden*, but be rather intended to reach it, and to instil into a people, enough inclined to receive sudden impressions, such doubts and fears as might prejudice them either against the company or the commerce; which, if they had operated, would, no doubt, have afforded great satisfaction to their inventors, and would have been no less acceptable to those, who have all along envied them that success with which they have managed their affairs, and have acquired so much credit and honour both with the natives and *Europeans* who trade in *China*, as appears ^c from all the accounts we have had from thence, subsequent to the time in which they first resorted thither ^c.

^b Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. ii. col. 459.

^c Anson's voyage round the world, p. 528, 8vo edition.

provements that have been since made. It is in these pieces that we see the good effects of commerce, and how much it contributes to civilize and polish mankind by introducing arts and sciences, and by excluding those groundless popular prejudices, which are the effects of a narrow capacity, and are productive of nothing but poverty and pride. The same subjects are handled with more solemnity, as well as with greater authority, in the presentations presented to the throne at the close of

every dyet, in which the states never fail to compliment the king upon the care he has taken of their commerce; and, at the same time, to recapitulate the advantages that have flowed from it (8); so that we may be sure the same spirit of improvement will reign among the *Swedes* as long as their present constitution subsists; and it is not easy to conceive they will ever meet with temptations strong enough to induce them to make any considerable alteration.

(8) *Histoire de Suède*, tom. iii. p. 279.

S E C T. III.

Remarks upon the utility of this trade to the Swedes, tho' contrary to the common opinion, and in reference to the East India trade in general; as having hitherto proved the source of naval power and wealth to every nation, that has been able to carry it on for any considerable time successfully.

- a **B**UT what puts it out of all doubt that the *Swedes* are really gainers by their trade with *India*, that they are very sensible of this, and therefore very tenacious of the benefit, is the zeal and regularity with which they have persisted in sending their ships, since the term fixed in the charter expired ^d. Without having direct communications with *Sweden*, it is impossible to enter more deeply into this affair, since the subject is so very disagreeable to some of our neighbours that they mention it but seldom; neither would it be prudent to yield an implicit belief to whatever they say, whenever they do mention it; for, having so great an interest in giving a false representation of whatever regards the correspondence of other nations in those parts, it is a necessary piece of prudence to examine very attentively all their relations. Trade is the common mistress of all maritime countries, at least of all where the inhabitants have a just conception of the advantages flowing from their situation; and this naturally begets a jealousy amongst them of the progress made by each other; which is conspicuous enough to a curious eye, in most of the pieces written upon this interesting topic. But it becomes such as undertake to treat this subject historically, to lay aside prejudices and prepossessions, and to forget, as far as they can, even the concerns of their own country, while they are engaged in such a task; because the sole object they ought to have in view, is truth, which it is their business to set in the fairest light possible, and leave to others the care of applying or drawing consequences from those facts which they impartially relate; and this we hope will appear to have been our study through the course of this difficult part of our work, in which we have set forth the merits of the different nations that have been rivals to each other, in that which from this history plainly appears to be the true spring of extensive traffick, and that more especially from this section; with the demonstration of which we shall conclude it, and justify thereby what we asserted at the beginning.

- In the course of our history we have followed, as was fitting, a chronological order, and have treated of the discoveries and conquests of the several *European* nations, according to the times in which they were made. But the attentive reader must have long ago perceived, that from the nature of things, and the gradual progress of arts, this has been at the same time a kind of geographical order. When we first took up the subject, the trade of the *Indies* was in the hands of the *Venetians* and the *Italian* states, from their vicinity to *Egypt*, which was then the centre of that commerce; from them it removed to the *Portuguese*, by their finding a direct passage by sea round the *Cape of Good Hope*; and next, from a spirit of emulation, the *Spaniards* came to have a share in it, by the discovery of a new passage through the *Streights of Magellan*. The *English* and *Dutch*, provoked by the *Spaniards*, and ambitious also of gaining a part of the rich treasures brought from these distant parts of the world, sent their squadrons thither likewise: and the *Danes*, in their turn, visited those distant seas; last of all, the *Swedes*. Last, in point of time; and last, in the order of their situation in the remotest part of *Europe*, and making almost the circle of the globe to come at *China* (H).

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^d It appears from the advices from *Sweden*, that the company have a new term.

(H) The reader will enter into the force of this argument more clearly, if he considers how much the distance and the difficulty are increased by this retrogradation in the correspondence. The *Portuguese* were, of all the nations in *Europe*, the nearest to the *Indies*; and the countries which they first visited were the coasts of *Malabar*, which were also the nearest to them. But with respect to *Sweden*, it is every way the very reverse. That country is not only the most distant of any in *Europe* from which such a correspondence has been carried on, but the *Swedes* proceed likewise to the very remotest part of the *Indies*; so that the disproportion of the navigation is manifest. But it will appear still more visibly, if we consider the position of these countries upon the globe; for we shall then perceive, that when a *Swedish East India* ship doubles the *Cape of Good Hope*, she is actually at double the distance, or more, from *Stockholm*, than when she arrives at *Canton*. We may render this yet more familiar, by remembering, that the dominions of *Sweden* border on those of *Russia*, and the opposite frontier of *Russia* upon the territories of *China*; so that, if *Canton* were under the same parallel of latitude with *Stockholm*, the distance between them would not be more than two thousand six hundred miles: whereas the com-

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Corroborative
proofs of the
great import-
ance and ad-
vantage of
this commerce.

WE might safely conclude from hence, if we had no other or more direct argument, that this trade must have been extremely advantageous to every nation possessed of it, since emulation is produced only by success; no people having been yet found so stupid as to envy others misfortunes, or to desire a share in what did their neighbours no good. On the contrary, where, by mistaking measures, want of oeconomy, or unforeseen accidents, one nation has thought proper to relinquish some certain branch of traffick, another very rarely has taken it up, or at least not till such a space of time had elapsed, as almost buried the knowledge of such an event in oblivion. But, in the present case, the new adventurers in this trade have certainly been excited by very just motives; for they have seen that the wealth and power of such maritime states as embraced it, rose and fell in the very same proportion as they were more or less able to preserve it. The *Venetians* were deprived of it gradually; and in consequence of this, their riches were exhausted by degrees, and by degrees their naval force declined. The *Portuguese* made a very rapid progress in their conquests, notwithstanding which, their wealth and power kept the same pace; and being more slowly worked out of those conquests, both have decayed in like manner; so that, from being masters of the seas in which their fleets appeared, they are now scarce able to defend the small remains of their vast possessions, and are even insulted upon their own coasts by the corsairs of *Barbary*. The *Spaniards* have made very little use, as we have shewn in its proper place, of their settlements in the east, and have therefore drawn but little advantage from them. The *English* and *Dutch* had scarce any naval force when they entered upon this trade; and yet in half a century they disputed the dominion of the sea with prodigious fleets, and with an obstinacy unknown, since the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* contested in like manner for naval empire. The *French* have often attempted, and that with no inconsiderable force, to fix themselves in the east, and at length with some success; and the consequences appear, and will appear, if the state continues its attention; which, from the nature of their government, is necessary to support that and almost every other branch of their commerce. The company at *Ostend* alarmed all the powers interested in the *India* trade; and, if it had not been very beneficial, the proprietors would not have struggled so hard against a suppression that was at last brought about by force. The *Danes* neglected their settlement at *Tranquebar*, because they wanted the funds necessary to support it; an accident recommended them to the protection of their government; and their concerns have been in a flourishing condition ever since. The *Swedes*, under all imaginable disadvantages, had the courage to venture upon this trade; and have shewn the wisdom of their conduct, by the regularity with which they have maintained it for twenty years together, and are like to maintain it; perhaps to extend it, when they feel the effects of those improvements in their own country, which the sweets of commerce have given them the spirit to undertake, and will supply them with the means to accomplish.

Several bene-
ficial conse-
quences attend-
ing it in the
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where it has
been esta-
blished.

FOR amongst the other benefits resulting from this and other trades, in which long voyages are necessary, none of the least considerable is the opening and enlarging mens minds, quickening their inventions, and putting them upon the exercise of arts in their own countries, unknown to them before. Thus the silk trade was long ago brought out of the east, before any direct passage was found thither by sea, which has proved of such infinite advantage to the inhabitants of the several countries where it is cultivated. In like manner sugar-canes were transplanted to *Sicily*, *Spain*, and other regions; from whence they were carried into the *West Indies*, where, by the superior excellence of the climate, fertility of the soil, and cheapness of labour, they are now become one of the staple commodities of *America*. All the porcelain manufactories in *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Germany*, and elsewhere, have been erected to vie with the fine earthen-ware of *China* (1). Painted linens have been produced from the chintzes of the *Indies*; and from *Japan* we have borrowed the art of making lacquered ware. *Sweden* has already made some progress in the improvement of her old manufactures, and in acquiring new. Her shipping daily increases, and with it the desire of finding new trades, in which her vessels may be employed. To facilitate this, the *Swedes* have projected a communi-

pass they take in sailing, makes it eleven thousand; and in all this prodigious passage they have no port of their own, where they may expect refreshments or succours, or where they may pass the winter, or rest if they have any occasion.

(1) It has been before observed, that the states of *Sweden* never failed to compliment the king upon what is done by his orders for improving the trade or manufactures; and this, notwithstanding they had themselves

pointed out, and recommended, those very improvements. Amongst those proposed by the states some years ago, one was the finding out a proper earth for making porcelain, in which one of the most eminent professors in their universities (2) was employed for a whole summer; and tho' he was not so lucky as to succeed in that, yet he made and recorded many other useful and important discoveries in a work of his; which fully demonstrates what is advanced in this paragraph.

(2) *Voyage unto, and description of, the islands of Oeland and Gotland, performed in 1741, by order of the states of Sweden, by Charles Linnæus, professor of physic and botany, in the university of Upsal. Stockholm, 1745, 8vo.*

- a cation with the ocean, which, when perfected, will be of singular benefit to their navigation; and tho' this work was not without difficulty, as well as very expensive, yet the subscriptions for carrying it on have exceeded even their own expectations. Whence can this public spirit, this alacrity to labour, this readiness in advancing money arise, but from the nation's being sensible of the advantages flowing from commerce, and their willingness to contribute to whatever may extend it? All this they owe to that severe check given to the ambition of Charles the twelfth, more especially in the latter part of his reign, when a numberless train of misfortunes convinced them of the necessity of recurring to the arts of peace, to relieve them from the miseries brought upon them by fruitless and fatal wars. By pursuing this lesson steadily, they have, in a great measure, extricated themselves from a grievous and galling load of evils;
- b have given a new face to their country, of which both strangers and themselves judged it incapable; and, with respect to their domestic affairs, are in a much happier condition than ever they were; in which this is not the least ingredient, that they know this happiness may be greatly augmented, and that they have the means in their own hands, frugality and industry; more productive of solid riches than the mines of Mexico and Peru, or the armies and fortune of Alexander.

There are some points of great importance to all maritime states, and more especially such as are embarked in the commerce of the east, which may be learned from this very distinct and authentic history of the rise and progress of the *Swedish* company. In the first place, it will teach them never to be too secure, or to amuse themselves with an opinion, that much wealth, great experience, and long possession, amount to a title not to be contested. Some of them feel, and all may see, this is no better than a dream. Caution and courage carried thither the first *Europeans*; and the same qualities will always carry any *Europeans*, and bring them back too, with much success. It will therefore be prudent not to be too tenacious of their exclusive powers. The *East India* trade is very lucrative to any company, but still, properly managed, more advantageous to the nation where that commerce subsists. They should therefore ever remember they are but trustees, and liable to be called to account, if, through their imprudence in offending the pagan princes abroad, or pinching their own servants too severely at home, the trade be either injured or lost.

- Another circumstance of no less consequence, is demonstrated from the conduct of this company, that the *East India*, or at least the *China* trade, may be carried on without either conquests or settlements; which, considering the many and plausible reasons urged against it, nothing but experience could have shewn. It is true, the commerce, thus carried on, may be, in some respects, more inconvenient; but then these very inconveniencies produce an affluence and circumspection, which are attended with many beneficial consequences; and, besides, hinder either dishonesty or haughtiness towards the natives, from which much greater mischiefs arise. Add to this, that by making great diligence and strict oeconomy indispensably necessary in the management of their servants, secures to the company regular and constant, though less plentiful returns.

- Lastly, the success (indeed the very subsistence) of this company proves, that those of other nations have no title to reject, under the specious pretence that they are exceedingly difficult, or utterly impracticable, any projects that may be formed for the extension of this trade by the governments of those countries, respectively, to which these companies belong. For nothing of this kind can be possibly enjoined them equally hard to what the *Swedes* have performed. Other nations, therefore, who have it immediately in their power, ought to indemnify themselves for the losses, or rather diminution of their usual gains, by the setting up of these new traders, from the opening of unattempted branches of trade, the profits of which, at least for a time, they may keep to themselves; and if of this the possibility, or even the probability, be called in question, what has been already said as to the *Spanish* and *Dutch* discoveries, will clear the doubt; or, if any scruples should remain, the full solution of them, beyond the power of contradiction, will be given in the next chapter.

- The great fault of companies in general is, that they become too cold and phlegmatic in their management, under colour of being methodical, and maintaining a strict oeconomy. In order to guard against this, there ought to be a clause, whenever their charters come to be renewed, that, within the new term given them, they shall fix and establish such a new trade or make such or such a discovery. By this means, the nation would gain, as well as the proprietors, by the continuance of a company; an enterprising spirit, which otherwise every company is but too apt to discourage, will be kept alive; and new outlets, from time to time, be found for commodities and manufactures. This would likewise intitle the STATE to look a little into the management of this trade, and give them an opportunity of correcting mistakes early, and thereby preventing those evils they must be called upon, whenever or however they happened, to redress, at the nation's expence. This would also remove that veil of mystery and obscurity, which ever occasions suspicion, and support that ardour and activity, which is the soul of the *East India* commerce.

His Prussian
majesty, being
convinced of
this, has set up
a new compa-
ny at Embden.

AFTER all that has been said, we need not wonder that a new power is putting in for a share of this commerce; and that, after long deliberation on the ways and means of acquiring trade, and raising a maritime force, his *Prussian* majesty has judged that expedient, which hitherto has never failed others, the most convenient for him to employ; and for that purpose has actually granted a charter for the establishment of an *East India* company at *Emden* in *East Frizeland*. A port of which, to say no more at present, the *Dutch* have been always jealous, who are never so without a reason; a port once celebrated by the removal thither of the *English* staple from *Antwerp*; and a port which only wanted such a master as it now has, to render its importance more conspicuous than it once was. But, whatever the fate of this new company may be, the very erection of it is sufficient to the end for which we have mentioned it, as it affords a conclusive argument in support of the point we have been labouring to prove; so that the intelligent reader can lie under no doubt, that a commerce, ever productive of wealth and power to those who have been possessed of it, and used it properly; a commerce, the loss of which has been always ruinous; and a commerce, which all the pretenders to naval dominion have constantly struggled for in all ages; is highly valuable in itself, and inestimable in its consequences.

End of the FOURTH VOLUME.